THE ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS OF SENNACHERIB, KING OF ASSYRIA (704–681 BC), PART I

THE ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

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THE ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD
VOLUME 3/1

The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 1

A. KIRK GRAYSON and JAMIE NOVOTNY

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ana W.G. Lambert† *rab ṭupšarri*

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Foreword

The present series of publications, Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period (RINAP), is intended to present up-to-date editions of the royal inscriptions of a number of Neo-Assyrian rulers. It is modeled on the publications of the now-defunct Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia (RIM) series and will carry on where its RIMA (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods) publications ended. The RIM Project was initiated by A. Kirk Grayson at the University of Toronto in 1979 and over the years received extensive support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the University of Toronto, and private individuals, in particular Dr. Laurence Shiff. In all, it produced ten volumes in its various sub-series. Dr. Grayson retired from the University of Toronto in 2000 and a few years later found it necessary to cease scholarly pursuits due to personal and family illnesses. At that time, he handed over responsibility for the work of the project to me, formerly the assistant director and at times acting director of the RIM Project. When I took up a position at the University of Pennsylvania in 2006 and the last RIM volume (RIME 1 by Dr. Douglas R. Frayne) appeared in early 2008, the RIM Project officially ceased to exist. Work on several further volumes of inscriptions of Assyrian and Babylonian rulers had already begun during the time of the RIM Project and Dr. Grayson passed on responsibility for the materials and manuscripts to myself, and thus in 2007 I initiated the current project in order to continue the task of making the official inscriptions of the several important Neo-Assyrian rulers available in up-to-date, scholarly editions. While the volumes in the new series will resemble the format of the RIM volumes in most matters, the RINAP volumes will include indices of proper names, and editions of the texts will also be available online, in connection with the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI).

Two volumes have already appeared in this series: RINAP 1, comprising the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III and Shalmaneser V (begun by Dr. Hayim Tadmor and completed by his collaborator Dr. Shigeo Yamada), and RINAP 4, comprising the inscriptions of Esarhaddon (by Dr. Erle Leichty, with a contribution by myself). The royal inscriptions of Sennacherib will be presented in two parts, with the present volume being the first part (RINAP 3/1, by Dr. A. Kirk Grayson and Dr. Jamie Novotny); part two, also by Grayson and Novotny, is scheduled to appear in 2014. RINAP 2 will present the inscriptions of Sargon II and is being prepared by myself, with the collaboration of Dr. Andreas Fuchs for two texts. In addition, Dr. Jamie Novotny and Dr. Greta Van Buylaere are currently carrying out work on the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and his successors Aššur-etel-ilāni and Sîn-šarra-iškun.

The National Endowment for the Humanities awarded the RINAP Project a research grant in 2008, 2010, and 2012 to help carry out its work and my thanks must be expressed to it. My appreciation must also be extended to the University of Pennsylvania, where the project is based in the Babylonian Section of its Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Philadelphia
June 2012

Grant Frame
Editor-in-Chief

Preface

The preparation of this book has taken far longer than expected partly because the number of inscriptions of Sennacherib has continued to increase at a pace commensurate with the passing of the decades since the inception of the project. The delay was compounded by the unexpected closure of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia (RIM) Project resulting in a long period when no research was done at all. Grant Frame, with the encouragement of Erle Leichty, rescued the Sennacherib project in 2006 when he founded the Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period (RINAP) Project at the University of Pennsylvania with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities. We are extremely grateful to Professors Frame and Leichty for their initiative.

While I, Kirk Grayson, have been involved in research on Sennacherib since my graduate student days in the 1950s, active work on preparing the corpus of the complete royal inscriptions of this king only began in earnest under the auspices of the RIM Project in the 1980s. Lynne George and Hannes Galter, student assistants on the Project, began the systematic preparation of preliminary transliterations and bibliographies of some of the texts. When I had completed RIMA 3, I personally took over work on the Sennacherib project in the mid-1990s and continued in that capacity until 2003 when family and my own illness forced me to stop. During that time, I did the bulk of the research and collation of the texts of Sennacherib that were inscribed on clay cylinders, clay prisms, clay and stone tablets, stone horizontal prisms, and stone bull and lion colossi, preparing the transliterations, translations, scores, catalogues, introductions, commentaries, and bibliographies. In 2003, I found it necessary to cease scholarly pursuits and thus work on the Sennacherib volumes was put on hold.

In 2006, when the last RIM volume appeared, the RIM Project officially ceased to exist and the fate of the Sennacherib inscriptions was in limbo. Grant Frame, however, was given responsibility for the materials and manuscripts. In 2008–2009, Matthew Rutz, the Project's postdoctoral researcher, organized the numerous paper and electronic files, carefully assessed the material, especially the inscriptions from Aššur, made some preliminary notes on what work needed to be carried out, and collated several clay cylinders and prisms in the British Museum (London).

After Rutz took up a position at Brown University in 2009, I, Jamie Novotny, took over responsibility for the Sennacherib texts. I reorganized and standardized the contents of the book, prepared the front and back material, collated further texts in the British Museum (London) and Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), wrote the book's introduction and most of the on-page notes, updated and expanded the existing commentaries and bibliographies, and finalized the editions and scores.

Work on the present corpus of texts necessitated extensive travel for collation of previously published inscriptions and for examination of unpublished material. We wish to thank the various museums and museum authorities that have cooperated in the preparation of this book. First, we would like to thank the directors, keepers, curators, and assistants of the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago), British Museum (London), Yale Babylonian Collection (New Haven), and Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York). Specifically, we express our gratitude to John Curtis, Walter Farber, Irving Finkel, Joachim Marzahn, Jonathan Taylor, and Christopher Walker. These individuals, and their staff, have been extremely helpful and have extended to us every courtesy and assistance. Secondly, we would like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum and the Vorderasiatisches Museum for allowing us to publish photographs of objects bearing Sennacherib inscriptions, and the British Institute for the Study of Iraq for giving us permission to reproduce plans published in the journal Iraq.

As usual with a volume in this series, numerous individuals aided in the production of the volume in some way. Since the preparation of this book has spanned more than two decades, it is impossible for us to name

everyone who has contributed to RINAP 3/1 and we hope we will be forgiven for unintentional omissions. While we have collated most of the texts ourselves, other scholars have kindly collated some texts for us, provided information on pieces, or aided our research in some way. These include Jeremy Black†, Eckart Frahm, Grant Frame, Douglas Frayne, Renee Gallery, Hannes Galter, Lynne George, Amir Harrak, Mikko Luukko, Alan Millard, John Russell, Julian Reade, Karen Radner, Matthew Rutz, Edmond Sollberger†, David Stronach, and Christopher Walker.

In Toronto, during the RIM years, and later in Philadelphia, several individuals contributed to the technical preparation of the volume and they deserve credit for performing tedious and time-consuming tasks. For the Toronto stage of production, we offer our gratitude to Lynne George and Hannes Galter for preparing and entering the preliminary transliterations of some of the inscriptions, and to Hope Grau and Jill Ruby for performing various other tasks. For the Philadelphia stage of production, we would like to thank the postdoctoral researchers and student assistants who helped in the completion of the volume: Hezekiah Akiva Bacovcin, Matthew Rutz, Irene Sibbing Plantholt, Zackary Wainer, and especially Andrew Knapp. Last, but by no means least, special thanks must be given to Steve Tinney for undertaking the arduous task of generating the final camera-ready copy and converting and preparing the texts for the online version.

The penultimate manuscript was read by Nicholas Postgate, Greta Van Buylaere, and Martin Worthington, all of whom made numerous astute comments, welcome criticisms, and improvements, particularly on the transliterations and translations. In addition to providing valuable feedback, Martin Worthington kindly provided us with a near complete draft of his unpublished book Principles of Akkadian Textual Criticism. In addition, members of the RINAP editorial board and the project consultants offered helpful suggestions at various times near the completion of the volume. Their time, care, and generosity are greatly appreciated.

Wilfred Lambert†, to whom this book is dedicated, had been asked to serve as a reader, but sadly passed away prior to reviewing the manuscript. Lambert served as a reader for all ten RIM volumes and the first two published RINAP volumes (RINAP 1 and RINAP 4). His critical feedback, which stemmed from his vast knowledge of Mesopotamian texts (published and unpublished) and secondary literature, always improved the books immensely. We would like to acknowledge here our gratitude to Wilfred Lambert not only for his time, service, and generosity to both the RIM and RINAP Projects, but also for his numerous contributions to the field of Assyriology.

Our appreciation goes out once again to the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the University of Toronto, the University of Pennsylvania, and several private individuals, in particular Dr. Laurence Shiff and Dr. Malcolm Horsnell, whose financial support allowed for our travel to the numerous museums cited above and provided the funding necessary for us to conduct the research in Sennacherib's inscriptions and to publish this volume.

Last, but by no means least, we wish to record our gratitude for the ongoing support and encouragement of our families: Eunice Grayson†, Vera and Sally Grayson, and six grandchildren; Denise Bolton, Robert and Diana Novotny, and Jennifer Novotny.

Toronto
Philadelphia
June 2012

A. Kirk Grayson
Jamie Novotny

Editorial Notes

The volumes in the RINAP series are modeled upon the publications of the now-defunct Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia (RIM) Project, with a few modifications, in particular the addition of indices of proper names. Like the RIM volumes, the volumes in this series are not intended to provide analytical or synthetic studies, but rather to provide basic text editions that can serve as the foundations for such studies. Thus, extensive discussions of the contents of the texts are not presented, and the core of each volume is the edition of the relevant texts.

In this volume, the order of the texts is based for the most part upon the following two criteria:

(1) The city at which the structure dealt with in the building or dedicatory portion of the text was located. If that information is not preserved on the text, the provenance of the inscribed object is the determining factor.

(2) The type of object upon which the inscription is written (prism, cylinder, tablet, etc.).

Following the practice of the RIM series, inscriptions that cannot be assigned definitely to a particular ruler are given text numbers beginning at 1001. Certain other inscriptions that provide information relevant for establishing royal names and titles (e.g. "servant seals") and any composed in the name of another member of the royal family (e.g., royal wives) have been given numbers that begin at 2001.

In the volumes of the RINAP series, the term "exemplar" is employed to designate a single inscription found on one object. The term "text" is employed to refer to an inscription that existed in antiquity and that may be represented by a number of more or less duplicate exemplars. In these editions exemplars of one text are edited together as a "master text," with a single transliteration and translation. Variants to the "master text" are provided either on page (major variants) or at the back of the volume (minor variants).

Each text edition is normally supplied with a brief introduction containing general information. This is followed by a catalogue containing basic information about all exemplars. This includes museum and excavation numbers (the symbol + is added between fragments that belong to the same object), provenance, dimensions of the object, lines preserved, and indication of whether or not the inscription has been collated (c = collated with the original, p = collated by means of a photograph, (p) = partially collated from a photograph; and n = not collated). The next section is normally a commentary containing further technical information and notes. The bibliography then follows. Items are arranged chronologically, earliest to latest, with notes in parentheses after each item. These notes indicate the exemplars with which the item is concerned and the nature of the publication, using the following key words: provenance, photo, copy, edition, translation, catalogue, and study. Certain standard reference works (e.g., the various volumes of "Keilschriftbibliographie" and "Register Assyriologie" published in Orientalia and Archiv für Orientforschung respectively; Borger, HKL 1–3; AHw; CAD; and Seux, ERAS) are not normally cited, although they were essential in the collecting and editing of these texts. While the bibliographies should contain all major relevant items, they are not necessarily totally exhaustive; a vast amount of scattered literature exists on many of the inscriptions edited in this volume and much of this literature is of only limited scholarly interest.

As noted earlier, a distinction is made between major and minor variants to a "master text"; the major variants are placed at the bottom of the page and the minor variants at the back of the book. In brief, major variants are essentially non-orthographic in nature, while minor variants are orthographic variations. Orthographic variants of proper names may at times be significant and thus on occasion these will also appear on the page as major variants. Complete transliterations of all exemplars in the style of musical scores are found on the CD-ROMs accompanying the volumes and thus any reader who finds the notes on variants insufficient for his/her needs may check the full reading of any exemplar. Such scores, however, are not

normally given for bricks and seal inscriptions. Objects whose attribution to a particular text is not entirely certain are given exemplar numbers that are followed by an asterisk (*); for example, BM 134584 is regarded as text no. 1 ex. 1*, since it is uncertain that it is a duplicate of BM 113203 (text no. 1 ex. 1). Moreover, these exemplars are listed in separate catalogues (Catalogue of Uncertain Exemplars), beneath the main catalogue.

Seven photographs are included in this volume. The selection includes the best preserved inscriptions on clay cylinders and clay prisms, as well as a stele from Sennacherib's royal road and a fragmentary stone tablet. The photographs are not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to show a few of the object types upon which Sennacherib's inscriptions were written.

As is the normal practice for transliterating cuneiform inscriptions, lower case Roman is used for Sumerian and lower case italics for Akkadian; logograms in Akkadian texts appear in capitals. The system of sign values in Borger, Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon, is generally followed. Italics in the English translation indicate either an uncertain translation or a word in the original language. In general, the rendering of personal names follows the PNA; however, the names of Babylonian rulers follow the spelling used in RIMB 2.

There are several differences between the RIM and RINAP styles. Among these, the most notable is that all partially preserved or damaged signs, regardless of how they are broken, now appear between half brackets (⌜ and ⌝). Thus, no partially preserved sign has square brackets ([and]) inserted in its transliteration; for example, [DINGI]R and LUGA[L KU]R appear in the transliteration as ⌜DINGIR⌝ and ⌜LUGAL KUR⌝ respectively. This change was made to ensure compatibility of the online RINAP editions with the standards of the Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus (Oracc), the parent site and project where RINAP Online is housed. This change was implemented in the print version in order to present identical editions in RINAP 1 and RINAP Online. Note, however, that the translations may appear more damaged than their corresponding transliterations indicate, as the translations were prepared according to standard Assyriological practices; for example, ⌜DINGIR⌝ (= [DINGI]R) and ⌜LUGAL KUR⌝ (= LUGA[L KU]R) are translated as "[the go]d" and "king [of the lan]d," and not "the god" and "king of the land."

In addition to the indices of museum and excavation numbers and selected publications found in RIM volumes, the RINAP volumes also contain indices of proper names (personal names, topographical names and divine names). Online versions of the manuscripts are maintained by CDLI (Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative) and are fully searchable.

Philadelphia
June 2012

Grant Frame
Editor-in-Chief

Bibliographical Abbreviations

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology. Liverpool, 1908–48
Abel and Winckler, Keilschrifttexte	L. Abel and H. Winckler, Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen. Berlin, 1890
AfK	Archiv für Keilschriftforschung, vols. 1–2. Berlin, 1923–25
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung, vol. 3– (vols. 1–2 = AfK). Berlin, Graz, and Horn, 1926–
AHw	W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965–81
Analecta Biblica	Analecta Biblica. Rome, 1952–
ANET^{3}	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, 3rd edition. Princeton, 1969
Animali	E. Cingano, A. Ghersetti, and L. Milano (eds.), Animali tra zoologia, mito e letteratura nella cultura classica e orientale. Venice, 2005
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia. Rome, 1931–
AnSt	Anatolian Studies. London, 1951–
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Neukirchen-Vluyn, Kevelaer, and Münster, 1968–
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen. Berlin, 1974–
Arch.	Archaeologia. London, 1888–1966
ArOr	Archiv orientální: Journal of African and Asian Studies. Prague, 1946–
ARRIM	Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project. Toronto, 1983–91
Assyrian and Babylonian Literature	R.F. Harper (ed.), Assyrian and Babylonian Literature: Selected Translations. New York, 1901
AUSS	Andrews University Seminary Studies. Berrien Springs, MI, 1963–
Bagg, Assyrische Wasserbauten	A.M. Bagg, Assyrische Wasserbauten: Landwirtschaftliche Wasserbauten im Kernland Assyriens zwischen der 2. Hälfte des 2. und der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. (=Bagh. For. 24). Mainz am Rhein, 2000
Bagg, Rép. Géogr. 7/1	A.M. Bagg, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit, Teil 1: Die Levante (=Rép. Géogr. 7/1). Wiesbaden, 2007
Bagh. For.	Baghdader Forschungen. Mainz am Rhein, 1979–
Bär, AOAT 243	J. Bär, Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung: Eine Untersuchung zur imperialen Ideologie im neuassyrischen Reich (=AOAT 243). Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1996
BAR	The Biblical Archaeology Review. Washington, DC, 1975–
Barnett et al., Sculptures from the Southwest Palace	R.D. Barnett, E. Bleibtreu, and G. Turner, Sculptures from the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh, 2 vols. London, 1998
Bauer, Lesestücke	T. Bauer, Akkadische Lesestücke, 3 vols. Rome, 1953
BBK	E. Ebeling (ed.), Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung, 2 vols. Berlin, 1921–1925
Beaulieu, Cat.	P.-A. Beaulieu, Late Babylonian Texts in the Nies Babylonian Collection (=Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale 1). Bethesda, MD, 1994
Bezold, Cat.	C. Bezold, Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, 5 vols. London, 1889–1899
Biainili-Urartu	S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf, and P. Zimansky, Biainili-Urartu: The Proceedings of the Symposium Held in Munich 12–14 October 2007 / Tagungsbericht des Münchner Symposiums 12.–14. Oktober 2007 (=Acta Iranica 51). Leuven, 2012
BiAr	The Bibilcal Archaeolist, New Haven, 1938
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis. Leiden, 1943–
BM Guide	British Museum. A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities, 3rd edition. London, 1922
Böhl, Chrestomathy	F.M.T. Böhl, Akkadian Chrestomathy Volume 1: Selected Cuneiform Texts. Leiden, 1947
Böhl, MLVS	F.M.T. Böhl, Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche verzameling van spijkerschrift-inscripties, 3 vols. Amsterdam, 1933–36

Börker-Klähn, Bildstelen	J. Börker-Klähn, Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs (=Bagh. For. 4). Mainz am Rhein, 1982
Borger, Asarh.	R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien (=AfO Beiheft 9). Graz, 1956
Borger, BAL	R. Borger, Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke, 3 vols. Rome, 1963
Borger, BAL^2	R. Borger, Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke, 2nd edition, 2 vols (=AnOr 54). Rome, 1979
Borger, BIWA	R. Borger, Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals: Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften. Wiesbaden, 1996
Borger, HKL	R. Borger, Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur, 3 vols. Berlin, 1967–75
Borger, MZ	R. Borger, Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon (=AOAT 305). Münster, 2004
Borger, WAO^2	R. Borger et al., Die Welt des Alten Orients. Keilschrift – Grabungen – Gelehrte, 2nd edition. Göttingen, 1975
C. Breasted, Pioneer to the Past	C. Breasted, Pioneer to the Past: The Story of James Henry Breasted, Archaeologist. New York, 1943
C. Breasted, Vom Tal der Könige	C. Breasted, Vom Tal der Könige zu den Toren Babylons: Der Lebensbericht des Ägyptenforschers James Henry Breasted. Stuttgart, 1950
Brinkman, PKB	J.A. Brinkman, A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158–722 B.C. (=AnOr 43). Rome, 1963
Brinkman, Prelude	J.A. Brinkman, Prelude to Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 747–626 BC (=Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 7). Philadelphia, 1984
Budge, By Nile and Tigris	E.A.W. Budge, By Nile and Tigris, A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum Between the Years 1886 and 1913, 2 vols. London, 1920
Burstein, SANE 1/5	S.M. Burstein, The Babyloniaca of Berossus (=Sources from the Ancient Near East 1/5). Malibu, 1978
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 21 vols. Chicago, 1956–2011
CAH^2 3/1	J. Boardman et al. (eds.), The Cambridge Ancient History, 2nd edition, vol. 3, part 1: The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean World, Tenth to Eighth Centuries B.C. Cambridge, 1982
CAH^2 3/2	J. Boardman et al. (eds.), The Cambridge Ancient History, 2nd edition, vol. 3, part 2: The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and Other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C. Cambridge, 1991
CANE	J.M. Sasson (ed.), Civilizations of the Ancient Near East, 4 vols. New York, 1995
CDA	J. Black, A. George, and N. Postgate (eds.), A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian. Wiesbaden, 1999
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TUAT	O. Kaiser (ed.), Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Gütersloh, 1982–
TUAT^{2}	B. Janowski and G. Wilhelm (eds.), Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge. Munich, 2004–
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Unger, ABK	E. Unger, Assyrische und babylonische Kunst. Breslau, 1927
Ussishkin, Conquest of Lachish	D. Ussishkin, The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib (=Publications of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University 6). Tel Aviv, 1982
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Leipzig and Berlin, 1907–
Vera Chamaza, Omnipotenz	G.W. Vera Chamaza, Die Omnipotenz Aššurs: Entwicklungen in der Aššur-Theologie unter den Sargoniden Sargon II., Sanherib und Asarhaddon (=AOAT 295). Münster, 2002
Vidal, AOAT 372	J. Vidal (ed.), Studies on War in the Ancient Near East: Collected Essays on Military History (=AOAT 372). Münster, 2010
VT	Vetus Testamentum. Leiden, 1951–
Wachsmuth, Alten Geschichte	C. Wachsmuth, Einleitung in das Studium der Alten Geschichte. Leipzig, 1895
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Waters, SAAS 12	M.W. Waters, A Survey of Neo-Elamite History (=SAAS 12). Helsinki, 2000
Winckler, AOF	H. Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen, 3 vols. Leipzig, 1893–1905
Winckler, Textbuch^{3}	H. Winckler, Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament, 3rd edition. Leipzig, 1909
WO	Die Welt des Orients. Wuppertal, Stuttgart, and Göttingen, 1947–
Worthington, Textual Criticism	M. Worthington, Principles of Akkadian Textual Criticism. Berlin and Boston, 2012
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Leipzig and Berlin, 1901–
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts. New Haven, 1915–
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Berlin, 1886–
ZK	Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1884–85

Other Abbreviations

Akk.	Akkadian
Asn.	Ashurnasirpal
Baub.	Bauberichte (“building report”)
bibl.	biblical
c	collated
ca.	circa
cf.	*confer* (lit. “compare”)
cm	centimeter(s)
col(s).	column(s)
dia.	diameter
DN	divine name
ed(s).	editor(s)
esp.	especially
et al.	*et alii* (lit. “and others”)
ex(s).	exemplar(s)
fig(s).	figure(s)
fol(s).	folio(s)
frgm(s).	fragment(s)
gen.	gentilic
m	meter(s)
MA	Middle Assyrian
n	not collated
NA	Neo-Assyrian
n(n).	note(s)
no(s).	number(s)
NS	New Series
NT	Nabû Temple (Kalḫu)
obv.	obverse
p	collated from photo
ph(s)	photo(s)
p(p).	page(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)
rev.	reverse
SH	House of Sennacherib’s son (Nineveh)
Sum.	Sumerian
var(s).	variant(s)
vol(s).	volume(s)

+	Between object numbers indicates physical join
(+)	Indicates fragments from same object but no physical join

Object Signatures

When the same signature is used for more than one group, the first group in this list is meant unless otherwise indicated. For example, "A" always means the Asiatic collection of the Oriental Institute unless stated otherwise.

A	1) Asiatic collection of the Oriental Institute, Chicago 2) Aššur collection of the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul
AH	Abu Habba collection of the British Museum, London
Ass	Prefix of excavation numbers from the German excavations at Aššur
BM	British Museum, London
Bu	E.A.W. Budge collection of the British Museum, London
DT	Daily Telegraph collection of the British Museum, London
EHE	Signature of objects in the collection of the École Pratique des Hautes Études, IV^{e} Section, Paris
EŞ	Eşki Şark Eserleri Müzesi of the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul
I2b	Signature of objects in the collection of the Pushkin Museum, Moscow
IM	Iraq Museum, Baghdad
K	Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum, London
Ki	L.W. King collection of the British Museum, London
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
NBC	James B. Nies collection of the Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven
ND	Prefix of excavation numbers from the British excavations at Nimrud
NIN	Prefix of excavation numbers from the University of California excavations at Nineveh
PA	Signature of Neo-Assyrian historical prisms from the collection of the late A.C. Piepkorn, now in the Asiatic collection of the Oriental Institute, Chicago
R	H.J. Ross collection of the British Museum, London
Rm	H. Rassam collection of the British Museum, London
Sm	G. Smith collection of the British Museum, London
SM	Signature of objects in the collection of the Sulaimaniya Museum, Sulaimaniya
Th	R.C. Thompson collection of the British Museum, London
TM	Prefix of excavation numbers from the British excavations at Nineveh
VA	Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VA Ass	Aššur collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VAT	Tablets in the collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
YBC	Babylonian collection of the Yale University Library, New Haven

Introduction

In 705, Sargon II was killed in battle and his body was never recovered. Amid the tragedy and apparently without opposition, his eldest living son and designated successor ascended the throne of Assyria on the twelfth of Abu (V).[1] Sennacherib, whose name means "The god Sîn has replaced the brothers" (Akk. *Sîn-aḫḫē-erība*) and who was about forty years old at the time, was well suited for the task, as his father Sargon had conferred on him numerous important military and administrative duties soon after he had become king in 722.[2] His on-the-job training, which may have been supervised by a man called Ḫunnî, served him well during his twenty-four-year reign (704–681), both at home and on the battlefield. He personally led the Assyrian army on campaign no fewer than ten times and sponsored large-scale building projects in several Assyrian cities, Aššur, Nineveh, and Tarbiṣu in particular. His name and deeds, as recorded in his own words, as well as in later foreign sources, were never forgotten; Sennacherib was remembered long after his death for besieging the Judean capital Jerusalem, an event described in the Bible (2 Kings 18:13–19:36 and 2 Chronicles 32:1–22) and for destroying Babylon and its revered temples.[3] His fame (or infamy) revived when European explorers began uncovering the ruins of Assyrian royal cities in the mid-nineteenth century. Of the late Neo-Assyrian kings mentioned in the Bible and classical sources, Sennacherib is probably the best known.

Sources for Sennacherib's reign are both abundant and informative. Royal inscriptions provide the bulk of the information about his successes both on the battlefield and at home, where he sponsored major building enterprises. Royal rhetoric, which does not always accurately record historical reality, is supplemented by chronographic texts (the so-called Babylonian Chronicle and Eponym Chronicle), letters, astrological reports, legal and administrative documents, and grants, as well as by numerous bas reliefs sculpted on orthostats that lined the interior walls of his ornately decorated palace at Nineveh. The Bible and some classical sources (e.g., Berossus, *Babyloniaca*; Herodotus, *Hist.*; and Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*) also provide insight into his reign.

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[1] The fact that the Assyrians were not able to recover Sargon's body and that Sennacherib was not able to hold a funeral for his father as tradition prescribed was regarded as highly inauspicious. The so-called "Sin of Sargon" text (Livingstone, SAA 3 no. 33), probably written during the reign of Sennacherib's immediate successor Esarhaddon, reports that Sennacherib investigated the nature of his father's alleged sin; for a recent study, see Weaver, Iraq 66 (2004) pp. 61–66. E. Frahm (JCS 51 [1999] pp. 73–90) has suggested that the Assyrian scholar Nabû-zuqup-kēnu may have studied the passage about the spirits of the deceased in Gilgamesh Tablet XII in order to elucidate the consequences of Sargon II's death. He proposes also that Sennacherib immediately transferred the royal court to Nineveh since the newly enthroned king may have feared that his father's unburied ghost was still present at Dūr-Šarrukīn (mod. Khorsabad) and that his renovations of the temple of the god Nergal at Tarbiṣu at the very beginning of his reign were inspired by Sargon's ill fate.

[2] For information on Sennacherib's name, his family background, and his responsibilities during his father's reign (including the relevant source material), see in particular Frahm, PNA 3/1 pp. 1113–1118 sub Sīn-aḫḫē-erība I–II.3b-1′; and Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 (2009) pp. 12–14 §§1–4. The name Sîn-aḫḫē-erība implies that he was not Sargon II's firstborn son; his elder brothers, it appears, had all died by the time of his birth. Because his eldest son Aššur-nādin-šumi was old enough to become king of Babylon in 700, S. Parpola (LAS 2 p. 231 n. 390) and E. Frahm (PNA 3/1 p. 1113 I.1) suggest that Sennacherib was born around 745. The identity of Sennacherib's mother is unknown, but it has been suggested that she may have been Sargon's wife Atalia.

Sennacherib's name appears as *snḥr(y)b* in the Bible (2 Kings 18:13 and 19:20); *s/šnḥ(')r(y)b* in Aramaic sources (including Ahiqar); Σεν(ν)αχηριμ in the Septuagint; Σαναχαριβος in Herodotus (*Hist.* 2, 141); and *Wsḫ-rn=f* in Demotic sources. For other Greek and Latin forms of his name, see Weissbach in Wissowa, Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Zweite Reihe 1/2 col. 2271; that publication does not collect the many different writings of the name which derive from Hebrew and Greek transcriptions of Sennacherib. A document from Nineveh written ca. 670 (83-1-18,231) seems to imply that giving the name of the former king Sennacherib (or that of Ashurbanipal, who was at that time either the ruling king or heir designate) to a commoner was considered taboo, a sacrilege punishable by the river ordeal; see Kataja, SAAB 1 (1987) pp. 65–68.

[3] For a study of sources referring to Sennacherib from the reign of his son and successor Esarhaddon to the twentieth century, see Frahm, Sanherib pp. 21–28.

Texts Included in Part 1

Numerous inscriptions written in Sennacherib's name have been recovered and most of these are housed in museum collections and private collections around the world; the majority of these are in the British Museum (London) and the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin). Many other inscribed objects of his that were discovered by early excavators were too large and heavy for transport or were in such bad condition that they were reburied and left in the field. Clay, stone, and metal objects bearing texts of this once-great king originate from a broad geographic area, although most come from the two principal cities of the Assyrian heartland: Aššur and Nineveh. The present corpus comprises both excavated objects and objects purchased from local dealers.

Because of the large number of texts and the length of some of those compositions (several of which are over 500 lines/2500 words long), the inscriptions of Sennacherib are edited in two volumes. Luckenbill, The Annals of Sennacherib (OIP 2), the last volume to edit a substantial portion of Sennacherib's official texts, did not even include all of the then-known (1924) inscriptions and treated many complete inscriptions as duplicates, citing only orthographic and major variants from those sources. Since the publication of Luckenbill, Senn. over eighty-five years ago, numerous new inscriptions and (better preserved) duplicates have come to light. The present volume, although it contains only thirty-eight individual texts (approximately a sixth of the known corpus of inscriptions), surpasses Luckenbill's publication in size.

The division of the Sennacherib corpus is somewhat arbitrary as we have tried to maintain a balance between Part 1 and Part 2 by including major, well-preserved inscriptions in both volumes. Because Part 2 will contain fewer long inscriptions than Part 1, all of the smaller texts will be edited in that volume. The present publication includes all historical inscriptions on clay cylinders, clay prisms, and stone tablets from Nineveh, while the second part will include historical inscriptions on bull and lion colossi from Nineveh, rock reliefs, stone horizontal prisms, and clay cylinders and prisms from other cities under Sennacherib's authority (especially Aššur and Tarbiṣu). An inscription on several steles from Nineveh is also included in Part 1, while epigraphs on reliefs and inscriptions on clay tablets, bricks, threshold slabs, wall panels, stone blocks, beads, etc. are edited in Part 2. The arrangement of the inscriptions more or less follows that of Frahm, Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften (AfO Beiheft 26). Note, however, that historical inscriptions on stone tablets and the text on steles (Frahm's T 61–64) have been placed before inscriptions on bull and lion colossi, epigraphs, and texts written on door sockets, all of which were discovered in the ruins of the South-West Palace (Frahm's T 25–60).

All of the inscriptions included in Part 1 originate from Nineveh. Most of the exemplars of those inscriptions come from Nineveh, but several exemplars were discovered at Aššur and Kalḫu (biblical Calah). These pieces (for example, text no. 4 exs. 9, 25, 43, 45, 48, 56, 60, 67, 69–70, 74 and 82–87) preserve texts duplicating inscriptions from Nineveh, including the building reports. Unless a fragment from Aššur and Kalḫu clearly preserves an inscription unique to those cities, those pieces are treated here as duplicates of the well-known Nineveh texts.

Survey of the Inscribed Objects Included in Part 1

Clay Cylinders

Inscriptions of Sennacherib written on clay cylinders and prisms from Nineveh were among the earliest cuneiform texts published in the nineteenth century, three of best known texts being the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 3), whose popular name derives from the facsimile of the inscription that K. Bellino supplied to G.F. Grotefend for publication, the Rassam Cylinder (text no. 4), which is named after its excavator H. Rassam, and the Taylor Prism (text no. 22 ex. 2), which is named after the man who purchased it (Col. J. Taylor). During the first years of Sennacherib's reign, inscriptions were written on clay cylinders since those objects provided sufficient space for descriptions of both the king's military campaigns and building enterprises. Text was inscribed in long lines that ran along the horizontal axis of the cylinder, from one end to the other. However, when the surface area of a cylinder proved inadequate for the space required for the ever-growing number of military reports and for more elaborate building accounts, Sennacherib had his scribes write his *res gestae* on upright, multi-columned clay prisms, a medium well suited for long texts. The transition from cylinders to prisms occurred in 698, the king's 7th regnal year.

Inscriptions on clay cylinders fall into two categories: (1) texts with historical narrative followed by an account of construction at Nineveh (text nos. 1–9) and (2) inscriptions with no historical narrative, but only a report of work on a single structure at Nineveh (text no. 10, but probably also text nos. 11–13). The earliest

known inscriptions were composed ca. 702, Sennacherib's 3rd regnal year. The First Campaign Cylinder (text no. 1), although not dated, likely comes from the first half of 702 and describes in great detail a campaign against Marduk-apla-iddina II (biblical Merodach-baladan), an account of the construction of the king's new royal residence, Egalzagdinutukua ("The Palace Without a Rival"; the South-West Palace at Nineveh), and the creation of a botanical garden and canals for irrigation. Later that same year (702), in the Elamite month Sibūti (= Araḫsamna [VIII]), two new texts appear: the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 3) and a text combining elements of the First Campaign Cylinder and the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 2). Both inscriptions contain reports of Sennacherib's first two campaigns and work on "The Palace Without a Rival"; the texts differ only in the building account. Two years later, in 700, a new inscription of the king's deeds was commissioned (text no. 4 = Rassam Cylinder and "Cylinder B") and produced in great number, which we know since several complete cylinders have been discovered and numerous fragments bearing this text have been identified. Building on previous texts, the Rassam Cylinder contains accounts of Sennacherib's first three campaigns, including his dealings with Hezekiah of Judah, a short passage stating that Sennacherib formed a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers from prisoners, and a new description of the king's palace at Nineveh. The amount of text inscribed on cylinders was proving difficult for the scribes as they attempted to write this ninety-four-line inscription with the exact same line divisions on each and every cylinder. The fully preserved copies have numerous erasures, dittographies, omissions, and cramped signs, attesting to the limitations the scribes faced as they wrote this edition of Sennacherib's *res gestae* on clay cylinders. Despite these problems, cylinders were used as the principal clay medium at Nineveh for one more year. Two fragments of clay cylinders (text nos. 5 and 8) are dated to 699 (the king's 6th regnal year) and another two fragments are thought to have been inscribed at that time (text nos. 6 and 7). Despite their poor state of preservation, we can surmise that these cylinders contained reports of Sennacherib's first four campaigns, a passage mentioning a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers being formed from prisoners, and an account of building at Nineveh. The building reports of two of the fragments (text nos. 5 and 6) are completely missing; the account of the third fragment (text no. 7) records work on the citadel wall; and the building report of the fourth cylinder fragment (text no. 8) describes the creation of a botanical garden and canals for irrigation and the construction of Nineveh's inner and outer walls, Badnigalbilukurašušu ("Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies") and Badnigerimḫuluḫa ("Terrorizer of Enemies"). The building report of text no. 8 probably also recorded the rebuilding of "The Palace Without a Rival."

A few clay cylinders with no historical narrative, but only a report of work on a single structure, are known from Nineveh. Although three of the four known texts in this category (text nos. 11–13) are not well preserved, the format of these inscriptions is similar to that of an inscription written on stone horizontal prisms discovered at Aššur (including VA 8254). These texts recorded (1) Sennacherib's titles and epithets (which deviate from those found in texts with military narration), (2) an account of the rebuilding of a single building (most often a temple), (3) an appeal to the building's foundation to speak favorably to the god Aššur (or the deity whose temple was being rebuilt), and (4) advice to future rulers (concluding formulae). The best preserved Nineveh example (text no. 10) records work on a temple of the god Ḫaya, the god of scribes. Since these texts are not dated and since they do not contain historical references, it is not known when these cylinders were written.

Clay Prisms: General Introduction

Beginning in 698, Sennacherib's 7th regnal year, the writing of inscriptions with historical narrative on clay cylinders was abandoned in favor of a medium with more surface area, one conducive to the narration of lengthy reports of military successes and accounts of construction: hexagonal and octagonal prisms. Contrary to popular belief and despite the fact that the earliest extant hexagonal prism comes from 695 (the king's 10th regnal year), six-sided prisms and eight-sided prisms were both used as foundation documents for the first time in 698.[4] We can be certain about the date of transition since there is one known prism (text no. 14) dated to that year, the eponymy of Šulmu-šarri. Unfortunately, nothing has been published about the object or the text inscribed upon it except for the date the prism was written. Based on the latest editions of Sennacherib's *res gestae* on cylinders (text nos. 5–8) and the known 697 edition on octagonal prisms (text no. 15), we can surmise that that inscription contained a short prologue, reports of the first four campaigns, a short passage stating that Sennacherib formed a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers from prisoners deported from conquered lands, a building report, and concluding formulae.[5]

[4] Cf., for example, Reade, JCS 27 (1975) pp. 189–196; and Frahm, Sanherib p. 65.
[5] See the commentary of text no. 14 for further information.

Octagonal prisms are presently attested for 697–694 and 691 and these inscribed objects, as evident from the concluding formulae, were deposited primarily in Nineveh's city walls. Hexagonal prisms are presently attested for 695, 693 (or 692), and 691–ca. 687. Some of these foundation records (text nos. 22–23 and 25), those inscribed in 691–688, were placed in the armory, as indicated by their building reports and concluding formulae. Presumably, six-sided prisms were commissioned and deposited in other buildings constructed anew or rebuilt at Nineveh, for example the "Palace Without a Rival." We assume that texts were written on octagonal and hexagonal prisms every year from 698 to 689 and conjecture that these media were used until the end of Sennacherib's reign (681).

Late in his reign, probably sometime after 689, Sennacherib had his scribes write his *res gestae* on decagonal clay prisms. These are very poorly attested, as this medium is represented by only two small fragments (text nos. 31–32). It is possible that ten-sided prisms replaced octagonal prisms sometime after 689 as foundation records deposited in Nineveh's walls. Of course, this is just conjecture.

In addition, short texts of Sennacherib comprising only his titles and epithets and a short statement about the god Aššur supporting him as king are written on small 'triangular' prisms (text no. 27). It is not known if these curious prisms had some functional purpose (foundation deposit, site marker, etc.) and/or if they were scribal exercises written on practice prisms.

Octagonal Clay Prisms

The earliest attested eight-sided prisms (text no. 15 = so-called "Cylinder C") were inscribed in the king's 8th regnal year (697). That edition of Sennacherib's accomplishments contains descriptions of his first four campaigns, a short passage stating that Sennacherib formed a military contingent from prisoners, a lengthy building report, and concluding formulae. As for the building report, it comprises: (1) an introduction to Sennacherib's building program at Nineveh; (2) an account of the rebuilding of the palace Egalzagdinutukua and the planting of a botanical garden; (3) a report of the construction of the city walls Badnigalbilukurašušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa, with their fourteen gates; (4) a general statement about other building activities at Nineveh; (5) a passage recording the building of a bridge and aqueducts; and (6) reports of the creation of gardens, orchards, a game preserve, and a marsh, and the digging of canals upstream and downstream of the city to irrigate those areas. Over the next two years (696–695), scribes of the king inscribed prisms with a text (text no. 16 = so-called "Cylinder D") containing reports of his first five campaigns, the same passage summarizing the formation of a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers, and a building report that was nearly identical to that of the 697 edition (text no. 15). In Sennacherib's 11th regnal year (694), inscriptions intended to be deposited in the city walls of Nineveh were updated once again. The historical narrative (text no. 17 = King and Heidel Prisms) now contained reports of the first five campaigns and military expeditions that took place in the eponymies of Šulmu-Bēl (696) and Aššur-bēlu-uṣur (695), a passage summarizing the king's spoils of war, and an updated account of the construction of Sennacherib's palace, the creation of a botanical garden and canals for irrigation, and the building of Nineveh's walls, which were now reported to have fifteen gates. No octagonal prisms for Sennacherib's 12th (693) and 13th (692) regnal years are presently known, but presumably new texts were composed during those two years. The 693 edition(s) would have contained reports of the first six campaigns, while the 692 edition(s) would have had accounts of his first seven campaigns.[6] The latest certain eight-sided prism dates to his 14th regnal year (691). Although that inscription (text no. 18) is very fragmentarily preserved, this 691 edition would have been one of the longest inscriptions written under the auspices of Sennacherib, as it would have been more than 800 lines long. Despite the many lacunae in the text, we are certain that that inscription contained reports of eight campaigns and a very detailed account of Sennacherib's numerous building activities at Nineveh.

Hexagonal Clay Prisms

Only three fragments of hexagonal clay prisms (text nos. 19–21) are known from the period prior to 691 (Sennacherib's 14th regnal year) and these come from prisms that were inscribed in 695–693 (or 695–692). Because only a very small portion of those inscriptions is preserved, little can be said with certainty about those editions of Sennacherib's *res gestae*. It is certain, however, that the military narration of these

[6] The numbering of this king's campaigns follows the designations given in Sennacherib's inscriptions. Therefore, the sixth, seventh, and eighth campaigns are respectively his campaigns against the Chaldeans living in Elam, against Elam, and the battle of Ḫalulê. The military expeditions of 696 and 695, which were led by his officials, are referred to by the eponymy in which they were conducted. Although the campaign of 696 is technically Sennacherib's "sixth" campaign, that event is never referred to as such by Sennacherib's scribes since the king did not personally lead his troops on campaign.

inscriptions duplicates that of Smith Bull 4, an inscription written on a bull colossus stationed in Court H, Door *a* of Sennacherib's palace (the South-West Palace),[7] and that the military narration of the 695 edition (text no. 19) ended with an account of the fifth campaign and a short passage stating that Sennacherib formed a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers from prisoners deported from conquered lands. As for the building reports, they may have described work on the "Palace Without a Rival" (as suggested by the similarity of the military narration to texts inscribed on bull colossi stationed in that building), the armory, or some other structure at Nineveh.

Most of Sennacherib's inscriptions on hexagonal prisms come from the period between 691 and 689; certainly the best known texts of his — the Chicago Prism (text no. 22 ex. 1), the Jerusalem Prism (text no. 23 ex. 1), and the Taylor Prism (text no. 22 ex. 2) — date to this time. During Sennacherib's 14th–16th regnal years, two nearly identical texts (text nos. 22–23) were inscribed on prisms deposited in the armory, which is located south of the citadel, along the western wall, in the mound of Nebi Yunus. Both inscriptions include a short prologue, reports of Sennacherib's first eight campaigns, an account of the rebuilding of the armory (the "Rear Palace"), and concluding formulae. Because the month during which the Jerusalem Prism (text no. 23 ex. 1) was inscribed is not preserved, it is not known with absolute certainty which edition of this king's *res gestae* is earlier: text no. 22 or text no. 23. The fact that the building report of text no. 23 is shorter than that of text no. 22 and that it describes the construction of only one wing of the armory, rather than two wings of that building, may suggest that the text inscribed on the Jerusalem Prism is earlier in date than the one written on the Chicago Prism and the Taylor Prism.

After the capture and subsequent destruction of Babylon in late 689, Sennacherib continued to have texts inscribed on hexagonal prisms (text nos. 24–26). Like the period prior to 691, very few fragments of six-sided prisms have been identified for the post-689 period and those that are extant are fragmentarily preserved. When complete, text nos. 24 and 25, both of which were written ca. 688, would have included a prologue, reports of Sennacherib's first eight campaigns, an account of the conquest of Babylon in 689, the building report, and concluding formulae; one or both texts may have also included a passage describing the king's Arabian campaign. As for the building reports, it is not certain what the building account of text no. 24 commemorated, but that of text no. 25 recorded the rebuilding of the armory (the "Rear Palace").[8] A fragment of a prism that was inscribed ca. 687 (text no. 26) contains an inscription that summarizes Sennacherib's many accomplishments on the battlefield and describes one of his building projects at Nineveh. The text, as far as it is preserved, duplicates (with variations) several summary inscriptions that were written on stone tablets, text nos. 34–35. It is not known where prisms inscribed with that text were deposited since their building reports are completely missing. Based on similarities with inscriptions on stone tablets, the building report of text no. 26 may have recorded work on the armory.

Stone Tablets with Historical and/or Building Narrative

In addition to smaller clay foundation deposits and inscribed bricks built into the superstructure of buildings and walls, Sennacherib's scribes and craftsmen wrote out and engraved texts on a variety of large stone objects, including foundation tablets. Only a handful of stone tablets from Nineveh are known (text nos. 34–37). Each tablet was inscribed in a single column of text, on both the front and back faces. In the 1929–30 campaign of R.C. Thompson at Nineveh, a small, broken stone tablet (text no. 36) was discovered in the area between the Nabû and Ištar temples. This piece likely dates to ca. 702, the same time as the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 3). When complete, the text included an invocation of gods (beginning with Aššur and ending with Ištar and the Sebetti), reports of the first two campaigns, an account of the rebuilding of numerous dilapidated temples located in Nineveh's citadel (which are said to have been last built by Ashurnasirpal II), and concluding formulae. This inscription is one of the few contemporary pieces of evidence for Sennacherib working on existing temples at Nineveh.

The other known texts written on tablets from Nineveh with historical and/or building narratives were all composed ca. 691–689. The largest and best preserved of these (text no. 34 = Constantinople Inscription, Memorial Tablet, and Nebi Yunus Inscription) was reported to have been discovered at Nebi Yunus in 1852 (or 1854?). That inscription contains summaries of Sennacherib's first eight campaigns and military expeditions that took place in the eponymies of Šulmu-Bēl (696) and Aššur-bēlu-uṣur (695) and a detailed description of the

[7] For a copy of Smith Bull 4, see 3 R pls. 12–13.

[8] E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 107) suggests that the building report of text no. 24 may have described the rebuilding of the Sebetti temple in Nineveh. For further information, see the commentary of text no. 24 and the on-page note to vi 17′–18′ of that inscription.

rebuilding of the armory. Two fragmentary exemplars of another text with historical narrative (text no. 35 = Ungnad and Winckler Stone Tablet Fragments Inscription) preserve a text similar, but not identical, to text no. 34; one significant difference is that this inscription includes a report of a campaign against the Arabs. As the building report is not sufficiently preserved and since nothing is known of the original find spots of the tablet fragments, nothing can be said with certainty about where Sennacherib had tablets bearing this text placed. Based on the approximate date of composition (ca. 690–689) and the mention of the king reviewing valuable enemy booty (reading not entirely certain), these objects may have also been placed in Nineveh's armory.

A small limestone tablet discovered at the Nergal Gate of Nineveh in 1992–93 is inscribed with a text (text no. 37) concerning work on an *akītu*-house (a temple for the celebration of New Year rituals) at Nineveh that Sennacherib had built outside the newly constructed wall of the city. Although only the beginning and end of the inscription are preserved, it is certain that this text did not include reports of military narration. The tablet is dated to the eponymy of Nabû-kēnu-uṣur (690) and the text gives some insight into political-religious reforms that were initiated in Assyria: at Nineveh the former *akītu*-house, which had last been built by Sennacherib's father and which was now situated inside the expanded circumference of Nineveh's wall, was abandoned and replaced by a new building located outside the city, north of the Nergal Gate.[9]

Steles

As part of his urban renewal and expansion of Nineveh, Sennacherib created a royal road. To ensure that no one would build a house that would encroach upon that royal road, the king had round-topped steles (each with an image of the king standing before symbols of his tutelary deities) erected on both sides of the road. Three of the steles (text no. 38 = Inscription from the Royal Road) lining this road, which may have run from the Aššur Gate in the south wall to the Sîn Gate (formerly the Gate of the Garden) at the western end of the north wall, are extant today, while several others are reported to have been broken up and burnt into lime in the nineteenth century. The steles, although not dated, may have been inscribed ca. 693–691.

Overview of Previous Editions

Sennacherib has been a popular subject of study from the very beginning of Assyriology. There are numerous books, dissertations and articles devoted to him, his inscriptions, and his reign.[10] Clay, stone, and metal objects bearing texts of this once-great king were among the earliest cuneiform texts brought back to Europe and deciphered in the mid-nineteenth century. The birth of the modern study of Sennacherib and his inscriptions began well before the decipherment of Akkadian cuneiform, when C.J. Rich visited Mosul in 1820 and acquired what he described as "a small earthen vase covered with cuneiform writing." Shortly thereafter, K. Bellino, his secretary, made a facsimile of the text, which he sent to G.F. Grotefend, a man who had by that time already made several breakthroughs in the decipherment of the Old Persian language, also written in cuneiform. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, objects inscribed with cuneiform writing were purchased from local dealers and brought back to Europe, where they made their way into museums and private collections. The discovery of Assyrian palaces at Khorsabad (ancient Dūr-Šarrukīn), Nimrud (ancient Kalḫu, biblical Calah), and Nineveh in the 1840s, the display of those objects in the British Museum (London) and the Louvre (Paris), and the publication of popular accounts of their discovery (with their fanciful reconstructions) generated a great deal of interest in the decipherment of "Assyrian" cuneiform and the history of kings named in the Bible.[11]

From 1850 to the present, numerous works, large and small, have been devoted to Sennacherib. Because this is not the place to present a complete and detailed historical survey of the publication of the Sennacherib corpus, or to provide a complete bibliographical study of this king, we will focus on previous editions (and translations) and major studies of the corpus that have advanced our knowledge of this king's royal inscriptions. Extensive bibliographies are provided for each text.

Treatments of Sennacherib and his reign are to be found in every general history of Assyria or Mesopotamia. Particularly useful are the biographical sketches by A.K. Grayson in CAH^2 3/2 and by E. Frahm in

[9] At Aššur, Sennacherib also rebuilt an *akītu*-house outside the city. For details on the two *akītu*-houses at Nineveh, see Frahm, NABU 2000 pp. 75–79 no. 66.

[10] For a good historical survey of previous work on the Sennacherib corpus (1820–1997), see Levine, History, Historiography and Interpretation pp. 59–64; and Frahm, Sanherib pp. 29–32.

[11] For a recent study on the early explorations of Assyria, see in particular Larsen, Conquest of Assyria.

Sanherib, as well as the entries on Sennacherib by E. Frahm in PNA 3/1 pp. 1113–1127 sub Sīn-aḫḫē-erība and RLA 12/1–2 (2009) pp. 12–22. Translations of selected inscriptions of his, usually those with descriptions of his campaign to the Levant, often appear in collected works of Mesopotamian texts in translation, for example, Borger in Galling, Textbuch[2]; Oppenheim in ANET[3]; Borger in TUAT 1/4; Cogan in COS 2; Melville in Chavalas, ANE; and Cogan, Raging Torrent.

Before discussing previous editions and major studies of this text corpus, we would like to cite here other works in which Sennacherib texts have been published. For copies, typeset Neo-Assyrian or hand-drawn facsimiles, see: Layard, Monuments; Layard, ICC; 1 R; 3 R; Ungnad, VAS 1; Messerschmidt, KAH 1; Schroeder, KAH 2; King, PSBA 35 (1913) pp. 66–94; Thompson, Arch. 79 (1929); Thompson, AAA 18 (1931); Thompson, AAA 19 (1932); and Marzahn and Rost, VAS 23. For editions/transliterations of a single text, or a very small group of texts, often accompanied by a copy and/or photograph(s), see in particular: King, CT 26; S. Smith, Senn.; Jacobsen and Lloyd, OIP 24; Thompson, Iraq 7 (1940); Heidel, Sumer 9 (1953); Grayson, AfO 20 (1963); Walker, CBI; George, Iraq 48 (1986); Galter, ARRIM 5 (1987); Ling-Israel, Studies Artzi; Ahmad and Grayson, Iraq 61 (1999); Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003); Searight, Assyrian Stone Vessels; and Frahm, KAL 3. Information on objects inscribed with inscriptions of Sennacherib is provided in numerous museum and excavation catalogues. The most useful of these are: Bezold, Cat. 1–4; King, Cat.; Lambert and Millard, Cat.; Pedersén, Katalog; and Lambert, Cat.

In 1878, G. Smith's History of Sennacherib, Translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions was the first book dedicated entirely to Sennacherib's inscriptions. Work on the volume began in November 1871 and it was expected to be 300 to 400 pages long. Smith had prepared as far as page 152 when the publisher revealed to Smith that the cost of publication would far exceed the original estimate. The project was suspended, in part due to an expedition that Smith took to "Assyria." Smith hoped to complete his history of Sennacherib when he returned, with the help of new inscriptions he expected to discover in the ruins of Nineveh. Smith never saw the completed publication of the fruits of his labors, as he died in August 1876. His manuscript was then handed over to J.W. Bosanquet to finish, but he too died suddenly. Before his death, Bosanquet was able to write a short essay on the date of the siege of Lachish (Appendix 1). In 1878, A.H. Sayce completed Smith's History of Sennacherib, namely by preparing the final thirteen pages of the text editions. The format of the volume was modeled upon Smith's History of Assurbanipal Translated from the Cuneiform Sources. The texts were edited passage by passage (prologue, first campaign, etc.), with the master text appearing in typeset Neo-Assyrian cuneiform, beneath which appeared the corresponding transliteration and English translation. Occasionally minor variants were cited and some major variants were edited after the master text. In total, twenty-three texts were utilized, including the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 3), the Rassam Cylinder (text no. 4; = his Cylinder B), Smith Bull 4, the Taylor Prism (text no. 22 ex. 2), the Nebi Yunus Inscription (text no. 34; = his Memorial Tablet), and the Bavian Inscription.

In 1890, in a volume of Neo-Assyrian historical texts edited by E. Schrader (KB 2), C. Bezold published editions of a handful of Sennacherib inscriptions. His contribution included full editions of the Taylor Prism (text no. 22 ex. 2) and the two epigraphs on the Lachish Room reliefs, and very short excerpts from the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 3), the Rassam Cylinder (text no. 4), and the Nebi Yunus Inscription (text no. 34). Bezold, unlike G. Smith, gave extensive notes on textual variants. His critical apparatus included variants from seven (hexagonal and octagonal) clay prisms, fourteen clay cylinders, one bull inscription, and two clay tablets.

Three years later, in 1893, B. Meissner and P. Rost published their Die Bauinschriften Sanheribs; this was the second volume devoted entirely to the inscriptions of Sennacherib. Meissner and Rost's edition focused only on the building reports of the then well-known inscriptions, especially those describing the construction of the "Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace) and the armory (the "Rear Palace"). Five cylinders, one clay tablet, fragments of five inscribed bull colossi, and one clay prism were used in their composite edition of Sennacherib's description of the construction of his royal residence. The building reports of the Taylor Prism (text no. 22 ex. 2) and the Nebi Yunus Inscription (text no. 34) were combined as a single account of the rebuilding of the armory. Just as Bezold had done in KB 2, Meissner and Rost provided extensive notes on minor and major variants. Unlike Smith and Bezold, they provided detailed philological commentary. In addition to the two main composite building reports, editions of eighteen other short texts, all concerned with Sennacherib's building activities (including those at Kalḫu and Tarbiṣu), were included in the volume. Hand-drawn facsimiles of fifteen texts accompanied the editions.

In 1924, D.D. Luckenbill published The Annals of Sennacherib in the series Oriental Institute Publications (vol. 2) because he felt there was "a crying need for an up-to-date publication of the Assyrian sources," and because it seemed "the opportune moment to make available in translation a complete body of Sennacherib's

historical and building texts." The acquisition by the Oriental Institute of a six-sided clay prism in "almost as perfect condition as when it left the hands of the ancient scribe" and the fact that many of Sennacherib's inscriptions had already been edited for incorporation into the files of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary were further incentive for him to pursue this publication. Luckenbill was influenced by A.T.E. Olmstead's Assyrian Historiography and took to heart the latter's complaint about the growing tendency to use only "the final Assyrian edition," and thus Luckenbill edited the earlier or alternate versions of reports known in Sennacherib's "final edition of the annals" separately. Duplicate passages, however, were still not edited as independent texts; minor, orthographic variants appearing in those texts were cited in on-page notes. In total, sixty-four objects inscribed with texts of Sennacherib, with the Chicago Prism (text no. 22 ex. 1) as the centerpiece of the book, were utilized. Of these, seven clay cylinders, four clay prisms, two clay tablets, three bull colossi, two stone tablets, and two rock reliefs were used for his edition of the annals and their building reports. Photographs and a hand-drawn facsimile of the Chicago Prism accompanied the editions. Editions of forty-four building inscriptions, texts that did not include annalistic narration, and epigraphs were also included. Most of those were short texts inscribed on limestone blocks, door sockets, and bricks, many of which were discovered at Aššur and published in copy in Messerschmidt, KAH 1 and Schroeder, KAH 2. Although Luckenbill states that he made available "a complete body of Sennacherib's historical and building texts," he did not publish all of the then-known inscriptions; he appears to have made use of texts published in only twelve books and journals. Nevertheless, Luckenbill's The Annals of Sennacherib was at that time the most comprehensive volume of Sennacherib inscriptions. Three years later, in 1927, Luckenbill included the translations of The Annals of Sennacherib in his Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (vol. 2), a two-volume set that published English translations of the entire corpus of Assyrian royal inscriptions.

In 1963, R. Borger published his three-volume Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke, which included a hand-drawn facsimile and a transliteration of the Taylor Prism (text no. 22 ex. 2). Borger took the opportunity in the introduction to that text to provide up-to-date information about the historical inscriptions of Sennacherib. Relevant information was provided for inscriptions on clay cylinders, clay prisms, bull colossi, clay tablets, stone tablets, and rock reliefs. Numerous unpublished cylinders, prisms, and tablets catalogued by C. Bezold (Cat. 1–4) and L.W. King (Cat.) were listed under the edition to which they belonged. Borger, unlike Luckenbill forty years earlier, made a concerted effort to gather in one place all of the known published and still-unpublished sources for Sennacherib's historical texts. That contribution formed the solid base upon which most future studies and editions of Sennacherib's *res gestae* were to be built.

In 1967, G.L. Russell completed and submitted a dissertation entitled Sennacherib's Annals: A Foundational Text Study (Dropsie College). His work was to present a detailed study for a new edition of the Sennacherib corpus. Building upon Luckenbill's 1924 publication, Russell's unpublished dissertation arranged the texts into three groups (annalistic material, building inscriptions, and varia [unclassified texts]), discussed the style of the inscriptions, and presented new editions of six historical texts (with some commentary). The inscriptions edited were: the First Campaign Cylinder (text no. 1), the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 3), the Rassam Cylinder (text no. 4), the King Prism and Heidel Prism (text no. 17 exs. 1–2), Smith Bull 3, and the Judi Dagh Inscription. A list of 118 inscriptions was included in an appendix. That list was compiled for a projected new edition of the entire Sennacherib corpus, a work that was never completed.

J.E. Reade felt that the textual evidence for following the evolution of Sennacherib's building and irrigation projects in and around Nineveh was not as accessible as one could hope for. In July and August 1974, he carefully examined in the British Museum the published and unpublished Sennacherib prisms, as well as some unidentified prism fragments. His work was facilitated by W.G. Lambert, E. Leichty, and A.R. Millard. The fruits of his labors were published as "Sources for Sennacherib: The Prisms," which appeared in JCS 27 (1975) pp. 189–196. That article presented information on all of the known and conjectured *res gestae* of Sennacherib that were inscribed on octagonal and hexagonal clay prisms from Nineveh. Reade's study benefited greatly from Borger, BAL and Lambert and Millard, Cat. From published and unpublished material, Reade was able to identify twelve different prism editions, several more than previously thought.

Borger published a second edition of his Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke in 1979. He did not, however, substantially update his study of Sennacherib's historical texts.

At a colloquium held in Jerusalem on May 9th 1979, L.D. Levine delivered a lecture on the inscriptions of Sennacherib. A few years later, in 1983, he published his "Preliminary Remarks on the Historical Inscriptions of Sennacherib" in History, Historiography, and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures, edited by H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld. In that work, he reviewed the history of research on Sennacherib's inscriptions, provided a general discussion of the sources and corpus, and discussed various methods of editing

this large corpus.

The most comprehensive study of Sennacherib, his reign, and his inscriptions was published by E. Frahm in 1997. Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften (AfO Beiheft 26) was the product of his 1996 doctoral dissertation (Universität Göttingen), which was written under the supervision of Borger. Frahm's careful study not only included up-to-date information on the nearly two hundred royal inscriptions composed under the auspices of this Assyrian king, but also included detailed studies on Sennacherib's reign and its legacy; his family; his character; previous research (1820–1996); the function of the texts; the language, structure, and style of the inscriptions; aspects of the military reports; his building activities; the role of the king in the composition of royal inscriptions; and the inscriptions as sources for Sennacherib's religious views. For each text, Frahm provided information on the principal sources (main exemplars and duplicates), previous publications, provenance, contents, and date of composition. For many texts, he gave historical and philological commentary, including information on old misreadings of signs and words, as well as other errors (or misinterpretations) in previous publications. Difficult-to-read passages were often clarified by collation, for which he provided copies. Although some editions are provided in the volume, few texts were edited in full (for example, text no. 4). The book also included a catalogue of sources and selected hand-drawn copies. Frahm did not intend his Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften to be a new edition of the complete corpus of Sennacherib inscriptions; this was in part because A.K. Grayson was already preparing such a publication. It is, as indicated by its title, an introduction to Sennacherib's inscriptions, and a very good and comprehensive primer on the subject.

Military Campaigns

Although many of the events of Sennacherib's reign are well documented in his *res gestae*, the internal chronology of his twenty-four-year reign is not as certain as one would like. There is difficulty not only about the precise years of some of the royal expeditions, but also about how many there were. The problem of dating arises out of the fact that Sennacherib's campaigns are generally not dated by eponym or regnal year, but are merely numbered sequentially as first, second, third, etc.[12] The official numbering, which goes up to eight in the extant corpus, included only expeditions personally led by the king. Campaigns led by Sennacherib's officials were usually excluded from royally sponsored compositions. Two of those, however, were recorded in some official inscriptions, but they were never given an official campaign number. This intentional omission of events and the fact that few texts written after his 16th regnal year (689) survive today make it impossible to know the exact number of campaigns. Chronographic texts, unfortunately, shed little light on this problem, as the Eponym Chronicle is not preserved except for the beginning of his reign, and as the Babylonian Chronicle is concerned only with events in Babylonia (and Elam). Furthermore, the latter text records events by the regnal years of Babylonian kings, without reference to Sennacherib's regnal years.[13] Thus, despite the numerous sources for Sennacherib's reign, there are still many gaps in our knowledge.

In total, twelve campaigns are recorded in the extant corpus of Sennacherib's inscriptions. These took place between his accession year (705) and his 16th regnal year (689). Events from his 17th regnal year (688) to his death in 681 (his 24th regnal year), however, are completely unknown. Eight campaigns were given an official number, while the other four were not. Two campaigns led by the king's officials are also known. Those events were never given an official campaign number; their date, however, is known as one inscription records the regnal years during which they took place (696 and 695; Sennacherib's 9th and 10th regnal years). It is unclear how the second conquest of Babylon (689), which is referred to as his second campaign in the Bavian Inscription,[14] and the campaign to Arabia were designated in Sennacherib's annalistic texts since reports of the former event are not preserved in extant foundation inscriptions (those written on clay prisms) and since the latter event is known only from a badly damaged summary inscription, a text where official campaign numbers

[12] In so-called "double datings" found in some colophons from Sennacherib's reign, there are a few inconsistencies with regard to his 1st regnal year (705, 704, or 703). It has been suggested that these discrepancies arose because the Assyrians were not accustomed to dating texts by regnal year (that is, in a Babylonian fashion) or because Assyrian scribes did not always achieve precision when calculating dates according to varying calendrical systems. On "double datings," see Millard, SAAS 2 pp. 70–71. For example, the Baltimore Inscription line 126 (Grayson, AfO 20 [1963] p. 96) states that the eponymy of Nabû-kēnu-uṣur was Sennacherib's 14th regnal year, thus making 703 his 1st regnal year.

[13] For translations of the chronographic texts, see pp. 23–27.

[14] Luckenbill, Senn. p. 83 line 43: *i-na* 2-*i ger-ri-ia* "on my second campaign." Note that the Bavian Inscription, which will be edited in Part 2, records only two campaigns: (1) the battle of Ḫalulê (the eighth campaign) and (2) the second conquest of Babylon.

were not included. More specifically, we do not know if Sennacherib referred to the second conquest of Babylon as his ninth campaign and the Arabian expedition as his tenth campaign.

For details on the military campaigns narrated in the texts edited in this volume, see the five tables (Tables 1–2d) below.

Table 1: Dates and Targets of Military Campaigns

Year(s)	Regnal Year(s)	Campaign Number/ Reference	Target(s) of Campaign
704	1st	—	The Kulummians
Late 704–Early 702	Late 1st–Early 3rd	1st Campaign	Marduk-apla-iddina II of Babylonia and his Elamite, Chaldean, and Aramean allies; Aramean tribes; the city Ḫirimmu
702	3rd	2nd Campaign	The Kassites and Yasubigallians living in the Zagros Mountains; Ispabāra of Ellipi
701	4th	3rd Campaign	Lulî, the king of Sidon; Ṣidqâ of the city Ashkelon; the nobles and citizens of the city Ekron, and their Egyptian and Ethiopian allies; Hezekiah of Judah and Jerusalem
700	5th	4th Campaign	The Chaldean ruler Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk), Bīt-Yakīn
		5th Campaign	The inhabitants of cities located on and near Mount Nipur; Maniye of the city Ukku
696	9th	Eponymy of Šulmu-Bēl	Kirūa of the city Illubru (in Ḫilakku [Cilicia]); the cities Illubru, Ingirâ, and Tarsus
695	10th	Eponymy of Aššur-bēlu-uṣur	Gurdî of the city Urdutu (in Tabal)
694–693	11th–12th	6th Campaign	the Bīt-Yakīn exiles living in Elam; Nergal-ušēzib (a king of Babylon installed by the Elamite king)
Late 693	12th	7th Campaign	Border cities of Elam (including Rāši); the city Madaktu
691–Late 689	14th	8th Campaign	Mušēzib-Marduk (king of Babylon), Ummanmenanu (king of Elam), and their allies at the city Ḫalulê
690–Late 689	15th–Late 16th	—	Babylon
690	15th	—	Te'elḫunu, queen of the Arabs, and Hazael; the city Adummatu and another Arabian city

Table 2a: Military Campaigns Narrated on Clay Cylinders

Campaign	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	5–62	5–19	5–19	5–17	[...]	[...]	[...]	5–16	5–13	—	—	—	—
2	—	20–33	20–33	18–31	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	—	—	—	—
3	—	—	—	32–58	[...]	1′–14′	[...]	[...]	[?]	—	—	—	—
4	—	—	—	—	[...]	15′	[...]	[...]	[?]	—	—	—	—

Table 2b: Military Campaigns Narrated on Octagonal Clay Prisms[15]

Campaign	14	15	16	17	18
1	Y	i 1′–ii 10	i 27–ii 5	i 22–77	i 1′′–13′′
2	Y	ii 1′–37′′	ii 6–75	i 78–ii 57	i 14′′–ii 28′
3	Y	iii 1–iv 14′	ii 76–iv 37	ii 58–iii 81	ii 1′′–iii 31
4	Y	iv 15′–v 9	iv 38–69	iii 82–iv 17	iii 1′–30′
5	—	—	iv 70–v 32	iv 18–60	iii 1′′–iv 10
Year 696	—	—	—	iv 61–91	—
Year 695	—	—	—	v 1–14	—
6	—	—	—	—	iv 1′–6′
7	—	—	—	—	iv 7′–11′′
8	—	—	—	—	v 1′–vi 15′
Babylon 689	—	—	—	—	—
Arabia	—	—	—	—	—

[15] Y= Yes, campaign included. We assume that text no. 14 included the first four campaigns, but line numbers cannot be assigned since that text is unpublished and not available for study.

Table 2c: Military Campaigns Narrated on Hexagonal Clay Prisms[16]

Campaign	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1	[...]	[...]	[...]	i 20–64	i 18–58	i 19–26	[...]	i 1′–4′a
2	[...]	[...]	[...]	i 65–ii 36	i 59–ii 34	ii 1′–9′	[...]	i 6′–8′
3	i′ 1′–14′	[...]	i′ 1′–7′	ii 37–iii 49	ii 35–iii 42	[...]	[...]	i 9′–13′
4	i′ 15′–16′	[...]	ii′ 1′–8′	iii 50–74	iii 43–65	[...]	[...]	i 4′b–5′
5	ii′ 1′–13′a	[...]	[...]	iii 75–iv 31	iii 66–iv 25	[...]	[...]	i 14′–17′
Year 696	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	i 18′
Year 695	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[...]
6	—	i′ 1–13	[?]	iv 32–53	iv 26–46	[...]	[...]	ii 1′–6′
7	—	[?]	[?]	iv 54–v 16	iv 47–v 8	[...]	[...]	ii 7′–13′
8	—	[?]	[?]	v 17–vi 35	v 9–vi 30	[...]	i 1′–12′	[...]
Babylon 689	—	—	—	—	—	vi 1′–16′	[...]	[?]
Arabia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[?]

Table 2d: Military Campaigns Narrated on Stone Tablets

Campaign	34	35	36
1	6b–8a	[...]	[...]
2	12b–13a	[...]	rev. 1′– 2′
3	13b–15	[...]	—
4	8b–12a	[...]	—
5	16–17a	[...]	—
Year 696	17b–18	[...]	—
Year 695	19a	[...]	—
6	19b–36a	1′–15′	—
7	36b–44a	16′–29′a	—
8	44b–55a	29′b–52′	—
Babylon 689	—	—	—
Arabia	—	53′–9′′	—

Babylonian and Elamite Campaigns

The biggest problems Sennacherib faced were Babylonia and Elam. Throughout his reign, he wrestled with the problem of ruling the land of Sumer and Akkad, and attempted various solutions, none of which worked.[17] Between 705 and 689, Sennacherib undertook military action against Babylonia and its ally, the land Elam, no fewer than six times. [18] Ultimately, Sennacherib resorted to drastic action and captured and destroyed Babylon; Marduk, the city's tutelary deity, his entourage, and possessions were carried off into captivity, where they remained in exile until 668.

The initial transition of power in Babylonia (705) appears to have been fairly smooth. Sennacherib took direct control of Sumer and Akkad,[19] but the situation quickly deteriorated. Marduk-zākir-šumi II led a rebellion and seized power at the beginning of Sennacherib's 1st regnal year (704). His tenure as king was very brief; Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan) deposed him after only one month. For nine months,

[16] Text nos. 28–33 are excluded in Table 2c since those inscriptions are not well preserved.

[17] For details on Babylonia during the reign of Sennacherib, see Brinkman, Prelude pp. 54–70; and Frame, Babylonia pp. 52–63.

[18] For studies of his Babylonian and Elamite campaigns, see for example Böhl, Orientalia Neerlandica (1948) pp. 116–137; Brinkman, Studies Oppenheim pp. 22–27; Grayson, Studies Landsberger p. 342; Levine, JCS 34 (1982) pp. 29–55; Brinkman, CAH^2 3/2 pp. 32–40; Grayson, CAH^2 3/2 pp. 105–109; W. Mayer, Studies von Soden pp. 305–332; Waters, SAAS 12 pp. 22–36; and Frahm, Sanherib pp. 9–11 and 14–16.

[19] The Ptolemaic Canon (see below), however, refers to the two-year period between Arkeanos (Sargon II) and Bilibos (Bēl-ibni) as "kingless." Sources for the first campaign are: Text no. 1 lines 5–62, text no. 2 lines 5–19, text no. 3 lines 5–19, text no. 4 lines 5–17, text no. 8 lines 5–16, text no. 9 lines 5–13, text no. 15 i 1′–ii 10, text no. 16 i 27–ii 5, text no. 17 i 22–77, text no. 18 i 1′′–13′′, text no. 22 i 20–64, text no. 23 i 18–58, text no. 24 i 19–26, and text no. 34 lines 6b–8a. In addition to Sennacherib's royal inscriptions, the following sources provide information on Sennacherib's first stint as king of Babylon and the first campaign: the Eponym Chronicle (see below), the Babylonian Chronicle (see below), Babylonian Kinglist A iv 13–15 (see below), the Ptolemaic Canon (see below), the Synchronistic King List iv 1–3 (see below), and the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus (Burstein, SANE 1/5 [1978] p. 23; G. De Breucker's annotated online edition of the text is also available [by subscription] on the Brill Online website: http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=bnj_a680 [2012]). Because of the ambiguity of the Assyrian sources and because data in Babylonian Kinglist A and the Babylonian Chronicle seem to imply that Sennacherib remained in charge of Babylonia in 705 and 704, scholars have been divided on the date of the first campaign. J.A. Brinkman (Studies Oppenheim pp. 22–26; Prelude pp. 56–59; and CAH^2 3/2 pp. 32–34) suggests that the campaign began in late 703, while L.D. Levine (JCS 34 [1982] pp. 28–40) proposes that it started one year earlier, in late 704. Levine's chronology is followed here, as it is by E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 7 and 9–10; and ISIMU 6 [2003] pp. 129–130).

Sennacherib left his Chaldean rival unchallenged, probably because his attention was drawn elsewhere.[20] During those nine months, Marduk-apla-iddina strengthened his position as king by gathering support from the citizens of prominent Babylonian cities, Chaldean and Aramean tribal groups, the Arabs, and the king of Elam (Šutur-Naḫundu = Šutruk-Naḫḫunte II). On the twentieth day of the month Šabāṭu (XI), Sennacherib set out from Aššur with his army. In advance of the king, troops under the authority of the chief official and several provincial governors were dispatched to Kish; Sennacherib and his host marched on Cutha. While Cutha was under attack, the contingent sent to Kish faced off with Marduk-apla-iddina and his supporters. The initial confrontation at Kish met with failure. But when the main body of the Assyrian army arrived after capturing Cutha, Marduk-apla-iddina became frightened, fled the battlefield, and eluded capture. The Assyrians searched for him in the marshes, but their efforts were in vain. As his army fought and defeated other enemy contingents, Sennacherib marched to Babylon, where he plundered Marduk-apla-iddina's palace.[21] Over the course of his 2nd regnal year (703), the Assyrians brought order back to Babylonia. Numerous Chaldean-controlled cities and towns were conquered and mass deportations took place. Sennacherib attempted to rule Sumer and Akkad through a puppet ruler in Babylon. Late in the year, Bēl-ibni, who is described as "a son of a *rab banî* (and) a scion of Šuanna (Babylon) who had grown up like a young puppy in my palace," was installed as king.

As the Assyrians withdrew, probably at the beginning of Sennacherib's 3rd regnal year (702), numerous Aramean tribes were plundered, a substantial voluntary payment was received from Nabû-bēl-šumāti (the official in charge of the city Ḫararatu), and the city Ḫirimmu was captured.

For the next two years, Sennacherib left Babylonia in the hands of Bēl-ibni. With Assyrian attention drawn elsewhere, Marduk-apla-iddina took the opportunity to make his presence felt. By early 700 (Sennacherib's 5th regnal year and Bēl-ibni's 3rd regnal year), Bēl-ibni's jurisdiction appears to have been restricted to northern Babylonia; the Chaldeans were in control of the south. To remedy the situation, Sennacherib marched into Babylonia; he officially regarded this expedition as his fourth campaign.[22] First, he hunted down a man called Šūzubu (who must be identical to Mušēzib-Marduk), a new, influential Chaldean leader. That Chaldean was defeated at the city Bittūtu; he fled before the Assyrians could capture him. Sennacherib then advanced on Bīt-Yakīn. Marduk-apla-iddina, as he had done many times before, ran away. He fled by ship across the Persian Gulf to Elam; his abandoned family and supporters were captured and deported to Assyria. On his return march, the Assyrian king removed Bēl-ibni and his officials, whether for incompetence or disloyalty is not known, and installed in Bēl-ibni's place Aššur-nādin-šumi, Sennacherib's eldest son. This arrangement ensured Assyrian control over Babylonia for the next six years.

In his 11th regnal year (694), Sennacherib decided to attack the Bīt-Yakīn exiles living in Elam and the Elamites who had granted them asylum; the expedition is officially designated as his sixth campaign.[23] To catch the enemy off guard, Sennacherib decided to enter Elam via the Persian Gulf. Syrian ships were built at Nineveh and then sailed down the Tigris River to Opis, at which point the boats were dragged overland to the Araḫtu; the ships were manned by well-trained sailors from Tyre, Sidon, and Cyprus (or Ionia). Assyrian troops, horses, and their supplies and equipment were loaded onto the ships and sailed down the Tigris. Sennacherib and his elite troops, however, remained on shore and marched along the bank. Once they reached the head of the Persian Gulf, the advance was delayed for five days; this may have been due to the fact that the Phoenician sailors were not accustomed to the strong gulf tide. After this minor setback, which Sennacherib claims to have resolved by making an offering to the god Ea, the Assyrians sailed over to the Elamite coast. Upon landing, the Elamite cities that had granted asylum to exiles from Bīt-Yakīn were captured and plundered. The Bīt-Yakīn

[20] The Eponym Chronicle (see below) records that Sennacherib sent his officials against the Kulummians in Tabal to avenge his father's death. E. Frahm (ISIMU 6 [2003] p. 130) forwards the idea that "Sennacherib may have found it too risky to engage his troops in two dangerous spots in the north and in the south at the same time" and therefore did not march into Babylonia immediately after Marduk-apla-iddina II seized the throne.

[21] It is uncertain if Sennacherib participated in the *akītu*-festival at this time, thus officially inaugurating his 2nd regnal year as king of Babylon. For ten months of his 1st regnal year, Marduk-zākir-šumi II and Marduk-apla-iddina II sat on the throne in Babylon. Thus, the two years that Babylonian Kinglist A states that Sennacherib was king of Babylon (704–703) overlap with the one month and nine months that Marduk-zākir-šumi II and Marduk-apla-iddina II sat on the throne (704) respectively. This coincides nicely with the Ptolemaic Canon, which records that the two years between the reigns of Sargon II and Bēl-ibni were "kingless."

[22] Text no. 6 line 15′, text no. 15 iv 15′–v 9, text no. 16 iv 38–69, text no. 17 iii 82–iv 17, text no. 18 iii 1′–30′, text no. 19 i′ 15′–16′, text no. 21 ii′ 1′–8′, text no. 22 iii 50–74, text no. 23 iii 43–65, text no. 26 i 4′b–5′, text no. 28 i′ 1–2, and text no. 34 lines 8b–12a. The events are also recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle (see below), the Eponym Chronicle (see below), Babylonian Kinglist A iv 15 (see below), the Ptolemaic Canon (see below), the Synchronistic King List iv 3–4 (see below), and the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus (Burstein, SANE 1/5 [1978] p. 23).

[23] Text no. 18 iv 1′–6′, text no. 20 i′ 1–13, text no. 22 iv 32–53, text no. 23 iv 26–46, text no. 26 ii 1′–6′, text no. 34 lines 20–36a, and text no. 35 lines 1′–15′. The events are also recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle (see below), Babylonian Kinglist A iv 17 (see below), the Ptolemaic Canon (see below), and the Synchronistic King List iv 7 (see below).

exiles and the Elamites who took them in were loaded onto boats and transported back across the Persian Gulf. From all appearances, this campaign should have been a resounding success for Sennacherib. However, this was not the case, as the Assyrian king had been outwitted.

While the Assyrian army was busy in Elam, the Elamite king Ḫallušu (Ḫallutaš-Inšušinak) had invaded northern Babylonia through the Diyala valley and occupied Sippar. The Babylonians struck a deal with Ḫallušu: they handed over Aššur-nādin-šumi and the king of Elam appointed Nergal-ušēzib (of the Gaḫul [Gaḫal] family) as king of Babylon in his place; Aššur-nādin-šumi was carried off to Elam. Sennacherib was caught completely off guard when he returned to Babylonia. The Assyrians had to fight their way north. The fighting was fierce and the conflict continued into the next year (693; Sennacherib's 12th regnal year and Nergal-ušēzib's 1st regnal year). Nergal-ušēzib managed to capture Nippur, while the Assyrians were able to take Uruk. In the month Tašrītu (VII), Sennacherib and Nergal-ušēzib fought a pitched battle near Nippur. The Assyrians won the day. Nergal-ušēzib was taken prisoner and carried back to Nineveh, where he was publicly humiliated.

Sennacherib, enraged by the fact that the Elamite king had carried off his son, immediately sought to exact revenge on Elam. The situation in Elam was ripe to launch a full military assault: Ḫallušu (Ḫallutaš-Inšušinak) had just been deposed and executed in an insurrection. Almost immediately after returning home in late 693, Sennacherib mustered his army and marched directly into Elamite territory; this was officially his seventh campaign.[24] Several border cities, including Rāši, were captured, garrisoned with Assyrian troops, and placed under the authority of the garrison commander of the city Dēr. Thirty-four cities are reported to have been captured, plundered, and destroyed. Kudur-Naḫundu (Kudur-Naḫḫunte), the newly enthroned Elamite king, heard the bad news and fled. Sennacherib ordered the march to the royal city Madaktu, but deep winter set in during the month Ṭebētu (X) and the Assyrians felt it best to return home. Thus, the final conflict with Elam was postponed. Meanwhile, Mušēzib-Marduk (Šūzubu), the same influential Chaldean whom Sennacherib had defeated several years earlier (700), became king in Babylon.[25]

What transpired in Sennacherib's 13th regnal year (692, Mušēzib-Marduk's 1st regnal year) is not entirely clear. Chronographic sources are silent on the matter and record only that Kudur-Naḫundu was deposed in the month Abu (V) and succeeded by Umman-menanu (Ḫumban-menanu). Mušēzib-Marduk, as Sennacherib reports, was strengthening his ties at home and abroad. A substantial bribe was sent to the Elamite king, enticing Elam once again to bring its armies onto Babylonian soil. Sennacherib caught wind of the situation brewing in the south, mustered his army, and marched against the king of Babylon and his allies. This campaign, which is the eighth campaign by official reckoning, is generally thought to have taken place in Sennacherib's 14th regnal year (691, Mušēzib-Marduk's 2nd regnal year).[26] Sennacherib confronted Mušēzib-Marduk, Umman-menanu, and their allies in the plain near the city Ḫalulê. The true outcome of the battle is obscured by conflicting accounts of the event.[27] The Babylonian Chronicle records an Assyrian retreat, while Sennacherib's *res gestae* describe in a highly poetic style a total rout of the enemy. The fact that Mušēzib-Marduk remained in power may suggest that the Assyrians suffered a setback at Ḫalulê. In any event, any setback was short lived, as Assyrian troops started laying siege to Babylon by the middle of 690 (Sennacherib's 15th regnal year and Mušēzib-Marduk's 3rd regnal year).[28]

Despite the desperate state of affairs, Babylon and Mušēzib-Marduk refused to submit for another fifteen months. On the 1st day of the month Kislīmu (IX) 689 (Sennacherib's 16th regnal year and Mušēzib-Marduk's 4th regnal year), Babylon fell.[29] Sennacherib records that he utterly destroyed Babylon and its temples by

[24] Text no. 18 iv 7′–11′′, text no. 22 iv 54–v 16, text no. 23 iv 47–v 8, text no. 26 ii 7′–13′, text no. 34 lines 36b–44a, and text no. 35 lines 16′–29′a. The events are also recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle (see below), Babylonian Kinglist A iv 18 (see below), the Ptolemaic Canon (see below), the Synchronistic King List iv 8–9 (see below), and in inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (Borger, BIWA p. 46 Prism A iv 123–127).

[25] The details of Mušēzib-Marduk's rise to power are not known. Sennacherib's *res gestae* imply that he came to power through his own efforts (that is, not appointed by the Assyrian or Elamite king). The fact that Sennacherib does not appear to have made an immediate attempt to remove him from power may indicate that the Assyrian king was not entirely opposed to Mušēzib-Marduk being king of Babylon. On the other hand, it may be that his attention was drawn elsewhere or that he was carefully assessing the Babylonian problem before making his next move.

[26] Text no. 18 v 1′–vi 15′, text no. 22 v 17–vi 35, text no. 23 v 9–vi 30, text no. 25 i 1′–12′, text no. 34 lines 44b–55a, and text no. 35 lines 29′b–52′. The events are also recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle (see below).

[27] For a study of the battle of Ḫalulê and other problematic battles, see Grayson, Studies Landsberger pp. 337–342.

[28] A legal text dated to V-28-690 describes the grim situation in Babylon at that time: "In the reign of Mušēzib-Marduk, king of Babylon, there were siege, famine, hunger, starvation, and hard times in the land. Everything had changed and become non-existent. (For) one shekel of silver (one could buy) two *kor* of barley. The city gates were locked and there was no exit in (all) four directions. The corpses of people *filled* the squares of Babylon because there was no one to bury (them)." For a transliteration, see Brinkman, Prelude p. 64 n. 311 YBC 11377 lines 1–8.

[29] Text no. 24 vi 1′–16′ and the Bavian Inscription lines 43b–54a (Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 83–84). The event and the period following the second conquest of Babylon are also recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle (see below), the Esarhaddon Chronicle (see below), the *Akītu*

diverting water from canals to completely wash away the mud-brick structures, making it impossible for future generations to recognize the ground plans of the city and its buildings. The actual destruction was probably not as bad as Sennacherib describes.[30]

Sennacherib ruled Babylonia directly for the next eight years (688–681), but the extent of his affairs there is not known. He did not assume the titles "king of Babylon," "viceroy of Babylon," or "king of Sumer and Akkad," and he does not appear to have sponsored building activities there. His involvement may have been very limited as one Babylonian chronicle and the Ptolemaic Canon considered Sennacherib's second tenure as ruler of Babylon to be "kingless."

Zagros Mountain Campaign

Probably early in his 3rd regnal year (702), Sennacherib marched into the Zagros, where he attacked the Kassites and Yasubigallians living there; this expedition was officially regarded as his second campaign.[31] The fortified city Bīt-Kilamzaḫ was captured and plundered. The insubmissive inhabitants were settled in the cities Ḫardišpu and Bīt-Kubatti and placed under the authority of the governor of Arrapḫa. Sennacherib then moved on to the land Ellipi. Ispabāra, its king, who had been a vassal of Sargon II, heard about the Assyrian advance and fled; the inscriptions do not record why Sennacherib marched against Ellipi, but it may have been because Ispabāra had thrown off Assyrian domination when Sargon died. The Assyrian army swept through the area, captured and plundered Ellipi's principal cities (including Ṣiṣṣirtu and Kummaḫlum), and annexed part of it. The city Elenzaš was reorganized as an Assyrian center. Its name was changed to Kār-Sennacherib ("Quay of Sennacherib") and the city was put under the authority of the governor of Ḫarḫar. On his return home, Median rulers paid tribute to him.

Expeditions to the Levant and Arabia

In modern scholarship, the best known and most widely discussed military expedition of Sennacherib is his third campaign, according to the official numbering. This is not surprising as the event is also recorded in the Bible, which describes this Assyrian king's invasion of Judah during the reign of Hezekiah and a siege of Jerusalem.[32] During the early years of Sennacherib's reign, rulers in the Levant renounced allegiance to Assyria, probably with the encouragement of the Nubian rulers of Egypt, and supported those opposed to Assyrian domination, including Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan) of Babylon.

In his 4th regnal year (701), Sennacherib mustered his troops and marched to the Levant. Lulî, the king of Sidon, was his first target. However, before Sennacherib's arrival, Lulî fled, leaving the cities and towns under his control undefended. The cities Great Sidon, Lesser Sidon, Bīt-Zitti, Ṣarepta, Maḫalliba, Ušû, Akzibu, and Acco were captured. Tu-Baʾlu, a man considered loyal to Assyria, was made king of Sidon. With a large Assyrian army on the scene, several rulers in the area quickly sought to avert battle. Minuḫimmu of Samsimuruna, Abdi-Liʾti of Arwad, Uru-milki of Byblos, Mitinti of Ashdod, Būdi-il of Bīt-Ammon, Kammūsu-nadbi of Moab, and Aya-rāmu of Edom all brought gifts and tribute before Sennacherib. The bribes worked. However, not everyone was as easily cowed into submission.

Ṣidqâ of the city Ashkelon, the nobles and citizens of the city Ekron, and Hezekiah of Judah fought back. Ṣidqâ's efforts failed. Ashkelon along with the other cities under his authority fell to the Assyrians and he together with his family was captured and deported. Sennacherib put Šarru-lū-dāri, the son of a former ruler (Rūkibtu), on the throne of Ashkelon. The nobles and citizens of Ekron — who had deposed Padî, their pro-Assyrian king, and who had handed him over to Hezekiah — became frightened and sought military support

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Chronicle (see below), Babylonian Kinglist A iv 19 (see below), the Ptolemaic Canon (see below), and the Synchronistic King List iv 10–11 (see below). Inscriptions of Esarhaddon record the destruction of the city, but those accounts remove all human agency from the events. See for example Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 195–196 Esarhaddon 104 i 18b–ii 1a.

[30] See Frame, Babylonia pp. 55–56.

[31] Text no. 2 lines 20–33, text no. 3 lines 20–33, text no. 4 lines 18–31, text no. 15 ii 1′–37′′, text no. 16 ii 6–75, text no. 17 i 78–ii 57, text no. 18 i 14′′–ii 28′, text no. 22 i 65–ii 36, text no. 23 i 59–ii 34, text no. 24 ii 1′–9′, text no. 26 i 6′–8′, text no. 34 lines 12b–13a, and text no. 36 rev. 1′– 2′. For studies, see Levine, JNES 32 (1973) pp. 312–317; Levine, JCS 34 (1982) pp. 38–40; Grayson, CAH^2 3/2 p. 112; and Frahm, Sanherib p. 10.

[32] Text no. 4 lines 32–58, text no. 6 lines 1′–14′, text no. 15 iii 1–iv 14′, text no. 16 ii 76–iv 37, text no. 17 ii 58–iii 81, text no. 18 ii 1′′–iii 31, text no. 19 i′ 1′–14′, text no. 21 i′ 1′–7′, text no. 22 ii 37–iii 49, text no. 23 ii 35–iii 42, text no. 26 i 9′–13′, and text no. 34 lines 13b–15. This event is also recorded in the Bible (2 Kings 18:13–19:36; Isaiah 36:1–37:37; and 2 Chronicles 32:1–22) and classical sources (Herodotus, *Hist.* 2 141–142; and Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* X 1–23). For further information, see van Leeuwen, Oudtestamentische Studiën 14 (1965) pp. 245–272; Horn, AUSS 4 (1966) pp. 1–28; Ussishkin, Conquest of Lachish; Gonçalves, L'Expédition de Sennachérib; Grayson, CAH^2 3/2 pp. 109–111; Gallagher, Sennacherib's Third Campaign; Laato, VT 45 (1995) pp. 198–226; Frahm, Sanherib pp. 10–11; Cogan, BAR 27 (2001) pp. 40–45 and 69; Grabbe, 'Like a Bird in a Cage'; Ussishkin, Studies Naʾaman pp. 339–357; and Cogan, Raging Torrent pp. 111–129.

from Egypt and its Nubian rulers. The Assyrian army met the Egyptian-led coalition at the city Eltekeh and routed it. Eltekeh and the city Tamnâ were besieged, captured, and plundered, and the anti-Assyrian elements at Ekron were put to death; corpses were hung from the towers of the wall as a warning to anyone who thought of rebelling against Assyria. The turn of events must have taken Hezekiah of Judah by surprise, as he released Padî; Sennacherib returned Padî to his rightful place as ruler of Ekron.

The kingdom of Judah put up a good fight against the Assyrians, but it too suffered a heavy defeat. Sennacherib boasts that he captured forty-six Judean cities, including Lachish, which fell after an intensive siege.[33] Hezekiah and his elite forces were confined to Jerusalem, where the Judean is said to have been caged like a bird. The defenses of Jerusalem held, however, and the Assyrians returned home without taking the city. Before departing, Hezekiah appears to have struck a deal with Sennacherib, for he sent a substantial payment to Nineveh in exchange for remaining in power (as an Assyrian vassal). The Levant, having witnessed firsthand the might of Assyria, did not rebel again.[34]

In his 15th regnal year (690), possibly while Babylon was under siege, Sennacherib marched into the north Arabian desert against Te'elḫunu, queen of the Arabs, and Hazael.[35] The city Adummatu (biblical Dumah, mod. Dūmat al-Jandal) and another city (name not preserved) were besieged and plundered. According to later sources, Te'elḫunu was carried off to Assyria.

Campaigns to the North and Northwest

Sennacherib directed his attention to the north and northwest with a series of campaigns during his 8th (697), 9th (696), and 10th (695) regnal years.[36] The king personally led the first of these, but stayed at home for the other two. During his fifth campaign (697), according to the official numbering, Sennacherib attacked the inhabitants of cities located on and near Mount Nipur (mod. Judi Dagh).[37] The victories were hard earned, as the Assyrian army was not well trained in marching through and fighting in difficult, narrow mountain terrain. Official reports, including those inscribed on several rock faces in that region, record the difficulties encountered. After the Mount Nipur area was brought into submission, Sennacherib set his sights on Maniye, king of the city Ukku. As the Assyrian army approached Ukku, Maniye is reported to have abandoned the city and fled to a remote location. Ukku and thirty-three cities in its vicinity are said to have been captured, plundered, and subsequently destroyed.

In his 9th (696) and 10th (695) regnal years, Sennacherib sent expeditions to Anatolia. These campaigns were led by his officials.[38] His reluctance to personally go on these campaigns was likely rooted in the fact that Sargon II had been killed there and that his body had never been recovered. In 696, Assyrian troops were sent to Ḫilakku (Cilicia), where Kirūa, the city ruler of Illubru, had incited rebellion and blocked the road to the land Que. It has been suggested that Que may have been once again friendly towards Assyria and possibly a vassal state, and the purpose of the campaign was to assist that pro-Assyrian area. The rebel cities Illubru, Ingirâ, and Tarsus were besieged, captured, and plundered. Kirūa was captured and brought back to Nineveh, where he

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[33] Lachish is not mentioned by name in reports of the third campaign, but it is named in an epigraph on a relief depicting the siege and conquest of that city. Archaeological excavations at Lachish confirm that the city did in fact succumb to an Assyrian siege. See Ussishkin, Conquest of Lachish for a detailed study of the relief and the archaeological evidence.

[34] What happened in the Levant between 688 and 681 is unclear as there are very few extant inscriptions of Sennacherib for the post-689 period. It has been suggested that Judah rebelled a second time during this period. For the opinion that Sennacherib campaigned twice to the Levant, once in 701 and again after 689, see Shea, JBL 104 (1985) pp. 401–418; Grayson, JSSEA 11 (1981) pp. 85–88; and Grayson, CAH^2 3/2 pp. 110–111. This issue falls outside the scope of this volume and thus it will not be examined here.

[35] Text no. 35 lines 53′–9′′. This event is also recorded in inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. See for example Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 19 Esarhaddon 1 iv 1–5 and p. 30 Esarhaddon 2 ii 46–50; and Borger, BIWA pp. 69–70 K 3087 // K 3405 // Rm 2,558 lines 1b–4 (and 12). Te'elḫunu is called Apkallatu in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon. As R. Borger (Orientalia NS 26 [1957] pp. 9–10) has already pointed out, Apkallatu is not a proper name, but rather a title which Esarhaddon's scribes mistook as a personal name, and thus Apkallatu is the same woman as Te'elḫunu. For studies, see Ephʿal, Arabs pp. 118–125; Grayson, CAH^2 3/2 pp. 112–113; and Frahm, Sanherib p. 16.

[36] The Eponym Chronicle records for his 1st regnal year (704) that officials of the king were sent against the Kulummians in Tabal to avenge his father's death. Because the text is badly damaged, the outcome of the campaign is not known. E. Frahm (PNA 3/1 p. 1118 sub Sīn-aḫḫē-erība II.3b-2′) suggests that the expedition was probably not a great success since it was not mentioned in Sennacherib's royal inscriptions.

[37] Text no. 16 iv 70–v 32, text no. 17 iv 18–60, text no. 18 iii 1′′–iv 10, text no. 19 ii′ 1′–13′a, text no. 22 iii 75–iv 31, text no. 23 iii 66–iv 25, text no. 26 i 14′–17′, and text no. 34 lines 16–17a. For studies, see Grayson, CAH^2 3/2 p. 112; Frahm, NABU 1994 pp. 48–50 no. 55; and Frahm, Sanherib p. 13.

[38] Text no. 17 iv 61–v 14, text no. 26 i 18′, and text no. 34 lines 17b–19. The *Babyloniaca* of Berossus (Burstein, SANE 1/5 [1978] p. 24) also records events of the 696 campaign. Relying on Abydenus and Polyhistor, Berossus states that the Assyrians defeated a group of Ionian warships. Polyhistor states that Sennacherib left an inscribed stele on the battlefield and that he built (rebuilt?) the city Tarsus. Abydenus records that he built (rebuilt?) the temple of Sandes (= Heracles) and that he built (rebuilt?) the city Tarsus. For studies on the 696 and 695 campaigns, see King, CT 26 pp. 9–16; Tallqvist, OLZ 14 (1911) cols. 344–345; Haider in Ulf, Wege zur Genese griechischer Identität pp. 82–91; Hawkins, CAH^2 3/1 pp. 426–427; Grayson, CAH^2 3/2 p. 112; and Frahm, Sanherib p. 14.

was flayed publicly. The next year (695), Sennacherib sent his army to the land Tabal, where Gurdî, the city ruler of Urdutu (and possibly the man responsible for Sargon II's death), had taken up arms against Assyria. Only the city Tīl-Garimme is reported to have been captured and destroyed. The campaign was far from successful, since the chief instigator remained at large.

Building Activities at Nineveh

Numerous texts describe Sennacherib's renovation and expansion of Nineveh, a city that he transformed into the leading metropolis of Assyria. He began projects there almost immediately after he became king; the labor was provided by prisoners of war, including Chaldeans, Arameans, Manneans, and the inhabitants of Que, Ḫilakku, Philistia, and Tyre. For general studies, see in particular Grayson, CAH^{2} 3/2 pp. 113–116; Frahm, Sanherib pp. 265–276 and passim; Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) pp. 389–433, esp. §§11, 13.1, 13.5–6, 14.2–3, 15.2, 15.4, and 15.8; Frahm, PNA 3/1 pp. 1121–1122 sub Sīn-aḫḫē-erība II.3c-1′; and Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 (2009) p. 19 §6.1.1–8. For a detailed and comprehensive study of the "Palace Without a Rival," see J.M. Russell, Senn.'s Palace. Only the projects recorded in texts edited in this volume will be discussed here.

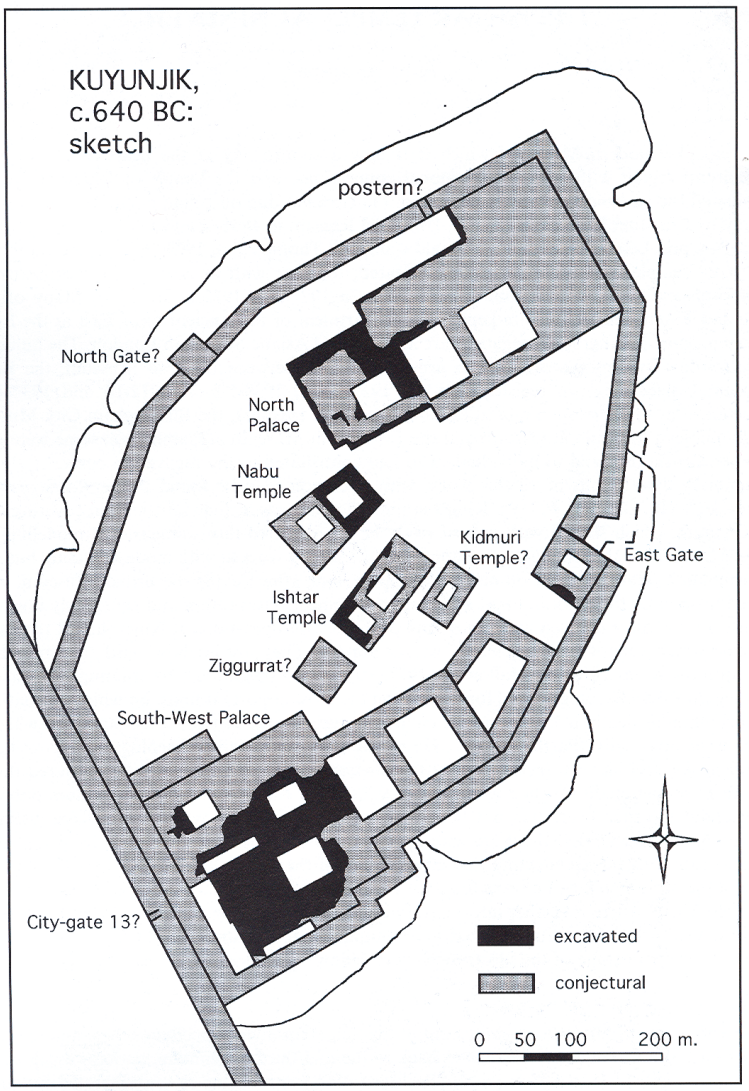

Figure 1. Plan of Kuyunjik ca. 640. Drawing by J. Reade (Reprinted from Iraq 67 [2005] p. 348 fig. 1). © The British Institute for the Study of Iraq.

Egalzagdinutukua: "The Palace Without a Rival"

One of this king's most ambitious projects was the construction of his royal residence and progress on its construction can be followed in texts inscribed on clay cylinders, clay prisms, and stone bull colossi between 702 and 691.[39] This once-magnificent palace, which he gave the Sumerian ceremonial name Egalzagdinutukua ("The Palace Without a Rival"), has only been partially excavated. The royal residence, which is on the larger of the two Nineveh mounds, Kuyunjik, is also referred to as the South-West Palace, as it is located on the southwest part of the citadel.

Early in his reign, Sennacherib razed the former palace, diverted the Tebilti River (which is reported to have flooded the area around the palace and to have eroded the previous brickwork), made a large tract of land (including areas previously underwater) suitable for building, laid the foundations of a massive mud-brick terrace, and began construction of the terrace upon which his palace would be built. The site of the previous palace was enlarged by 340×288 cubits (ca. 187×158 m). A high terrace was constructed on water-proofed stone foundations. Originally the terrace was raised 160 courses of brick, but it was later raised to a final height of 190 courses of brick.

The palace, which grew in size every year, was sumptuously decorated with various types of wood, stone, and metal. Its palatial halls were roofed with beams of cedar and cypress from Mounts Lebanon and Sirāra. Tall metal-banded door leaves were hung in their gateways. Some of the rooms were decorated with glazed baked bricks. Like his predecessors, Sennacherib had numerous apotropaic colossi stationed in principal gateways and had the walls of many rooms and halls lined with sculpted limestone slabs, many of which were unearthed in the mid-nineteenth century. A.H. Layard described these orthostats as "two miles of bas-relief" and Sîn-šarra-iškun, Sennacherib's fourth successor, referred to this building as "the palace of alabaster."[40] Unlike his forefathers, Sennacherib had colossi cast from bronze and copper using a metalworking technique he claims to have perfected. In total, he claims to have set up in the palace's gateways twelve copper bulls, two alabaster bulls, and seventy-two bulls and sphinxes of white limestone, stone laboriously hauled from the city Balāṭāya.

A striking feature of the palace described in the texts was an elaborate pillared portico, a *bīt-appāte* (a *bīt-ḫilāni* in the "Amorite tongue") that was modeled on a feature of Hittite palaces. This section included twelve striding lion colossi of bronze, which served as bases for four cedar and two copper columns. Twenty-two copper sphinxes and ten alabaster sphinxes were also used as bases for wooden columns decorated with metal inlay, but it is not clear from reports of this project where in the palace these were set up.

Between 694 and late 691, Sennacherib appears to have put the finishing touches on "The Palace Without a Rival." In 694, the (final?) dimensions are reported to have been 914×440 cubits (ca. 503×242 m). In 691, Sennacherib boasted that Egalzagdinutukua had been completed.[41]

Walls of Nineveh and Their Gates

Inscriptions dating from 699 to 691 commemorate one of Sennacherib's most ambitious building enterprises: the construction of Nineveh's walls. Sennacherib states that the former circumference of the city was 9,300 cubits and that no previous ruler had built an inner or outer wall for the city. He boasts of expanding Nineveh's circumference by 12,515 cubits, expanding the length of the city walls to a total of 21,815 cubits, and of building the outer defenses in two parts: (1) the main (or great) inner wall, Badnigalbilukurašušu ("Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies"), constructed with limestone foundations and built to a height of 180 (later 200) courses of brick and to a width of 40 bricks; and (2) an outer stone wall, Badnigerimḫuluḫa ("Wall, Terrorizer of Enemies"), whose foundations were 45 *nindanu* deep.[42]

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[39] Text no. 1 lines 63–86, text no. 2 lines 34–63, text no. 3 lines 34–56, text no. 4 lines 61–84, text no. 15 v 18–vii 9, text no. 16 v 41–vii 16, text no. 17 v 23–vii 52, text no. 18 vi 1′′–vii 11a, and text no. 22 vi 36–38. See Frahm, Sanherib pp. 267–269 for references in texts not included in this volume.

[40] For a detailed study and for images of the numerous reliefs decorating the palace, see Barnett et al., Sculptures from the Southwest Palace.

[41] As early as ca. 702, Sennacherib claims to have completed the palace, invited Aššur and the gods and goddesses of Assyria inside, and to have celebrated the palace's dedication. Of course, this is just royal rhetoric as it would have been impossible for Sennacherib to have completed such a large-scale project in such a short time. See, for example, text no. 1 lines 91–92.

[42] Text no. 8 lines 9′–13′, text no. 15 vii 14–24 and 24′–29′a, text no. 16 vii 22–33 and 70–76a, text no. 17 vii 58–69 and viii 6–12, text no. 18 vii 1′–9′ and 41′–48′, and text no. 38 lines 16–18. Bricks, stone slabs, and stone blocks attest to this project; see Frahm, Sanherib pp. 141–142 T 75–80a. Nearly the entire city wall is still visible today, as a high mound or as a modern reconstruction. Excavations near the Šamaš Gate and the Ea Gate reveal that the inner wall was ca. 15–16 m wide, a figure consistent with the thickness of forty bricks; Reade (RLA 9/5–6 [2000] pp. 399–400 §11.3) suggests that the inner wall was approximately 25 m high. The outer, stone wall was ca. 11 m thick and ca. 4.5 m high. BM 124938, a relief depicting Nineveh, shows the city walls Badnigalbilukurašušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa. See Frahm, Sanherib p. 99 and Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) p. 398 fig. 3.

Sennacherib initially states that the city wall had fourteen gates (697–695), but later records that it had fifteen (694), and then eighteen (691) gates.[43] Clearly, the plan evolved over time. The gates are listed counterclockwise as follows:

Gate	Text nos. 15–16 (697–695)	Text no. 17 (694)	Text no. 18 (691)
I	1. Ḫandūru Gate: "The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King's Enemy"	15. Ḫandūru Gate: "The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King's Enemy"	1. Ḫandūru Gate: "The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King's Enemy"
II	2. Aššur Gate: "May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure"	1. Aššur Gate: "May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Stay in Good Health"	2. Aššur Gate: "May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure"
III	3. Sennacherib Gate: "The One Who Flattens All Enemies"	2. Sennacherib Gate: "The One Who Flattens All Enemies"	3. Sennacherib Gate: "The One Who Flattens All Enemies"
IV	4. Šamaš Gate: "The God Enlil Is the One Who Makes My Reign Firm"	3. Šamaš Gate: "The God Enlil Is the One Who Makes My Reign Firm"	4. Šamaš Gate: "The God Enlil Is the One Who Makes My Reign Firm"
V	5. Mullissu Gate: "O Ištar Bless the One Who Provides for You!"	4. Mullissu Gate: "Make Sennacherib's Dynasty as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation!"	5. Mullissu Gate: "Make Sennacherib's Dynasty as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation!"
VI	6. Step Gate: "The One Who Exorcises the 'Flesh' of the *Asakku*-demon"	5. Step Gate: "The One Who Exorcises the 'Flesh' of the *Asakku*-demon"	6. Step Gate: "The One Who Exorcises the 'Flesh' of the *Asakku*-demon"
VII	7. Šibaniba Gate: "The Choicest of Grain and Flocks Are Constantly Inside It"	6. Šibaniba Gate: "The Choicest of Grain and Flocks Are Constantly Inside It"	7. Šibaniba Gate: "The Choicest of Grain and Flocks Are Constantly Inside It"
VIII	8. Ḫalaḫḫu Gate: "The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains"	7. Ḫalaḫḫu Gate: "The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains"	8. Ḫalaḫḫu Gate: "The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains"
	Eight gates facing the sunrise, towards the south and east	Seven gates facing the sunrise, towards the south and east	Eight gates facing the sunrise, towards the south and east
IX	9. Adad Gate: "The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land"	8. Adad Gate: "The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land"	9. Adad Gate: "The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land"
X	10. Nergal Gate: "The God Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down Enemies"	9. Nergal Gate: "The God Erra Is the One Who Slaughters Those Hostile to Me"	10. Nergal Gate: "The God Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down My Enemies"
XI	11. Gate of the Garden: "The God Igisigsig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish"	10. Sîn Gate: "The Divine Nannāru Is the One Who Protects My Lordly Crown"	11. Sîn Gate: "The Divine Nannāru Is the One Who Makes Firm My Lordly Crown"
	Three gates facing north	Three gates facing north	—
XII	12. Mašqû Gate: "The God Ea Is the One Who Properly Directs (Water Flow into) My Cisterns"	11. Mašqû Gate: "The God Ea Is the One Who Properly Directs (Water Flow into) My Cisterns"	12. Mašqû Gate: "The God Ea Is the One Who Properly Directs (Water Flow into) My Cisterns"
XIII	—	—	13. Step Gate of the Palace: "May *Its Builder* Endure"
XIV	—	—	14. Step Gate of the Gardens: "The God Igisigsig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish"
XV	13. Quay Gate: "The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements"	12. Quay Gate: "The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements"	15. Quay Gate: "The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements"
XVI	14. Armory Gate: "The One Who Regulates Everything"	14. Armory Gate: "The One Who Regulates Everything"	16. Step Gate of the Armory: "May Its Builder Live Forever"
XVII	—		17. Barḫalzi Gate: "The God Anu Is the Protector of My Life"
XVIII	—	13. Desert Gate: "The Presents of the People of Sumuʾel and Tēma Enter Through It"	18. Desert Gate: "The Presents of the People of Tēma and Sumuʾel Enter Through It"
	Three gates facing west	Five gates facing west	Ten gates facing north and west

[43] Text no. 15 vii 25–23′, text no. 16 vii 34–69, text no. 17 vii 70–viii 5, and text no. 18 vii 10′–40′. Gurney, STT 2 no. 372, a text from the reign of Ashurbanipal, lists Gates II–XI, in a garbled form. On the location of the gates, see in particular King, Cat. pp. xix–xxiv; Thompson, Arch. 79 (1929) pp. 111–113; Thompson, Iraq 7 (1940) pp. 91–93; Reade, RA 72 (1978) pp. 50–54; and Scott and MacGinnis, Iraq 52 (1990) pp. 63–68.

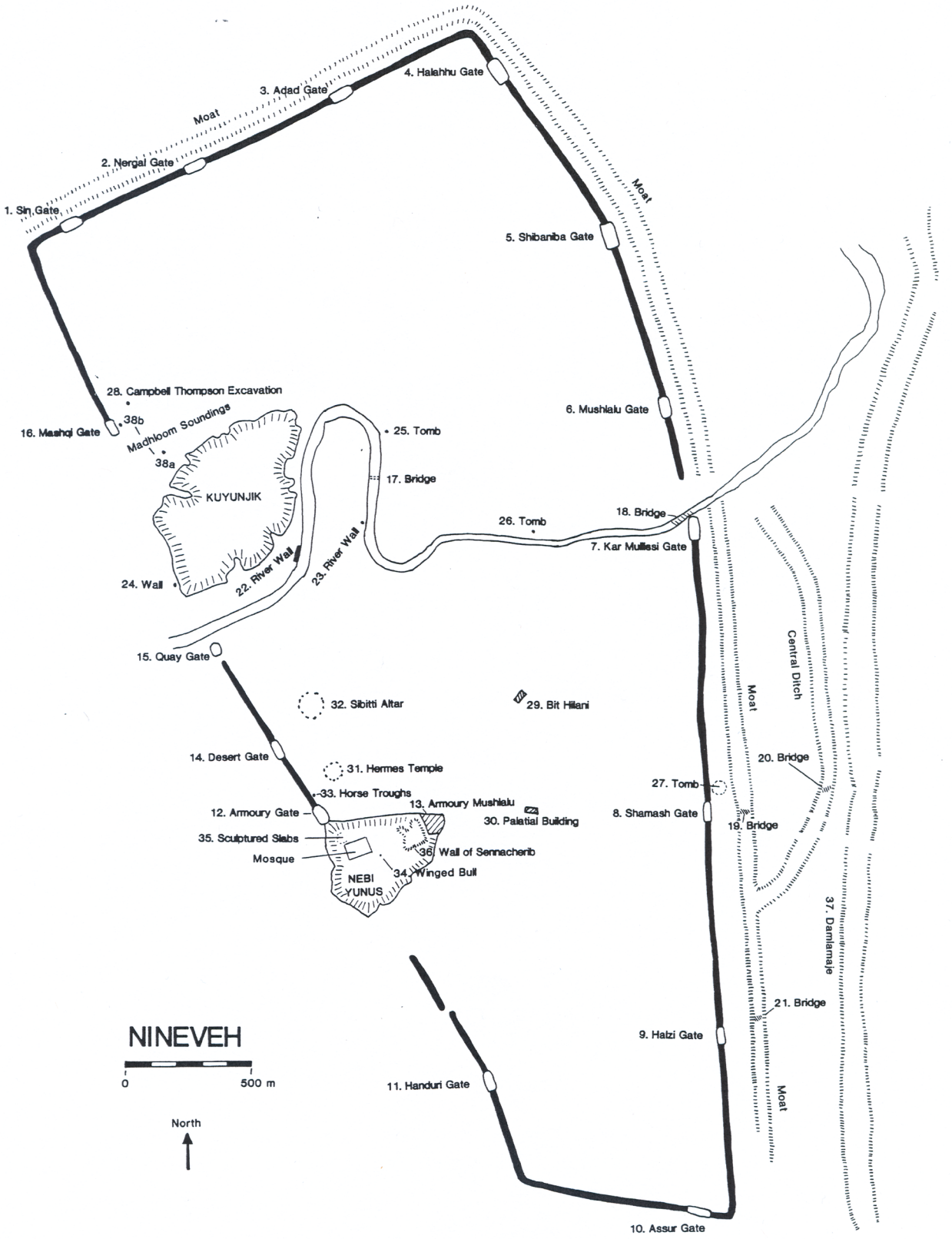

Figure 2. Plan of Nineveh. Reprinted from Scott and MacGinnis, Iraq 52 (1990) p. 73 fig. 4. © The British Institute for the Study of Iraq.

Botanical Gardens, Swamps, and Related Waterworks

Sennacherib created a large botanical garden beside his palace, which he claims was a "replica of Mount Amanus," and he planted a large variety of trees in it.[44] In addition, he provided the citizens of Nineveh with numerous garden plots that were planted on newly tilled soil, and created a park and a game preserve beside the city.[45] Those gardens and parks required much water and the king devoted a great deal of time and effort to providing irrigation water for those areas and regulating the flow of that water.

Early in his reign (ca. 702–700), Sennacherib diverted water from the Ḫusur River (mod. Khosr), near the city Kisiru, for a distance of one and a half leagues to the plain of Nineveh.[46] To control the flow and to carry off excess water during the flood season, a large wet marsh was created east of the city wall (ca. 699).[47] The area was stocked with flora and fauna of the Babylonian marshes and populated with migratory birds (herons), wild pigs, roe deer, and other animals. Sometime between 700 and 694, a more substantial irrigation system was needed and the requisite water was found in mountain springs northeast of the city, near Mount Muṣri and the cities Dūr-Ištar, Šibaniba, and Sulu. Three new canals were dug to the Ḫusur River, where their waters supplemented those of the river, thus making it possible to irrigate fields upstream and downstream of Nineveh all year long.[48] Throughout the rest of his reign, Sennacherib continued his extensive waterworks program, creating at least sixteen canals that brought a constant supply of water to Nineveh.[49]

Bridges and Aqueducts

Sennacherib built a bridge paved with limestone opposite a gate of the citadel in order to facilitate access to the citadel from the lower town; the Ḫusur River flows between the royal road and the citadel, thus preventing direct access to the upper town from the southeast.[50] A second bridge was built downstream, but its precise location is not indicated in the texts. To control the flow of the waters of the Ḫusur River, Sennacherib had aqueducts built.[51] Work on one of the bridges and on the aqueducts is first attested in 700 and 699 respectively.

The City Squares and Streets, and the Royal Road

Throughout his reign, Sennacherib boasts that he broadened the squares, streets, and alleys of Nineveh, thus brightening the city.[52] As part of his transformation of the lower town, Sennacherib created a fifty-two-cubit-wide royal road that ran through the city. That road may have run north from the Aššur Gate in the south wall, east past the armory and the citadel, to the Sîn Gate (formerly the Gate of the Gardens) at the western end of the north wall.[53] To prevent future encroachment, he erected inscribed and sculpted steles on both sides of the roadway. Reports of that project are known from texts composed ca. 693–691.

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[44] Text no. 1 line 87, text no. 2 line 64, text no. 3 line 57, text no. 4 line 85, text no. 15 vii 10–13, text no. 16 vii 17–21, and text no. 17 vii 53–57. See Frahm, Sanherib p. 276 for references in texts not included in this volume. For a discussion on the location of the parks, gardens, and orchards, see Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) pp. 403–405 §11.6 with figs. 6–8. For the opinion that Sennacherib's "replica of Mount Amanus" was the origin of the "Hanging Gardens of Babylon" story, see Dalley, Iraq 56 (1994) pp. 45–58; and Dalley, HSAO 6 pp. 19–24. See also Dalley, Studies D. Oates pp. 67–73; and K.P. Foster, Iraq 66 (2004) pp. 207–220. For some critical reviews of Dalley's proposal, see Reade, Iraq 62 (2000) pp. 195–217; and Bichler and Rollinger, Studies Schretter pp. 153–218.

[45] Text no. 1 line 88, text no. 2 line 65, text no. 3 line 58, text no. 4 line 86, text no. 8 line 1′, text no. 15 viii 2′–11′, text no. 16 viii 3–15, and text no. 17 viii 16–21. For additional references, see Frahm, Sanherib p. 276.

[46] Text no. 1 lines 89–90, text no. 2 lines 66–67, text no. 3 lines 58–60, text no. 4 lines 87–88, text no. 8 lines 2′–3′, text no. 15 viii 12′–19′, text no. 16 viii 15–23, text no. 17 viii 22–30, and text no. 18 viii 1′–5′. See Frahm, Sanherib p. 276 for references in texts not included in this volume. For a detailed study of Sennacherib's waterworks program at Nineveh, see Bagg, Assyrische Wasserbauten pp. 169–224.

[47] Text no. 8 lines 5′–6′, text no. 15 viii 1′′–3′′, text no. 16 viii 29–44, text no. 17 viii 46–49 and 56–59, and text no. 18 viii 7′′–17′′a. For additional references, see Frahm, Sanherib p. 276. Reade (RLA 9/5–6 [2000] p. 406 §11.7) proposes that the Ḫusur valley east of the city wall, where there were massive dams, was an appropriate location for the creation of a marsh, noting that the river was controlled by one well-preserved dam just below al-Ǧīla, at least two more upstream of Nineveh's wall, and another dam at the city wall.

[48] Text no. 17 viii 31–42.

[49] Text no. 18 viii 6′–12′ records the digging of several new canals near/from the cities Girmua and Ālum-labir. Work at Ḫinnis-Bavian and on the Jerwan aqueduct will be discussed in the introduction of Part 2.

[50] Text no. 4 line 90, text no. 7 line 4′, text no. 8 line 16′, text no. 15 viii 1′, and text no. 16 vii 85–viii 3a. Stonework located at two places on the Ḫusur River may derive from bridges: one is a little upstream of Kuyunjik and the other is just inside the east city wall. The former stonework is probably the ruins of the bridge opposite a gate of the citadel, while the latter stonework is likely the ruins of the bridge just inside the city wall, by the Mullissu Gate. For further details, see Scott and MacGinnis, Iraq 52 (1990) p. 67 and p. 73 fig. 4.

[51] Text no. 8 line 15′ and text no. 16 vii 81–84.

[52] Text no. 1 line 91, text no. 2 line 68, text no. 3 line 61, text no. 4 line 89, text no. 7 line 3′, text no. 8 line 14′, text no. 15 viii 29′b–31′, text no. 16 vii 76b–80, text no. 17 viii 13–14, text no. 18 vii 49′–52′, and text no. 38 lines 13–16.

[53] Text no. 18 vii 50′–52′ and text no. 38 lines 15–16 and 19b–23. The discovery of paving stones midway between the Nergal Gate and the northern end of the citadel may be evidence for the royal road north of the citadel mound. S. Lumsden (ICAANE Proceedings 1 pp. 817–818 and p. 825 fig. 1), based on his work in the lower town in 1989–90 (Lumsden, Mar Šipri 4 [1991] pp. 1–3; and Stronach and Lumsden, BiAr 55

The Moat

In inscriptions composed ca. 693–691, Sennacherib boasts of widening Nineveh's moat to a width of one hundred large cubits.[54]

The Citadel Wall

Very little is known about work on the citadel wall since few contemporary texts refer to its rebuilding; Ashurbanipal credits Sennacherib as a previous builder, but does not describe his grandfather's work.[55] Sennacherib claims to have raised its summit as high as a mountain and to have reinforced its base with limestone. As part of the renovations, its gates were presumably rebuilt; at least one gate is mentioned as being opposite a bridge that crossed over the Ḫusur River. Work on the citadel wall was in progress in 699.

The Citadel Temples

Early in his reign (ca. 702), Sennacherib sponsored the renovation of several temples in Nineveh's citadel. Among these were the temples of Sîn, Ningal, Šamaš, Aya, and the Lady of Nineveh (= Ištar/Mullissu).[56] Sennacherib also renovated a shrine of the god Ḫaya (the god of scribes), but it is uncertain whether this sanctuary was part of the Nabû temple Ezida ("True House") or was located elsewhere (possibly in Aššur).[57]

The Armory

After the completion of the "Palace Without a Rival," or shortly before work on that palace was finished, Sennacherib began rebuilding and enlarging the armory, a large building south of the citadel and next to the western city wall that he referred to as the "Rear Palace" (*ekal kutalli*) and occasionally as the "Review Palace" (*ekal māšarti*).[58] The work may have begun in 691, as suggested by the earliest known sources for that project, and probably continued for several years, at least until 688 or 687.[59] Sennacherib razed the former armory — which he complained was too small, poorly constructed, and dilapidated — made fallow land in its vicinity suitable for building, and constructed its replacement on a high brick terrace. The new "Rear Palace" comprised two wings and a large outer courtyard. One wing was built in the Syrian style, while another was built in the Assyrian style. Timber for its roof and doors was supplied by kings of Amurru (the West). Bull colossi, sculpted from white limestone hewn in the region of the city Balāṭāya, were stationed in its gateways. Statues of sphinxes bore cedar columns; other monumental bronze protective figures (including *lamassu*s) and decorative elements adorned its rooms and gates. The outer courtyard was designed so that horses and other animals could be exercised there. In addition, Sennacherib had a structure with four copper pillars and a cedar

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[1992] p. 229), proposes that the royal road ran north to the Nergal Gate, and not northwest to the Sîn Gate. He also proposes that such a road would have entered the city from the east, through the Šamaš Gate, Nineveh's largest city gate.

[54] Text no. 18 vii 19b–22 and text no. 38 lines 18–19a. The moat is clearly visible only on the northern and eastern sides of Nineveh, about 80 m outside of the city wall. It is 70 m wide and 10 m deep (after erosion). A relief from the South-West Palace (Layard, Discoveries p. 231) may show the southwestern corner of the wall with the moat. See Frahm, Sanherib p. 99 and Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) p. 390 fig. 1 and p. 400 fig. 5.

[55] The concluding formulae of text no. 7 and K 2662+ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 198) mention the citadel wall. Text no. 18 vii 11b–19a may describe its rebuilding. For the Ashurbanipal inscriptions, see Borger, BIWA p. 118 Prism D viii 64–75 and p. 183 Prism E Stück 18 lines 4–8. BM 124938, a relief depicting Nineveh, shows the city walls of Nineveh, including the citadel wall. See Frahm, Sanherib p. 99 and Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) p. 398 fig. 3.

[56] Text no. 36 rev. 3′–14′. Because the building report of this inscription is badly damaged, it is not possible to determine with certainty how many temples Sennacherib claims to have rebuilt in this text. It is possible that this inscription recorded the renovation of four, five, or even six different temples, all of which are said to have been built/renovated by Ashurnasirpal II (883–859). E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 107 and 273) raises the possibility that Sennacherib may have worked on the Sebetti temple ca. 688, but this is not certain. For further information, see the commentary to text no. 24 and the on-page note to vi 17′–18′ of that inscription.

[57] Text no. 10 lines 11–19.

[58] Text no. 22 vi 36–73a, text no. 23 vi 31–53a, text no. 25 ii′ 1′–12′, text no. 34 lines 55b–90, and probably text no. 35 lines 10′′–15′′. The building, which is buried within the small mound now called Nebi Yunus ("Prophet Jonah"), has an important Muslim shrine on top of it and therefore has not been fully explored or excavated. According to tradition, as the name of the mound suggests, Jonah was buried there; when the tomb of Ḫnanīšō was opened in 1349, the body inside was identified as that prophet. Parts of the site, mostly along the edges of the mound, however, have been exposed and explored. For finds in this area (with references to previous literature), see Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) pp. 419–420 §15.2. Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal continued work on the armory. For descriptions of their work, see Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 22–25 Esarhaddon 1 v 40–vi 43 and pp. 33–34 Esarhaddon 2 iv 32–vi 9; and Borger, BIWA p. 117 Prism B viii 64–72 and p. 163 Prism C x 88–97.

[59] We are unable to accurately estimate the length of time it took to rebuild the armory since there is a general lack of extant inscriptions from Nineveh after Sennacherib's 17th regnal year (688). This project may have been completed ca. 688/687, finished several years after that (ca. 686–684), or may have been unfinished at the time of his death in 681.

roof constructed; this may have been the very spot where the king sat when reviewing troops and animals, tribute, and prisoners.

A New Akītu*-house*

Sennacherib had a new *akītu*-house built to the north of the Nergal Gate (ca. 690).[60] Ešaḫulezenzagmukam ("House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year") was intended to replace the existing *akītu*-house, which after the completion of the new city wall was now situated inside Nineveh. The new temple was probably constructed in connection with his religious reforms. It is possible that this project was abandoned before its completion.[61] Sometime after the destruction of Babylon in 689, Sennacherib may have decided to construct another *akītu*-house for the god Aššur in the outskirts of Aššur; this may explain why Ashurbanipal rebuilt the former, original *akītu*-house, and not Ešaḫulezenzagmukam.

Other Projects at Nineveh

Prism fragments (text no. 33) discovered in a palatial building excavated about 600 m northeast of Nebi Yunus attest to another project of Sennacherib at Nineveh. Since those inscriptions have not yet been published, we do not know the function of that building.

Dating and Chronology

Texts edited in this volume occasionally mention contemporary dates and the charts in this section are intended to aid the reader in understanding those dates.

The Mesopotamian month names and their modern equivalents are:

I	Nisannu	March–April	VII	Tašrītu	September–October
II	Ayyāru	April–May	VIII	Araḫsamna	October–November
III	Simānu	May–June	IX	Kislīmu	November–December
IV	Duʾūzu	June–July	X	Ṭebētu, Kinūnu	December–January
V	Abu	July–August	XI	Šabāṭu	January–February
VI	Ulūlu	August–September	XII	Addaru	February–March
VI_2	Intercalary Ulūlu		XII_2	Intercalary Addaru	

Unless it is stated otherwise, the dates given in this volume (excluding those in bibliographical citations) are all BC. Each ancient Mesopotamian year has been given a single Julian year equivalent even though the ancient year actually encompassed parts of two Julian years, with the ancient year beginning around the time of the vernal equinox. Thus, for example, the 3rd regnal year of Sennacherib (the eponymy of Nabû-lēʾi) is indicated to be 702, although it actually ended in early 701 and thus events which took place late in the ancient year "702" actually took place early in the Julian year 701.

Several exemplars of text no. 2 and text no. 3 are dated according to the Elamite month Sibūti, the seventh month of the Elamite calendar. At this time, we cannot offer a satisfactory explanation why Sennacherib's (and later Esarhaddon's) scribes dated some texts by Elamite months rather than Mesopotamian ones.

King Lists

Babylonian King List A and several synchronistic king lists record that Sennacherib was king of Assyria and Babylonia. The Ptolemaic Canon, however, does not mention Sennacherib as a ruler of Babylon, but rather records the periods that he directly controlled Babylon as "kingless." For the convenience of the user of this volume, it has been thought useful to present translations of the relevant passages here. In this section, the entries immediately preceding and following those of the kings whose inscriptions are also edited in this volume are given when they are preserved.

[60] Text no. 37. For evidence that there were two *akītu*-houses at Nineveh, see Frahm, NABU 2000 pp. 75–79 no. 66.
[61] Frahm, JCSMS 3 (2008) p. 17.

1. *Babylonian King List A*
(CT 36 pls. 24–25; Grayson, RLA 6/1–2 [1980] pp. 90–96 §3.3)

iv 11)	5 (years)	Sargon (II)
iv 12)	2 (years)	Sennacherib, Ḫabigal (Ḫanigalbat) Dynasty[62]
iv 13)	1 month	Marduk-zākir-šumi (II), son of Arad[63]
iv 14)	9 months	Marduk-apla-iddina (II), a soldier of Ḫabi (Ḫanigalbat)
iv 15)	3 (years)	Bēl-ibni, E (Babylon) Dynasty[64]
iv 16)	6 (years)	Aššur-nādin-šumi, Ḫabigal (Ḫanigalbat) Dynasty
iv 17)	1 (year)	Nergal-ušēzib
iv 18)	*4*[?] (years)	Mušēzib-Marduk, E (Babylon) Dynasty
iv 19)	*8*[?] (years)	Sennacherib
iv 20)	[N] (years)	Esarha(ddon)

2. *Synchronistic King List*
(Weidner, AfO 3 [1926] pp. 70–71; Grayson, RLA 6/1–2 [1980] pp. 116–121 §3.12)

Lacuna (at the end of col. iii)		
iv 1)	[Senn]acherib, king of Assyria	[and *Babylo*]*n*
iv 2)	Nabû-apla-iddina (was) his scholar	[(...)]
iv 3–6)		[...] king of Akkad. Afterwards, the people [of Ak]kad rebelled and [he] placed [Aš]šur-nādin-šumi on the throne.
iv 7–9)	Sennacherib	Nergal-(u)šēzib, son of G[a]ḫul, (and) Mušēzib-Marduk, son of D[a]kkūri, kings of A[kk]ad.
iv 10)	Sennacherib, king of Assyria	and Babylon
iv 11)	Bēl-upaḫḫir (and)	Kalbu (were) his schol[ars]
iv 12)	Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Babylon	
iv 13)	Nabû-zēru-līšer (and)	Ištar-šumu-ēreš (were) his scholars
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3. *A Fragment of a Synchronistic King List*
(Schroeder, KAV no. 9; Grayson, RLA 6/1–2 [1980] pp. 121–122 §3.13)

Lacuna		
iv 1′)	[...]	*Aš*[*šur-nādin-šumi*]
iv 2′)	[...]	*Šū*[*zubu* (Nergal-ušēzib)]
iv 3′)	[...]	*Šū*[*zubu* (Mušēzib-Marduk)]
iv 4′)	[...]	Sennach[erib]
iv 5′)	[...]	Esar[haddon]

4. *A Fragment of a Synchronistic King List*
(Schroeder, KAV no. 182; Grayson, RLA 6/1–2 [1980] pp. 124–125 §3.17)

Lacuna		
iv 1′)	[Sennacherib, k]ing of Assyria and Babylon	*Nabû*-bāni
iv 2′)	[ditto]	Kalbu

[62] For an explanation of BALA *ḫa-bi-gal* (iv 12 and 16) and ERIM *ḫa-bi* (iv 14), see Brinkman, Studies Oppenheim pp. 35–37 and Frame, RIMB 2 pp. 90–91. Recently, M. Valério (Journal of Language Relationship 6 [2011] pp. 173–183) has argued that the Semitic name of Mitanni (Ḫanigalbat) should be read as Ḫani-Rabbat, a West-Semitic (Amorite) name meaning "Great Ḫani." If this understanding of the name is correct, then one should read BALA *ḫa-bi-gal* as BALA *ḫa-bi*-GAL "Habi-rabbat dynasty." As pointed out by G. Frame (RIMB 2 pp. 90–91), it is unclear why some Assyrian kings are given dynastic affiliation (Sennacherib and Aššur-nādin-šumi to the Ḫabigal [Ḫanigalbat] dynasty, and Shalmaneser V to the Baltil dynasty) while others are not (Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II, and Esarhaddon). It is also curious that King List A describes Marduk-apla-iddina II during his first regnal period (721–710) as being from the Sealand dynasty (KUR *tam-*<*tim*>), but as a soldier of Ḫabi (Ḫanigalbat) during his second regnal period (703).

[63] J.A. Brinkman (Studies Oppenheim pp. 24–25 n. 137 and RLA 7/5–6 [1989] p. 379) proposes that Marduk-zākir-šumi II is likely to be identified with a provincial governor of this name who is said to have been the son (or descendant) of Arad-Ea and who appeared as a witness in a kudurru composed at Babylon in 715 (Messerschmidt and Ungnad, VAS 1 no. 37 v 2–3).

[64] For the interpretation that BALA E may refer to the Babylon Dynasty, see Brinkman, PKB pp. 166–171.

iv 3′)	[ditto]	Bēl-upaḫḫir
iv 4′)	[Esarhaddon], king of Assyria and Babylon	Nabû-zēru-līšer

5. *Ptolemaic Canon*

(Wachsmuth, Alten Geschichte p. 305; Grayson, RLA 6/1–2 [1980] p. 101 §3.8)

Ἀρκεανοῦ	ε	Arkeanos (Sargon II)	5 (years)
ἀβασίλευτα	β	Kingless	2 (years)
Βιλίβου	γ	Bilibos (Bēl-ibni)	3 (years)
Ἀπαραναδίου	ζ	Aparanadios (Aššur-nādin-šumi)	6 (years)
Ῥηγεβήλου	α	Rhegebelos (Nergal-ušēzib)	1 (year)
Μεσησιμορδάκου	δ	Mesesimordakos (Mušēzib-Marduk)	4 (years)
ἀβασίλευτα	η	Kingless	8 (years)
Ἀσαραδίνου	ιγ	Asaradinos (Esarhaddon)	13 (years)

Eponym Dates

In Assyria, each year was named after a high official, called a *limmu* or *līmu* in Akkadian, and lists of these officials (eponyms) were compiled by the Assyrian scribes. The following list of the eponym officials for the reign of Sennacherib is based upon Millard, SAAS 2 pp. 48–51, 60–61, and 71. Dated inscriptions that are included in the present volume are also noted below. A number of inscriptions whose dates may possibly be determined with some degree of confidence (e.g., instances with a clear *terminus post quem* for the inscription) are given in bold.

Year	*Regnal Year*	*Eponym*	*Dated Texts*
705	Accession year	Nasḫur-Bēl, governor of Amedi	
704	1	Nabû-dēnī-ēpuš, governor of Nineveh	
703	2	Nuḫšāya, governor of Kilizi	
702	3	Nabû-lēʾi, governor of Arbela	**1**, 2–3, **36**
701	4	Ḫanānu, governor of Tīl-Barsip	
700	5	Mitūnu, governor of Isāna	4
699	6	Bēl-šarrāni, governor of Kurbail	5, **6–7**, 8
698	7	Šulmu-šarri, governor of Ḫalzi-atbar	14
697	8	Nabû-dūrī-uṣur, governor of Tamnunna	15
696	9	Šulmu-Bēl, governor of Talmusi	16
695	10	Aššur-bēlu-uṣur, governor of Šaḫuppa/Katmuḫu	16, **19**
694	11	Ilu-issīya, governor of Damascus	17
693	12	Iddin-aḫḫē, governor of Dūr-Šarrukīn	**20**
692	13	Zazāya, governor of Arpad	
691	14	Bēl-ēmuranni, governor of Carchemish	18, 22–23
690	15	Nabû-kēnu-uṣur, governor of Samaria	**35–36**, 37
689	16	Gaḫilu, governor of Ḫatarikka	22
688	17	Iddin-aḫḫē, governor of Ṣimirra	**24–25**
687	18	Sennacherib, king of Assyria	**26**
686	19	Bēl-ēmuranni, commander of the right	
685	20	Aššur-daʾʾinanni of Que	
684	21	Manzernê, governor of Kullania	
683	22	Mannu-kī-Adad of Ṣupite	
682	23	Nabû-šarru-uṣur, governor of Marʾaš	
681	24	Nabû-aḫḫē-ēreš, governor of Samʾal	

Chronicles

The Eponym Chronicle and three Mesopotamian chronicles provide useful information both on events of the reign of Sennacherib and on the order of those events. The standard edition of the Eponym Chronicle is that of Millard (Millard, SAAS 2) and that of Mesopotamian chronicles is the edition of A.K. Grayson (Grayson, Chronicles), but note also the recent edition by J.-J. Glassner (Glassner, Chronicles) and the on-going work by I. Finkel and R.J. van der Spek (see www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html [2012]). For the convenience of the user of this volume, it has been thought useful to present translations of the relevant passages here; these translations are adapted from the aforementioned works.

1. *The Eponym Chronicle*

(Millard, SAAS 2, in particular pp. 48–49 and 60–61; Glassner, Chronicles pp. 164–177 no. 9, especially pp. 174–177)

In the eponymy of Nasḫur-Bēl, governor of the city Amedi (705):	The ki[ng ...]; against Gurdî, the Kulummian ... [...]. The king was killed (and) the camp of the king of Assyria [...]. Sennacherib [*became*] *ki*[*ng*] in the month Abu (V), on the 12th day.[65]

In the eponymy of Nabû-dēnī-ēpuš, governor of Nineveh (704):	*T*[*o* ...] the cities Larak, Sarrabānu, [...]; the palace of the city Kilizi was built; ... in [...]; nobles against *the Kulummians*.[66]
[In the e]ponymy of Nuḫšā[ya, governor of the city Kilizi] (703):	[...]
[In the eponymy of Nabû-lē'i, governor of Arbela] (702):	[...]
[In the eponymy of *Ḫ*]*an*[*ānu*, governor of the city Tīl-Barsip] (701):	[.... f]rom the land Ḫalzi; ... [...].
[In the eponymy of] Mitūnu, govern[or of the city Isāna] (700):	[.... Aš]šur-nādin-šumi, son of [*Sennacherib/the king*, ...; ...] of the palace in the citadel [...]; large cedar beams [...]; alabaster from Mo[unt ...] from Kapardargil[â ...]; ... to/for ... [...] of the king ... [...].
[In the eponymy of B]ē[l-šarrāni, governor of Kurbail] (699):	[...]
Lacuna	Lacuna

2. *Chronicle Concerning the Period from Nabû-nāṣir to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn*

(Grayson, Chronicles pp. 69–87 no. 1; Glassner, Chronicles pp. 193–203 no. 16 and pp. 202–207 no. 17; note also Brinkman, Studies Moran pp. 73–104, especially pp. 102–104; and Weissert, CRRA 38 pp. 273–282)[67]

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ii 6–11) [*The first year of Sennacherib* (704): ...] ... [...] ... [...] *M*[*arduk-apla-iddina* (*II*) (*Merodach-baladan*) ...] ... [...].

ii 12–16a) The second year [of *Sennacherib* (703)]: *He w*[*ent down to Akkad and did battle with Marduk-apla-iddina* (*II*) *before Kish. Marduk-apla-iddina* (*II*) *retreated before him (and) fled to the land Guzummānu. In Babylon, Sennacherib entered the palace of*] *Mard*[*uk-apla-iddina (II) and ... his royal treasures*].

ii 16b–19) He (Sennacherib) ... [... *(and) plundered (it), but*] he did not disperse the Babylonians. He pursued [*Marduk-apla-iddina (II)* ...] (to) the border [of ...], but Marduk-apla-iddina (II) [*could*] *no*[*t be found*].[68]

ii 20–23) He (Sennacherib) plundered his (Marduk-apla-iddina II's) land, ... [...] ... [*and took*] the cities Larak and Sarrabā[nu]. When he withdrew, he (Sennacherib) put Bēl-ibni on the throne in Babylon.

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ii 24–25) The first year of Bēl-ibni (702): Sennacherib ravaged the cities Ḫirimmu and Ḫararatu.

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[65] See Weissert, CRRA 38 pp. 279–280.

[66] See Frahm, JCS 51 (1999) pp. 83–84.

[67] J.A. Brinkman (Studies Moran pp. 73–104) and E. Weissert (CRRA 38 p. 273 n. 1) prefer to treat this chronographic text as made up of three separate recensions rather than duplicates; J-J. Glassner (Glassner, Chronicles pp. 193–203 no. 16 and pp. 202–207 no. 17) similarly prefers to treat this text as two separate recensions.

[68] The restorations in ii 6–19 tentatively follow Glassner, Chronicles pp. 196–197.

ii 26–31) The third year of Bēl-ibni (700): Sennacherib came down to Akkad and plundered Akkad. He sent Bēl-ibni and his nobles away in exile to Assyria. Bēl-ibni ruled Babylon for three years. Sennacherib put his son Aššur-nādin-šumi on the throne in Babylon.

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ii 32–35) The first year of Aššur-nādin-šumi (699): Ḫallušu-(Inšušinak I), his (Šutruk-Naḫḫunte II's) brother, seized Šutruk-Naḫḫunte (II) and imprisoned him. Šutruk-Naḫḫunte (II) ruled the land Elam for eighteen years. His brother Ḫallušu-(Inšušinak I) ascended the throne in the land Elam.

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ii 36–45) The sixth year of Aššur-nādin-šumi (694): Sennacher[ib] went down to the land Elam and ravaged (and) plundered the cities Nagītu, Ḫilmu, Pillatu, and Ḫupapanu. Afterwards Ḫallušu-(Inšušinak I), king of the land Elam, marched to Akkad and at the end of the month Tašrītu (VII) entered Sippar. He killed its inhabitants. The god Šamaš did not go out of Ebabbar. Aššur-nādin-šumi was captured and taken to the land Elam. Aššur-nādin-šumi ruled Babylon for six years. The king of the land Elam put Nergal-ušēzib on the throne in Babylon. He (Nergal-ušēzib) effected an Assyrian retr[eat].

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ii 46–iii 6a) The first year of Nergal-ušē[zib] (693): On the sixteenth day of the month Du'ūzu (IV), Nergal-ušēzib captured, looted, (and) plundered Nipp[ur]. On the first day of the month Tašrītu (VII), the ar[my of] Assyria entered Uruk (and) plundered the gods of Uruk and its inhabitants. After the arrival of the Elamites (and) the car[ryi]ng off of the gods of Uruk and its inhabitants (by the Assyrians),[69] on the seventh day of the month Tašrītu, Nergal-ušēzib fought against the army of Assyria in the province of Nippur. He was captured on the battlefield and taken to Assyria. Nergal-ušēzib ruled Babylon for one year, (actually) six months.

iii 6b–9a) On the twenty-sixth day of the month Tašrītu (VII), the subjects of Ḫallušu-(Inšušinak I), king of the land Elam, rebelled against him, imprisoned him, (and) executed him. Ḫallušu-(Inšušinak I) ruled the land Elam for six years. Kudur-(Naḫḫunte) ascended the throne in the land Elam.

iii 9b–12) Afterwards Sennacherib went down to the land Elam and ravaged (and) plundered (it) from the land Rāši as far as Bīt-Burnaki (var. Bīt-Bunaki). Mušēzib-Marduk ascended the throne in Babylon.

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iii 13–16a) The first year of Mušēzib-Marduk (692): On the seventeenth (var. eighth) day of the month Abu (V), Kudur-(Naḫḫunte), king of the land Elam, was captured during a rebellion and killed. Kudur-(Naḫḫunte) ruled the land Elam for ten months. (Ḫumban)-nimena ascended the throne in the land Elam.

iii 16b–18) In an unknown year, (Ḫumban)-nimena mustered the troops of the land Elam (and) Akkad and at the city Ḫalulê he fought against Assyria (var. the army of Assyria). He effected an Assyrian retreat.[70]

iii 19–21) The fourth year of Mušēzib-Marduk (689): On the fifteenth day of the month Nisannu (I), (Ḫumban)-nimena, king of the land Elam, suffered a stroke, affecting his mouth so that he was unable to speak.

iii 22–24) On the first day of the month Kislīmu (IX), the city (Babylon) was captured. Mušēzib-Marduk was captured and taken to Assyria. Mušēzib-Marduk ruled Babylon for four years.

iii 25–27) On the seventh day of the month Addaru (XII), (Ḫumban)-nimena, king of Elam, died. For four years (Ḫumban)-nimena ru[led] El[am]. Ḫumban-ḫaltaš (I) ascended the throne in the land Elam.

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iii 28–33) The eighth year that there was no king in Babylon (681): On the third day of the month Du'ūzu (IV), the gods of Uruk went to Uruk from [*the land El*]*am*. On the twenty-third day of the month Tašrītu (VII), Ḫumban-[ḫal]taš (I), king of the land Elam, was stricken at midday and [di]ed at [sun]set. Ḫumban-ḫaltaš ruled the land Elam for eight years. Ḫumban-ḫaltaš, the second, his [*son*], ascended the throne.

iii 34–37) On the twentieth day of the month Ṭebētu (X), Senn[ac]herib, king of Assyria, was killed by his son in a rebellion. Sennacherib ruled Assyria for [*twenty-four*] years. The rebellion continued in Assyria from the twentieth day of the month Ṭebētu until the second day of the month Addaru (XII).

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[69] L.D. Levine (JCS 34 [1982] pp. 44–45 n. 52), following A.L. Oppenheim (ANET[3] p. 302), suggests translating this passage as "Nergal-ušēzib fled to the Elamite, but they (the Assyrians) carried off the gods of Uruk and his (Nergal-ušēzib's) people."

[70] The scribe of BM 92502 (84-2-11, 356 = Grayson's ex. A) forgot to separate iii 18 and 19 with a horizontal ruling; the scribe of BM 75976 (AH 83-1-18,1338 = Grayson's ex. B), however, did not forget to add a horizontal ruling between these two lines.

iii 38) On the *eighteenth/twenty-eighth* day of the month Addaru (XII), his son Esarhaddon ascended the throne in Assyria.

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3. *Esarhaddon Chronicle*

(Grayson, Chronicles pp. 125–128 no. 14; Glassner, Chronicles pp. 206–211 no. 18; note also Brinkman, Studies Moran pp. 88–90)

31′–34′) For eight years (during the reign of) Sennacherib, for twelve years (during the reign of) Esarhaddon — twenty years (altogether) — the god Bēl stayed [in B]altil (Aššur) and the *akītu*-festival did not take place. The god Nabû did not come from Borsippa for the procession of the god Bēl. In the month Kislīmu (IX), Ashurbanipal, [his (i.e. Esarhaddon's)] son, ascended the throne in Assyria.

4. *Akītu Chronicle*

(Grayson, Chronicles pp. 131–132 no. 16; Glassner, Chronicles pp. 212–215 no. 20)

1–4) For [eight] years (during the reign of) Se[nnacherib], for twelve years (during the reign of) Esar[haddon] — twenty years (altogether) — the god Bēl s[tayed] in Baltil (Aššur) [and] the *akītu*-festival did not take pla[ce].

1

Several clay cylinders and cylinder fragments from Nineveh and Aššur are inscribed with the earliest known annalistic account of Sennacherib's reign. This inscription includes a short prologue, a lengthy and detailed account of the king's first campaign (late 704–early 702), which was directed against Marduk-apla-iddina II (biblical Merodach-baladan) and his Chaldean and Elamite allies in Babylonia, and a building report describing the large-scale renovations of the "Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace) and various other public works at Nineveh, including the creation of a botanical garden. Although none of the cylinders inscribed with this text are dated, the inscription was probably written early in 702 (Sennacherib's 3rd regnal year). In lieu of a date, the scribe indicated the total number of lines; each copy was inscribed with ninety-four lines of text. The inscription is sometimes referred to as the "First Campaign Cylinder."

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	BM 113203	1915-4-10,1	Purchased from I. Géjou	23.5 long; 13.5 dia.	1–95	c
2	—	Ki 1902-5-10,1	Nineveh, Area SH	12.7 long; 10.5 dia.	1–10, 79–95	c
3	—	Bu 89-4-26,175	Probably Nineveh	6.5×10	1–7, 82–94	c
4	—	81-7-27,21	Probably Nineveh	9×9	1–4, 82–94	c
5	BM 127939	1929-10-12,595	Nineveh	6×6.7	1–4, 86–95	c
6	—	Bu 89-4-26,39	Probably Nineveh	4.5×3.5	1–10	c
7	Rm 2,186	—	Probably Nineveh	5.8×3.2	14–21	c
8	—	Bu 89-4-26,140	Probably Nineveh	4.5×4	18–26	c
9	BM 99046	Ki 1904-10-9,75	Nineveh	6×7	23–39	c
10	—	Bu 89-4-26,149	Probably Nineveh	4.5×3	46–55	c
11	VA 8985	—	Aššur	10×11	49–78	c

CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	BM 134584	1932-12-12,579	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Trench II	3×3.5	1–5	c
2*	K 14959	—	Probably Nineveh	—	48?–60	c

COMMENTARY

The so-called "First Campaign Cylinder" is one of the earliest extant texts composed under the auspices of this king. Two versions of the text are presently known. The first is written on cylinders discovered at Aššur and Nineveh, and the second is inscribed on two cylinders found at Tarbiṣu. The prologues and accounts of military narration of both editions are identical (with minor variants), but the build-

ing reports deviate: those from Aššur and Nineveh record work undertaken at Nineveh, while those from Tarbiṣu describe the rebuilding of Egalmeslam, the temple of the god Nergal in that city. For this reason, the Tarbiṣu cylinders are edited on their own, in Part 2 (with the other Tarbiṣu inscriptions). That text, however, is used in the reconstruction of the damaged passages in lines 1–62. E. Frahm has suggested that the talented scribe Nabû-zuqup-kēnu was the author of this inscription. For the evidence, see Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003) pp. 157–160. For other biographical information on Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, see Baker and Pearce, PNA 2/2 pp. 912–913.

Sennacherib's cylinder inscriptions fall into two broad categories: (1) foundation inscriptions with annalistic accounts (text nos. 1–9) and (2) foundation inscriptions with no military narration; these correspond to Grayson's IA1 (and IA2) and IB1 categories respectively (Orientalia NS 49 [1980] pp. 150–153). The first type, the group to which this text belongs, represents the most common type of text attested on clay cylinders from the reign of Sennacherib, while the second type is far less commonly attested. The inscriptions with annalistic narration were inscribed on cylinders deposited in the structure of Egalzagdinutukua (the "Palace Without a Rival"), located in the southwest corner of Kuyunjik, in the structure of the citadel wall, and in the structure of Nineveh's new wall (Badnigalbilukurašušu, "Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies"); at Tarbiṣu, they were deposited in the structure of Egalmeslam. Texts without military narration were probably all written on clay cylinders deposited in the structure of a temple.

There are numerous fragments of clay cylinders inscribed with annalistic accounts and reports of construction of the king's palace. Almost all of these, with a few exceptions (text nos. 5–9), are duplicates of text nos. 1–4. The attribution of many of the fragments can be determined with certainty because there is sufficient textual variation in the content of those four inscriptions; in some cases, especially with text no. 4, line divisions can aid in the attribution of some of the pieces (because each copy of text no. 4 divides the inscription in the exact same manner). Nevertheless, there are a few tiny fragments whose precise identification still remains uncertain. This is particularly true when trying to distinguish some of the small fragments inscribed with text no. 3 and text no. 4. Exemplars whose attribution is not certain have an asterisk (*) following the exemplar number, for example exs. 1* and 2* of this inscription, and these exemplars are listed in a separate catalogue (Catalogue of Uncertain Exemplars), beneath the main catalogue. Assuming ex. 1* is not inscribed with a copy of this text, then that fragment could preserve lines 1–5 of text no. 2, text no. 3, or text no. 4. Ex. 2* is likely an exemplar of this text (rather than of text nos. 2–4), but its attribution is a bit uncertain because there are only traces of signs in lines 1′–6′ and 13′ and because the readings of several of the signs in lines 7′–12′ are not entirely certain.

The provenance of ex. 1 is not known, but according to records in the British Museum this cylinder was purchased from I. Géjou. S. Smith (Senn. p. 2) proposed that it came from the same location as BM 103000 (text no. 17 ex. 1), which E.A.W. Budge (By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 23) states "was found in a chamber built in the wall (or perhaps it was sunk in the actual wall), close to one of the human-headed bulls of one of the gates of Nineveh, and the bull near which it was placed must have been removed before it could be extracted from the wall." Although the building report describes work on Sennacherib's "Palace Without a Rival," it should not be assumed that ex. 1 was deposited in the structure of that building because several clay prisms and cylinders containing building reports recording work performed at Nineveh (for example, ex. 11) were discovered at Aššur. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 42 and ISIMU 6 [2003] p. 131) tentatively suggests the possibility that ex. 1 originates from Area SH, an area located north of Kuyunjik and close to the western wall, and a location at which many inscribed cylinders and prisms were found or are thought to have been discovered.

Ex. 2 (Ki 1902-5-10,1) may have been picked up by a guard in Area SH; see Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003) p. 132. Based on their museum number, exs. 3, 6, 8, and 10 could come from the same cylinder, but without any physical joins. R. Borger (BAL^2 p. 64) listed Th 1905-4-9,64 as an exemplar of this text, but that fragment is an exemplar of text no. 4 and is therefore edited with that inscription.

The master text is ex. 1, with some restorations from exs. 2, 4, 6–7, and 11; line 95 is a conflation of exs. 1 and 6. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. The damaged passages in lines 5–15 are restored from the two cylinders discovered at Tarbiṣu. For a combined score of lines 1–62 of the Nineveh and Tarbiṣu recensions of the "First Campaign Cylinder," with detailed textual commentary, see the edition in Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003) pp. 134–151.

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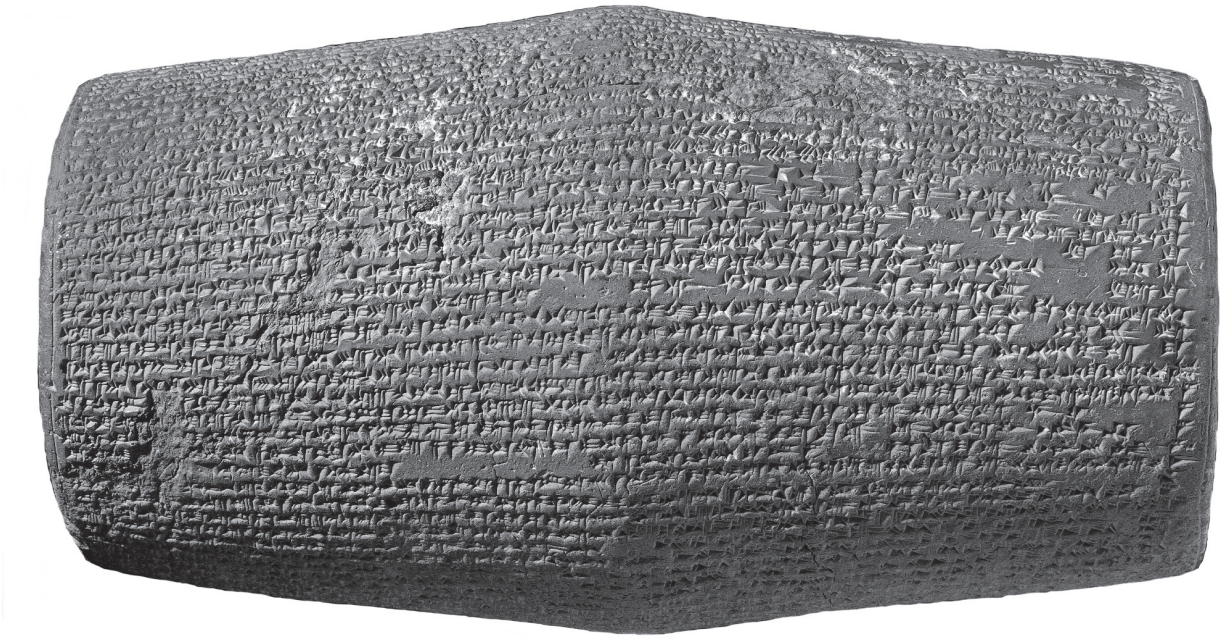

Figure 3. BM 113203 (text no. 1 ex. 1), the First Campaign Cylinder of Sennacherib, which records the king's first campaign and the construction of the "Palace Without a Rival." © Trustees of the British Museum.

TEXT

1) ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL GAL LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI LUGAL *la šá-na-an* RE.É.UM *mut-nen-nu-ú pa-liḫ* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ

2) *na-ṣir kit-ti ra-ʾi-im mi-šá-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti*

3) *eṭ-lum gít-ma-lum zi*-ka-ru qar-du a-šá-red kal ma-al-ki rap-pu la-ʾi-iṭ la ma-gi-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni*

4) ^{d}*aš-šur* KUR-*ú* GAL-*ú* LUGAL-*ut la šá-na-an* ⌜*ú*⌝-*šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma* UGU *gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki ú-šar-ba-a* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia*

5) *i-na* SAG LUGAL-*ti-ia ša i-na* GIŠ.⌜GU.ZA⌝ [(*be-lu-ti*) *ú*]-*ši-bu-ma ba-ḫu-la-a-te* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-ma-ʾe-ru i-na taš-me-e ù sa-li-me*

6) ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA LUGAL KUR.*kár-*⌜*dun*⌝-[*ia-áš a-a-bu lem*]-⌜*nu*⌝ *ba-ra-nu-ú ka-raš sur-ra-a-ti e-piš le-mut-ti ša an-zil-la-šu* ⌜*kit*⌝-*tu*

7) ^{m}*šu-túr-*^{d}*na-ḫu-du* LÚ.⌜*e*⌝-[*la-mu-ú a-na ib*$^{?}$]-⌜*ru*$^{?}$⌝-*ti-šú is-ḫur-ma* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR *ni-siq-ti* NA$_4$.MEŠ *ú-šat-lim-šu-ma e-ter-ri-su* ⌜*kit*⌝-*ru*

8) ^{m}*im-ba-ap-pa* LÚ.*tur-ta-*⌜*nu*⌝-[*šú it-ti gi-piš um*]-*ma-na-ti-šú* ^{m}*ta-an-na-a-nu* LÚ.3.U$_5$ 10 LÚ.GAL KI.ṢIR.MEŠ *a-di* ^{md}U.GUR-*na-ṣir* LÚ.*su-tu-ú la a-di-ru ta-ḫa-zu*

9) 80 LIM LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.⌜PAN⌝ [GIŠ.*az-ma-re-e* 8 ME 50 GIŠ].⌜*ṣu*⌝-*um-*⌜*bi* ANŠE⌝.KUR.RA.MEŠ *it-ti šú-nu-ti-ma a-na* KUR EME.GI$_7$ *ù* URI.KI *iš-pu-ra re-*⌜*ṣu*⌝-[*us*]-⌜*su*⌝

10) *ù šu-*⌜*ú*⌝ [LÚ.*kal-du lem-nu e-piš* ḪUL-*tim* NUMUN *né-er-ti* UNUG.KI] ⌜ARARMA⌝.KI ÚRI.KI *eridu*.KI *kul-aba*$_4$.KI *ki-is-*⌜*sik*.KI⌝ URU.*né-med-*^{d}⌜*la*⌝-[*gu*]-*da*

11) KUR.É-^{m}⌜*ia*⌝-[*ki-ni* KUR.É-^{m}*a-muk-ka-a-ni* KUR.É-^{m}*a-šil-a-ni* KUR.É-^{m}*sa-ʾa*]-⌜*al*⌝-*li* KUR.É-^{m}*dak-ku-ri si-ḫir-ti* ⌜LÚ⌝.*kal-di ma-la ba-šu-*⌜*ú*⌝

12) *ša* GÚ ⌜ÍD⌝.[IDIGNA LÚ.*tu-ʾu-mu-na* LÚ.*ri-ḫi-ḫu* LÚ].⌜*ia*⌝-*daq-qu* LÚ.*gib-re-e* ⌜LÚ.*ma-li*⌝-*ḫu*

1–3) Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, pious shepherd who reveres the great gods, guardian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (and) strives after good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridle that controls the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning:

4) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises.

5–7) At the beginning of my kingship, after [I] sat on the [(lordly)] throne and took command of the population of Assyria amid obedience and peace, Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Kardun[iaš (Babylonia), an ev]il [foe], a rebel (with) a treacherous mind, an evildoer whose villainous acts are true, sought [*frie*]*ndship* with Šutur-Naḫundu (Šutruk-Naḫḫunte II), an E[lamite], by presenting him with gold, silver, (and) precious stones; then, he continuously requested reinforcements.

8–9) To the land of Sumer and Akkad, he (Šutur-Naḫundu) sent to his (Marduk-apla-iddina's) assis[tance] Imbappa, [his] field marshal, [together with the massed body of] his [tr]oops, Tannānu, (his) third man, ten unit commanders, including Nergal-nāṣir, a Sutian who is fearless in battle, 80,000 archers (and) [lancers, (and) the 850] wagons (and) horses that were with them.

10–15) Moreover, he, [the evil Chaldean, evildoer, (and) offspring of murder], gathered together [Uruk, Lars]a, Ur, Eridu, Kulaba, Kissik, (and) Nēmed-La[gu]da, the lands of the Bīt-Ya[kīn, Bīt-Amukāni, Bīt-Ašillāni (Bīt-Šillāni), Bīt-Saʾa]lli, (and) Bīt-Dakkūri, all of the Chaldeans, as many as there were; on the bank(s) of the [Tigris] River, the [Tuʾumuna, Riḫiḫu], Yadaqqu, Gibrê, (and) Maliḫu (Malaḫu); on the bank(s) of the [Surappu] River, [the Gurumu, Ubulu, Damu]nu, Gambulu, Hindaru, Ruʾuʾa, (and) Puqudu; on the bank(s)

1 RE.É.UM *mut-nen-nu-ú pa-liḫ* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ "pious shepherd who reveres the great gods": Sennacherib uses these epithets in most of his cylinder inscriptions written between 702 and 700. The Tarbiṣu copies of the "First Campaign Cylinder," however, have RE.É.UM *ke-e-nu mi-gir* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ "true shepherd, favorite of the great gods," epithets more in line with texts inscribed on clay prisms. See Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003) p. 145 for further information.

2 For a study of these epithets, see Tadmor, Studies Weinfeld pp. 385–390.

3 *zi**-: Ex. 1 has RI-.

6 *ba-ra-nu-ú ka-raš sur-ra-a-ti e-piš le-mut-ti ša an-zil-la-šu* ⌜*kit*⌝-*tu* "a rebel (with) a treacherous mind, an evildoer whose villainous acts are true": As E. Frahm (ISIMU 6 [2003] p. 145) has already pointed out, these epithets for Marduk-apla-iddina II are antithetical to Sennacherib's epithets.

10 M.P. Streck (RLA 9/1–2 [1998] p. 209), assessing the present textual evidence, proposes that the Bīt-Yakīn city Nēmed-Laguda is located in southern Mesopotamia, right on or near the Persian Gulf. D.R. Frayne (JCSMS 4 [2009] p. 61), however, suggests a precise location, proposing that Nēmed-Laguda is modern Mazlaq, which is located on the delta of the ancient course of the Euphrates, as the river enters the modern Hor al Hammar.

13) *ša* GÚ ⌜ÍD⌝.[*su-rap-pi* LÚ.*gu-ru-mu* LÚ.*ú-bu-lum* LÚ.*da-mu*]-⌜*nu*⌝ LÚ.*gam-bu-lu* LÚ.*ḫi-in-da-ru* LÚ.*ru-ʾu-u-a* ⌜LÚ.*pu-qu*⌝-*du*
14) *ša* GÚ ⌜ÍD⌝.[BURANUN LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-a-nu* LÚ.*ḫa-ga-ra-a-nu*] LÚ.*na-ba-tú* LÚ.*li-iʾ-ta-a-ú* LÚ.*a-ra-mu la kan-šu šá la i-*⌜*du*?*-ú*⌝ *mi-*⌜*tu*?⌝*-tum*
15) NIBRU.KI *dil-*⌜*bat*⌝.[KI MARAD.DA.KI *kiš*.KI URU.*ḫur-sag-kalam-ma* KÁ.DINGIR].⌜RA⌝.KI *bár-sipa*.KI GÚ.DU$_8$.A.KI *gi-mir* KUR.*kár-dun-ia-áš iš-te-niš ú-pa-ḫir-*⌜*ma*⌝ [*ú*]-⌜*šak*⌝-*ṣir* ⌜*ta*⌝-*ḫa-zu*
16) *ia-a-ti* ⌜md⌝EN.ZU-ŠEŠ⌝.MEŠ-*eri-*⌜*ba zi*?*-kar*? EDIN?⌝ *na-aʾ-*⌜*du*⌝ *ep-še-ti-šú lem-né-e-ti ú-šá-an-nu-nim-ma la-ab-biš an-na-dir-ma qé-reb* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *a-*⌜*na maḫ*⌝-*ri-šu aq-ṭi-*⌜*bi*⌝ *a-la-ku*
17) *šu-ú ḫi-ri-iṣ gal-le-e lem-ni a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN LÚ.*a-la-mu-ú* LÚ.*a-ra-mu* LÚ.*kal-du it-ti* md U.GUR-*na-ṣir ù* 10 LÚ.GAL KI.ṢIR.[MEŠ LUGAL] KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ⌜*šá la*⌝ *i-du mi-*⌜*tu*⌝-*tú*
18) *e-mu-qí la ni-bi it-ti šú-nu-ti-ma ú-dan-ni-in ki-iṣ-ri-šú-un qé-reb* GÚ.DU$_8$.A.KI *iš-te-niš ú-še-rib-ma a-na me-te-eq ger-ri-ia ú-šá-an-*⌜*ṣir ka*⌝-*a-*⌜*du*⌝
19) *ṣi-in-di-ia uš-te-še-ra* UD.20.KÁM *ša* ITI.ZÍZ *ul-tu bal-til*.KI GIM GU$_4$.AM *gap-ši meḫ-ret* ERIM.ḪI.A-*ia aṣ-bat-ma pa-an gi-ip-ši-ia ul ú-šad-*⌜*gil-ma*⌝ *ar-*⌜*ka*⌝-*a ul* ⌜*ú*⌝-*qí*
20) LÚ.GAL SAG LÚ.EN.NAM.MEŠ-*ia a-na kiš*.KI *ú-ma-ʾe-er maḫ-ru-u-a ú-ru-uḫ* md AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA *ṣab-ta-a-ma e te-ga-a dun-ni-na ma-ṣar-tuš*

21) *šu-ú* LÚ.EN.NAM.MEŠ-*ia e-mur-ma a-di gi-mir el-la-ti-šú* KÁ.GAL d*za-ba$_4$-ba$_4$ uṣ-ṣa-am-ma i-na ta-mir-ti kiš*.KI *it-ti* LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*ia e-pu-uš ta-ḫa-zu*
22) LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*ia qit-ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi* LÚ.KÚR UGU-*šú-un id-nin-ma ul i-le-ʾu-ú ma-ḫa-ar-šu* ⌜LÚ⌝.A *šip-ri-šú-un ša ḫa-mat i-na qé-reb ta-mir-ti* GÚ.DU$_8$.A.KI *ṣe-ru-u-a iš-pu-ru-u-ni*
23) *i-na ug-gat lìb-bi-ia* UGU GÚ.DU$_8$.A.KI *ti-bu šam-ru áš-kun-ma* LÚ.*mun-daḫ-ṣi sa-ḫi-ir* BÀD-*šú* ⌜*as*⌝-*li-iš ú-ṭeb-bi-iḫ-ma aṣ-ṣa-bat* URU
24) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN LÚ.*e-la-me-e* LÚ.*a-ra-mu* LÚ.*kal-du* LÚ.GAL KI.ṢIR.MEŠ LÚ.KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ù* md U.GUR-*na-ṣir a-di* DUMU.MEŠ URU EN *ḫi-iṭ-ṭi*

of the [Euphrates] River, [the Ḫamrānu, Ḫagarānu], Nabatu, (and) Li'ta'u — insubmissive Arameans *who did not know* (*fear of*) *death*; (15) Nippur, Dilbat, [Marad, Kish, Ḫursagkalama, Baby]lon, Borsippa, (and) Cutha, all of Karduniaš (Babylonia) an[d pr]epared (them) for battle.

16–18) When they reported his (Marduk-apla-iddina's) evil deeds to me, Sennacherib, the attentive *man of the steppe*, I raged up like a lion and ordered the march into Babylon to confront him. He (Marduk-apla-iddina), the (very) image of an evil *gallû*-demon, heard about the advance of my expeditionary force, then he reinforced their companies with horses (and) Elamite, Aramean, (and) Chaldean archers, together with Nergal-nāṣir and ten unit commander[s of the king of] the land Elam who did not know (fear of) death, (and) the countless forces who were with them. He brought their contingents together in Cutha and had (them) keep watch at outposts for the approach of my expeditionary force.

19–20) I put my yoked teams in order. On the twentieth day of the month Šabāṭu (XI), like a powerful wild ox, I took the lead of my troops from Baltil (Aššur), but I did not wait for the main force of my army, nor did I wait for the rear guard. (20) I sent (my) chief eunuch (and) my provincial governors to Kish ahead of me, (saying): "Take the road to Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), but do not be careless about putting a strong watch on him!"

21–22) He (Marduk-apla-iddina) saw my provincial governors, then came out of the Zababa Gate with all of his forces and did battle with my magnates in the plain of Kish. The enemy prevailed over my magnates in the thick of battle and they (my magnates) were unable to withstand him. They sent their messenger to me in the plain of Cutha for help.

23–24) In my rage, I unleashed a fierce assault on Cutha, then I slaughtered the warriors surrounding its wall like sheep and took possession of the city. I brought out horses, the Elamite, Aramean, (and) Chaldean archers, the Elamite unit commanders, and Nergal-nāṣir, together with the guilty citizens, and I counted (them) as booty.

12–14 For a recent study of these Aramean tribes, see Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003) pp. 151–153. Compare the list of Aramean tribes in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (Tadmor and Yamada, RINAP 1 p. 25 Tiglath-pileser III 4 lines 3–7, p. 97 Tiglath-pileser III 39 lines 4–6a, p. 100 Tiglath-pileser III 40 lines 4–8, p. 118 Tiglath-pileser III 47 obv. 5–9, and p. 136 Tiglath-pileser III 51 lines 5–8).
19 *aṣ-bat-ma* "I took and": J.N. Postgate (personal communication) suggests reading *aṣ-bat-ma* as *az-ziz-ma* "I called a halt and." However, the interpretation presented here follows the conventional reading of the AZ and BE signs as *aṣ* and *bat*.
24 LÚ.KUR.ELAM.MA.KI "Elamite": Ex. 8 has LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI "the king of the land Elam."

ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš am-nu
25) *la-ab-biš an-na-dir-ma al-la-bi-ib a-bu-bi-iš it-ti* LÚ.*qu-ra-di-ia la ga-me-lu-ti ṣe-riš* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA *a-na kiš*.KI *áš-ta-kan pa-ni-ia*
26) *ù šu-ú e-piš lem-né-e-ti a-ka-mu ger-ri-ia a-na ru-qé-e-ti e-mur-ma im-qu-su ḫat-tu gi-mir el-la-ti-šú e-zib-ma a-na* KUR.*gu-zu-um-ma-ni in-na-bit*
27) ^{m}*ta-an-na-a-nu a-di um-ma-na-at* LÚ.ELAM.MA.KI LÚ.*kal-du ù* LÚ.*a-ra-mu ša i-da-a-šu iz-zi-zu-ma il-li-ku re-ṣu-us-su* BAD$_5$.BAD$_5$-*šú-un áš-kun-ma ú-par-ri-ir el-lat-su*
28) ^{m}*a-di-nu* DUMU NIN$^{?}$ ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA *a-di* ^{m}*ba-as-qa-a-nu* ŠEŠ ^{f}*ia-ti-iʾ-e šar-rat* LÚ.*a-ri-bi it-ti um-ma-na-te-šú-nu bal-ṭu-su-un ina qa-ti aṣ-bat*
29) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.*ṣu-um-bi* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ ANŠE.*ud-ri ša qé-reb tam-ḫa-ri muš-šu-ru ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a*
30) *i-na ḫu-ud lìb-bi ù nu-um-mur pa-ni a-na* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *a-ḫi-iš-ma a-na* É.GAL ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA *áš-šu pa-qad* NÍG.ŠU *ù* NÍG.GA *qé-reb-šá e-ru-ub*
31) *ap-te-e-ma* É *ni-ṣir-te-šú* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR *ú-nu-ut* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR NA$_4$.MEŠ *a-qar-tú* GIŠ.NÁ.MEŠ GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ *né-me-di* GIŠ.*šá šá-da-di* GIŠ.*ga-ši-ru-ut* LUGAL-*ti-šú šá iḫ-zu-šú-nu* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR
32) *mim-ma šum-šu* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA *la ni-bi ni-ṣir-tum ka-bit-tum* DAM-*su* MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL-*šú* MUNUS.AGRIG.MEŠ LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG.MEŠ LÚ.TIRUM.MEŠ LÚ.*man-za-az pa-ni* LÚ.NAR.MEŠ MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ
33) LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ É.GAL *mu-nam-mi-ru ṭè-mu ru-bu-ti-šú si-ḫi-ir-ti um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú mut-tab-bi-lu-tú* É.GAL-*šú ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš am-nu*
34) *ur-ri-iḫ-ma* EGIR-*šú a-na* KUR.*gu-zu-um-ma-ni* LÚ.*mun-daḫ-ṣi-ia a-na qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me ù ap-pa-ra-a-ti ú-ma-ʾe-er-ma* 5 *u*$_4$-*me ú-ba-ʾu-šu-ma ul in-na-mir a-šar-šu*
35) *si-te-et* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ERIM.ḪI.A-*šú ša ia-ʾa-šu ma-na-aḫ-tum na-a-liš ip-par-ši-du-šu-ma la il-li-ku i-da-a-šu iš-tu qé-reb* EDIN *ù ba-ma-a-ti iš-te-niš ú-pa-ḫir*

25–26) I raged up like a lion and became furious like the Deluge. With my merciless warriors, I set out for Kish against Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan). Moreover, he, (that) evildoer, saw the cloud of dust of my expeditionary force from afar and fear fell upon him. He abandoned all of his forces and fled to the land Guzummānu.

27–29) I defeated Tannānu, together with the Elamite, Chaldean, and Aramean troops who had stood by him and had come to his aid, and I scattered his forces. I captured alive Adinu, a nephew of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), together with Basqānu, a brother of Iatiʾe, queen of the Arabs, along with their troops. I seized the chariots, wagons, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, (and) Bactrian camels that he had abandoned during the battle.

30–33) With a rejoicing heart and a radiant face, I rushed to Babylon and entered the palace of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan) to take charge of the possessions and property therein. I opened his treasury and brought out gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, precious stones, beds, armchairs, a processional carriage, royal paraphernalia of his with gold (and) silver mountings, all kinds of possessions (and) property without number, a substantial treasure, (together with) his wife, his palace women, female stewards, eunuchs, courtiers, attendants, male singers, female singers, palace servants who cheered up his princely mind, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, and I counted (them) as booty.

34–35) I hastened after him to the land Guzummānu and ordered my warriors into the midst of swamps and marshes. For five days they sought him out, but his (hiding) place could not be found. (35) I gathered together the rest of his horses (and) troops, who *were weary* (and) who had fled like deer instead of going with him, from the midst of the open country and plain.

28 NIN$^{?}$ "*sister*": The reading of the sign, which is preserved only in ex. 1, is not entirely certain. The sign could instead be DAM "wife." Our reading of the sign is supported by the fact that Sulaiman's copy of one of the Tarbiṣu cylinders also has NIN. DUMU NIN "son of a sister" makes much better sense than DUMU DAM "son of a wife." Therefore, Adinu is a nephew of Marduk-apla-iddina II, and not his son. See Weissbach, ZA 43 (1936) p. 280; Brinkman, Studies Oppenheim p. 25 n. 140; Ephʿal, Arabs p. 40; and Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003) pp. 148–149.

31 GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ *né-me-di* "armchairs": Our interpretation of *kussī nēmedi* follows CAD N/2 p. 156 sub *nēmedu* 2: "chair with armrest or footstool." Alternatively, following the CDA (p. 249), one could translate "chair with back."

35 *ia-ʾa-šu* "*having*": Following E. Frahm (ISIMU 6 [2003] p. 149), *ia-ʾa-šu* is tentatively taken here as a word related to Akk. *išû* "to have." M. Worthington (personal communication) proposes that *ia-ʾa-šu* is an odd writing of the verb *âšu* "to be nauseated"; if this interpretation is correct, then *ia-ʾa-šu ma-na-aḫ-tum* should be translated as "who were nauseated by fatigue."

36) *i-na me-te-eq ger-ri-ia* URU.*a-ma-tu* URU.*ḫa-ú-a-e* URU.*su-pa-pu* URU.*nu-qa-bu* URU.É*-*sa-an-na-bi* URU.*qu-da-a-a-in*
37) URU.*kid-ri-na* URU.BÀD-^{m}*la-di-ni* URU.*bi-ta-a-ti* URU.*ba-ni-tu* KUR.*gu-zu-um-ma-nu* URU.BÀD-^{m}*ia-an-ṣu-ri* URU.BÀD-^{m}*a-bi-ia-ta-aʾ* URU.BÀD-^{m}*ru-du-um-me*
38) URU.É-^{m}*ra-ḫe-e* URU.*ḫa-pi-šá* URU.*sa-di-an* URU.*ḫu-ru-du* URU.*ṣa-aḫ-ri-na* URU.*il-tu-uk* URU.*al-la-al-lu* MARAD.DA.KI URU.*ia-qi-mu-na*
39) URU.*ku-up-ru-na* URU.É-^{m}*ku-dúr-ri* URU.SILA-*qa*-^{m}*ma-ru-si nap-ḫar* 33 URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni ša* KUR É-^{m}*dak-ku-ri a-di* 2 ME 50 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*

36–39) In the course of my campaign, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Amatu, Ḫauae, Supapu, Nuqabu, Bīt-Sannabi, Qudayyin, Kidrina, Dūr-Ladini, Bitāti, (and) Bānītu, the land Guzummānu, the cities Dūr-Yanṣuri, Dūr-Abī-Yataʾ, Dūr-Rudumme, Bīt-Raḫê, Ḫapiša, Sadian, Ḫurudu, Ṣaḫrina, Iltuk, Allallu, Marad, Yaqimuna, Kupruna, Bīt-Kudurri, Sūqa-Marusi, altogether 33 fortified cities, fortresses of the land of the Bīt-Dakkūri, together with 250 small(er) settlements in their environs;

40) URU.BÀD-^{m}*ap-pe-e* URU.BÀD-^{m}*ta-né-e* URU.BÀD-^{m}*sa-ma-aʾ* URU.*sa-ar-ra-ba-tu* URU.*ṣa-la-ḫa-tu* URU.BÀD-^{m}*ab-da-a-a* URU.*sa-ap-pi-ḫi-ma-ri* URU.*ṣib-tú-ša*-URU.*ma-ak-ka-me-e*
41) *nap-ḫar* 8 URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni ša* KUR É-^{m}*sa-ʾa-al-li a-di* 1 ME 20 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*

40–41) the cities Dūr-Appê, Dūr-Tanê, Dūr-Samaʾ, Sarrabātu, Ṣalaḫatu, Dūr-Abdāya, Sappi-ḫimari, Ṣibtu-ša-Makkamê, altogether 8 fortified cities, fortresses of the land of the Bīt-Saʾalli, together with 120 small(er) settlements in their environs;

42) URU.*sa-pi-a* URU.*sa-ar-ra-ba-nu* UD.UD.AG.KI BÁRA-*mar-ri*.KI URU.É-^{m}DINGIR-*ba-ni* URU.*a-ḫu-du* URU.*ša-iṣ-ṣur*-^{d}IŠKUR URU.*šá-ḫar-ra-tú* URU.*ma-na-aḫ-ḫu*
43) URU.*ša-a-me-le-e* URU.BÀD-^{m}*aq-qí-ia* URU.*na-gi-tu* URU.*nu-ur-a-bi-nu* URU.*ḫa-ar-ṣu-ar-ra* URU.BÀD-^{m}*ru-uk-bi* URU.*da-an-da-ḫul-la* URU.BÀD-^{m}*bir-da-da*
44) URU.É-*re-ʾe-e* URU.BÀD-^{m}*ú-gur-ri* URU.*ḫi-in-da-i-na* URU.BÀD-^{m}*ú-a-a-it* URU.É-^{m}*ta-ú-ra-a* URU.*sa-ap-ḫu-na* URU.*bu-ḫa-ar-ru*
45) URU.*ḫar-bat*-^{m}SUM.NA URU.*ḫar-bat*-^{m}*kal-bi* URU.*šá-bar-re-e* URU.É-^{m}*ba-ni*-DINGIR-*ú-a* URU.*su-la-a-du* URU.É-^{m}*il-ta-ma-sa-ma-ʾa* URU.É-^{m}*di-ni*-DINGIR
46) URU.*da-qa-la* URU.*ḫa-me-za* URU.*be-la-a* URU.*ta-i-ru* URU.*kip-ra-a-nu* URU.*il-ta-ra-tú* URU.*aq-qar*-*šá-ki-na* URU.*sa-ga-ba-tú-ša*-^{m}*mar-duk-ia*
47) *nap-ḫar* 39 URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti ša* KUR É-^{m}*a-muk-ka-a-ni a-di* 3 ME 50 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*

42–47) the cities Sapīya (Šapīya), Sarrabānu, Larak, Parak-Marri, Bīt-Ilu-bāni, Aḫudu, Ša-iṣṣur-Adad, Ša-ḫarratu, Manaḫḫu, Ša-amēlê, Dūr-Aqqīya, Nagītu, Nūr-abīnu, Ḫar-Ṣuarra, Dūr-Rukbi, Danda-Ḫulla, Dūr-Bir-Dada, Bīt-Reʾê, Dūr-Ugurri, Ḫindaina, Dūr-Uayyit, Bīt-Taurâ, Sapḫuna, Bu-ḫarru, (45) Ḫarbat-Iddina, Ḫarbat-Kalbi, Ša-barê, Bīt-Bāni-ilūya, Sulādu, Bīt-Iltama-samaʾa, Bīt-Dīni-ili, Daqala, Ḫameza, Bēlā, Tairu, Kiprānu, Iltaratu, Aqqar-ša-kīna, Sagabatu-ša-Mardukīya, altogether 39 fortified cities of the land of the Bīt-Amukāni, together with 350 small(er) settlements in their environs;

48) URU.É-^{m}*za-bi-di-ia* ARARMA.KI *kul-aba*$_4$.KI

48–49) (and) the cities Bīt-Zabidīya, Larsa, Kulaba,

36–50 For information on the cities listed here, see Ephʿal, Arabs pp. 40–41 and 112–117; and Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003) pp. 154–157 Appendix B. See also the on-page notes to lines 39 and 50.

39 URU.SILA-*qa*-^{m}*ma-ru-si* "the city Sūqa-Marusi": Clearly SILA (so Smith), not SU (so Parpola, Toponyms p. 318). 33 URU.MEŠ "33 cities": Actually, only twenty-six cities of the Bīt-Dakkūri are listed; compare the Tarbiṣu recension, which records the total as "thirty-four cities," but with an actual total of thirty-two. The seven missing cities are Sabḫānu, Kār-Nergal, Apak, Bīt-Dannāya, Bīt-Abdāya, Baḫir, and Marirâ according to the Tarbiṣu copies of the "First Campaign Cylinder." Therefore, ex. 1, the only copy of this inscription from Nineveh in which the passage is fully preserved, must have omitted a line from the original from which that cylinder was copied. Note also that the final total of "eighty-eight" in line 50 also includes the missing seven cities. For a discussion and tables displaying the numerical (sub)totals for the lists of Chaldean cities of the Bīt-Dakkūri, Bīt-Saʾalli, Bīt-Amukāni, and Bīt-Yakīn tribes, see Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003) pp. 154–157 Appendix B.

eridu.KI *ki-is-sik*.KI URU.*né-med-*^{d}*la-gu-da* URU.BÀD-^{m}*ia-ki-ni a-di* URU.*kar-*^{d}AG *šá ki-šad* ÍD.*mar-ra-ti*

Eridu, Kissik, Nēmed-Laguda, (and) Dūr-Yakīn, including the city Kār-Nabû, which is on the shore of the Bitter Sea, altogether 8 fortified cities, fortresses of the land of the Bīt-Yakīn, together with 100 small(er) settlements in their environs;

49) *nap-ḫar* 8 URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni ša* KUR É-^{m}*ia-ki-ni a-di* 1 ME URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*

50) *nap-ḫar* 88 URU.ME-*ni dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni ša* KUR.*kal-di a-di* 8 ME 20 URU.[MEŠ] TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu al-me ak-šu-ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*

50) the (grand) total is 88 fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, together with 820 small(er) settlement[s] in their environs.

51) ŠE.IM ZÚ.LUM.MA *ša qé-reb ki-ra-a-te-šú-nu* BURU$_{14}$-*šú-nu ša* EDIN ⌜ERIM.ḪI.A-*ni*⌝ *ú-šá-kil ap-pul aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR ⌜*aq*⌝-*mu a-na* DU$_{6}$.MEŠ *ma-šu-ú-ti ú-ter*

51) I let my troops eat the grain (and) dates in their gardens (and) their crops in the countryside. I destroyed (them), devastated (them), (and) burned (them) with fire, (and) turned (them) into forgotten ruin hills.

52) LÚ.*úr-bi* LÚ.*a-ra-mu* LÚ.*kal-du ša qé-reb* UNUG.KI NIBRU.KI ⌜*kiš*⌝.KI *ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*.KI *a-di* DUMU.MEŠ URU ⌜EN⌝ [*ḫi-iṭ*]-*ṭi ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš am-nu*

52) I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, (and) Ḫursagkalama, together with the [guil]ty citizens, and I counted (them) as booty.

53) ŠE.IM ZÚ.LUM.MA *ša qé-reb ki-ra-a-te-šú-nu me-reš ma-na-ḫi-šú-nu* BURU$_{14}$ EDIN *ba-laṭ* ⌜*na-piš*⌝-[*ti-šú*]-⌜*nu*⌝ ERIM.ḪI.A-*ni ú-šá-kil*

53) I let my army eat the grain (and) dates in their gardens, the fields they had labored in, (and) the crops in the countryside, which is t[heir] li[fe's] necessity.

54) ^{m}EN-DÙ DUMU LÚ.GAL-DÙ *pe-re-ʾi šu-an-na*.KI *šá ki-ma mi-ra-ni ṣa-aḫ-ri qé-reb* É.GAL-*ia ir-bu-ú* [*a-na* LUGAL-*ti* KUR EME.GI$_{7}$].⌜KI⌝ *ù* URI.KI *áš-ta-kan* UGU-*šú-un*

54) I appointed over them Bēl-ibni, a son of a *rab banî* (and) a scion of Šuanna (Babylon) who had grown up like a young puppy in my palace, [as king of the land of Sumer] and Akkad.

55) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* LÚ.*tu-ʾu-mu-na* LÚ.*ri-ḫi-ḫu* LÚ.*ia-daq-qu* LÚ.*ú-bu-du* LÚ.*gib-re-*[*e* LÚ.*ma-li-ḫu* LÚ.*gu-ru-mu* LÚ.*ú*]-⌜*bu-lu*⌝ LÚ.*da-mu-nu* LÚ.*gam-bu-lum* LÚ.*ḫi-in-da-ru*

56) LÚ.*ru-ʾu-u-a* LÚ.*pu-qu-du* LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-a-nu* LÚ.*ḫa-*⌜*ga*⌝*-ra-a-nu* LÚ.*na-ba-tu* LÚ.⌜*li*⌝-[*iʾ*]-*ta-a-*[*u* LÚ.*a-ra-mu la kan-šú mit-ḫa*]-*riš ak-šud*^{ud}*-ma áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*

55–56) On my return march, I defeated [all toget]her the Tuʾumuna, Riḫiḫu, Yadaqqu, Ubudu, Gibr[ê, Maliḫu (Malaḫu), Gurumu, U]bulu, Damunu, Gambulu, Ḫindaru, Ruʾuʾa, Puqudu, Ḫamrānu, Ḫagarānu, Nabatu, (and) Li[ʾ]taʾ[u, insubmissive Arameans] and I plundered them.

57) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ša* ^{md}AG-EN-MU.MEŠ ⌜LÚ.*qi*⌝*-pi* URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-ti* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR GIŠ.*mu*-[*suk-kan-ni*] ⌜GAL⌝.MEŠ ANŠE.[MEŠ ANŠE].GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU$_{4}$.MEŠ *ù* US$_{5}$.UDU.ḪI.A *man-da-ta-šú ka-bit-tú am-*[*ḫur*]

57) In the course of my campaign, I re[ceived] a substantial payment from Nabû-bēl-šumāti, the official in charge of the city Ḫararatu: gold, silver, large *mu*[*sukkannu*]-trees, donkey[s, c]amels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

58) *ba-ḫu-la-te* URU.*ḫi-rim-me* LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣu ša ul-tu ul-la a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia la ik-nu-*⌜*šu i-na*⌝ GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-šam-qit-ma na-piš-tum ul e-zib*

58–59) I put to the sword the population of the city Ḫirimmu, a dangerous enemy who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, my ancestors, and I did not leave one alive. I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings for the *ginû*-offerings

59) *na-gu-ú šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aṣ-bat* 1-*en* GU$_{4}$ 10 UDU.MEŠ 10 ANŠE GEŠTIN.MEŠ 20 ANŠE ZÚ.LUM.MA *re-še-te-šú a-na gi-né-e* DINGIR.MEŠ

50 88 URU.ME-*ni* "88 cities": Only eighty-one cities are actually listed. Compare the Tarbiṣu recension, which records the total as "eighty-eight cities," but with eighty-seven cities mentioned by name in one exemplar and eighty-six cities named in the other exemplar. See the on-page note to line 39 for the names of the missing seven cities. The total number of Chaldean cities in text no. 2 line 11, text no. 3 line 11, and text no. 4 line 9 is 89. In inscriptions written on prisms, the total is reduced to 75; for example, see text no. 15 i 12′ and text no. 22 i 36. 8 ME 20 URU.[MEŠ] TUR.MEŠ "820 small(er) settlement[s]": The number is reduced to 620 in text no. 4 and to 420 in the prism inscriptions; see text no. 4 line 9, text no. 15 i 14′, and text no. 22 i 37.

52 LÚ.*úr-bi* "auxiliary forces": CAD U/W p. 213 sub *urbī*, following I. Ephʿal and N. Naʾaman, suggests "(a band of mercenaries)." For discussions (with previous literature) on whether *urbī* is a designation for a military unit/group or a gentilic, see Ephʿal, JAOS 94 (1974) pp. 110–111 n. 16; Frahm, Sanherib pp. 104–105; Elat, Studies Kallai pp. 232–238; Naʾaman, JAOS 120 (2000) pp. 621–624; Lipiński, Aramaeans p. 423 n. 75; and Bagg, WO 40 (2010) pp. 206–207.

55 LÚ.*ma-li-ḫu* "the Maliḫu": Cf. text no. 16 i 62, text no. 17 i 53, text no. 22 i 45, and text no. 23 i 40, where LÚ.*ma-li-ḫu* is written LÚ.*ma-la-ḫu*.

KUR *aš-šur*.KI EN.MEŠ-*ia ú-kin dà-ri-šam*

60) *it-ti* 2 ME 8 LIM *šal-lat* UN.MEŠ *ka-bit-tum* 7 LIM 2 ME ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ 11 LIM 73 ANŠE.MEŠ 5 LIM 2 ME 30 ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ 80 LIM 50 GU_4.MEŠ 8 ME LIM 1 ME US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *šal-meš a-tu-ra a-na qé-reb* KUR *aš-šur*.KI

61) *e-zib* UN.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *ša gi-mir* ERIM.ḪI.A-*ia e-bu-ku-nim-ma a-na ra-ma-ni-šú-nu is-ki-lu si-kil-tu*

60–61) I returned safely to Assyria with 208,000 substantial captives, 7,200 horses (and) mules, 11,073 donkeys, 5,230 camels, 80,050 oxen, (and) 800,100 sheep and goats. This is apart from the people, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats that all of my troops had carried away and appropriated for themselves.

62) *ù ba-ḫu-la-te na-ki-ri šep-ṣu mit-ru ša a-na ni-ri-ia la ik-nu-šu i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-šam-qit-ma a-lul ga-ši-šiš*

62) Moreover, I put to the sword the soldiers of the enemy, a recalcitrant force who had not submitted to my yoke, and hung (their corpses) on poles.

63) *i-na* u_4-*mi-šu-ma* NINA.KI *ma-ḫa-zu ṣi-i-ru* URU *na-*⌜*ram*⌝ ^{d}*iš-tar ša nap-ḫar ki-du-de-e* DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* ^{d}IŠ.TAR.MEŠ *ba-šu-ú qé-reb-šu*

64) *tem-me-en-nu da-ru-ú du-ru-uš ṣa-a-ti* ⌜*ša*⌝ *ul-tu ul-la it-ti ši-ṭir bu-ru-um-me eṣ-rat-su eṣ-ret-ma šu-pu-ú ṣi-in-du-šu*

65) *áš-ru nak-lu šu-bat pi-riš-ti šá mim-ma šum-šú ši-pir ni-kil-tim gi-mir pel-lu-de-e ni-ṣir-ti làl-gar šu-ta-bu-lu qé-reb-šu*

63–65) At that time, Nineveh, the exalted cult center, the city loved by the goddess Ištar in which all of the rituals for gods and goddesses are present; the enduring foundation (and) eternal base whose plan had been designed by the stars (lit. "writing") of the firmament and whose arrangement was made manifest since time immemorial; (65) a sophisticated place (and) site of secret lore in which every kind of skilled craftsmanship, all of the rituals, (and) the secret(s) of the *lalgar* (cosmic subterranean water) are apprehended;

66) *ša ul-tu ul-la* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni a-*⌜*li*⌝*-kut maḫ-ri* AD.MEŠ-*ia ul-la-nu-u-a be-lu-ut* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *e-pu-šu-ma ú-ma-'e-ru ba-'u-lat* ^{d}EN.LÍL

67) *ù šat-ti-šam la na-par-ka-a* ⌜*e*⌝*-reb la nar-ba-a-ti* GUN *mal-ki kib-rat ar-ba-'i im-da-na-ḫa-ru qé-reb-šu*

66–67) in which since time immemorial earlier kings, my ancestors, before me exercised dominion over Assyria and ruled the subjects of the god Enlil, and wherein annually, without interruption, they received an income unsurpassed in amount, the tribute of the rulers of the four quarters (of the world);

68) *a-a-um-ma i-na lìb-bi-šú-nu a-na* É.GAL *qer-bi-šu kúm-mu ri-mit be-lu-tú ša ṣu-ḫur šu-bat-su le-e-su ul id-da-a lìb-bu-uš ul iḫ-su-us*

69) *a-na šu-te-šur* SILA URU *ù šum-dul re-ba-a-ti ḫa-re-e* ÍD *za-qa-ap ṣip-pa-a-te ú-zu-un-šú ul ib-ši-ma ul uš-ta-bil ka-ras-su*

68–69) (but) not one among them had paid heed to (or) shown interest in the palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling whose site had become too small; nor had anyone (of them) conceived of and put his mind towards the straightening of the city's street(s) and the widening of (its) squares, the dredging of the river, (and) the planting of orchards:

70) *ia-a-ti* ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI *e-peš šip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i ṭè-em* DINGIR.MEŠ *i-na uz-ni-ia ib-ši-ma ka-bat-ti ub-lam-ma*

71) *te-ne-šet* KUR.*kal-di* LÚ.*a-ra-mu* KUR.*man-na-a-a* KUR.*qu-e ù* KUR.*ḫi-lak-ku šá a-na ni-ri-ia la kit-nu-šú as-su-ḫa-am-ma tup-šik-ku ú-šá-áš-ši-šú-nu-ti-ma il-bi-nu* SIG_4

72) *a-pe ku-pe-e ša qé-reb* KUR.*kal-di ak-šiṭ-ma ap-pa-ri-šú-un šam-ḫu-ti i-na ba-ḫu-la-ti na-ki-ri ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia ú-šal-di-da a-na e-peš šip-ri-šá*

70–72) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the performing of this work came to my attention by the will of the gods and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Manneans, (and) the lands Que and Ḫilakku, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made them carry baskets (of earth) and they made bricks. I cut down canebrakes in Chaldea and I had their splendid reeds hauled (to Nineveh) for its (the palace's) construction by enemy soldiers whom I had defeated.

73) É.GAL *maḫ-*[*ri*]*-*⌜*tu*⌝ *ša* 30 NINDA ⌜*šid*⌝*-du ù* 10

73–74) The fo[rm]er palace, whose longer side was

71 Cf. text no. 4 line 69, where the people of Philistia (KUR.*pi-liš-tu*) and Tyre (KUR.*ṣur-ri*) are listed among the conquered people who aided in the construction of Nineveh.

73 Compare the dimensions of the former palace in text no. 2 line 44, text no. 3 line 44, and text no. 4 line 71. Those inscriptions record the size as follows: "360 cubits long opposite the *zamû*-wall of the ziggurrat, 80 cubits wide opposite the tower of the temple of the goddess Ištar,

NINDA SAG.KI-*sa ša* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni a-li-kut pa-ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia ú-še-pi-šu-ma la ú-nak-ki-lu ši-pir-šá*
74) *ša ul-tu* [u_4-*me ru*]-˹*qu*˺-*ti* ÍD.*te-bil-ti i-ta-a-šá i-ba-ʾu-ma i-na uš-ši-šá ab-bu ú-šab-šu-ú ú-ri-ib-bu tem-me-en-šá*

75) ˹É.GAL.TUR˺.[RA *šá-a-tu*] ˹*a-na*˺ *si-ḫir-ti-šá aq-qur-ma ša* ÍD.*te-bil-ti ma-lak-šá uš-ṭib-ma ú-še-šir mu-ṣu-šá*

76) ˹*i-na*˺ [ITI] *še-*[*me-e i-na*] u_4-*mi mit-ga-ri qé-reb ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-ki-šá* 1 UŠ *šid-du* 34 SAG.KI NA_4 KUR-*i dan-nu ak-si-ma* A.ŠÀ *ul-tu ma-a-me ú-še-lam-ma na-ba-liš ú-še-me*

77) ˹*la-ba-riš* u_4-*me*˺ *i-na* ILLU *kiš-šá-ti te-me-en-šu la e-né-ši as-kup-pat* NA_4.*pi-i-li rab-ba-a-ti a-sur-ru-šú ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra ú-dan-*<*ni*>*-na šu-pu-uk-šú*

78) 2 UŠ 40 *ti-ib-ki ṣe-ru-uš-šin a-na e-la-ni tam-la-a ú-mal-li-ma e-li mi-ši-iḫ-ti* É.GAL *maḫ-ri-te ú-rad-di-ma ú-šá-an-di-la ti-sar-šá*

79) É.GAL ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-*˹*ni*˺ GIŠ.˹EREN˺ GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN GIŠ.ŠIM.LI *ù* GIŠ.*bu-uṭ-ni é-gal-zag-du-nu-tuku-a a-na mu-šab* LUGAL-*ti-ia ú-še-pi-šá* ˹*qé-reb*˺-*šá*

80) GIŠ.ÙR.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN *tar-bit* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim ša ul-tu* ˹*ḫur-šá-a-ni ru-qu*˺-*ú-ti nam-ra-ṣi-iš ib-*˹*bab*˺-*lu-ni ú-šat-ri-ṣa ta-ra-an-ši-in*

81) GIŠ.IG.ME GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN *ṣi-ra-a-ti ša i-na pe-te-e* ˹*ù*˺ *ta-a-ri e-re-sin ṭa-a-bu me-sér* ZABAR *nam-ri ú-rak*-kis-ma ú-rat-ta-a ba-bi-šin*

82) É *ap-pa-a-te tam-šil* É.GAL KUR.*ḫat-ti ša i-na li-šá-a-*˹*ni*˺ KUR MAR.TU.KI É *ḫi-la-a-ni*

thirty *nindanu* and whose shorter side was ten *nindanu*, which earlier kings, my ancestors, had had constructed, but whose construction they had carried out inexpertly, (and) alongside of which the Tebilti River had flowed from [dis]tant [days], caused erosion in its foundations, (and) shaken its base:

75) I tore down [that] small pala[ce] in its entirety and improved the course of the Tebilti River and directed its outflow.

76–78) In [a] pro[pitious month, on] a favorable day, in the hidden depths of its subterranean waters I bonded together strong mountain stone sixty (*nindanu*) along (its) longer side (and) thirty-four (*nindanu*) along (its) shorter side, then I raised (that) area out of the water and converted (it) to dry land. In order to prevent its foundation from being weakened over the passage of time by cresting flood(s), I surrounded its damp course with large limestone slabs (and thereby) reinforced its base. Upon them, I filled in a terrace to a height of 160 courses of brick, then added (it) to the dimensions of the former palace and (thus) enlarged its *structure*.

79) I had a palace of elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, *musukkannu*-wood, cedar, cypress, juniper, and terebinth, (a palace that I named) Egalzagdunutukua ("The Palace Without a Rival"), constructed thereon as my royal residence.

80–81) I roofed them (the rooms of the palace) with beams of cedar grown on Mount Amanus, which were brought with difficulty from (that) distant mountain terrain. I fastened bands of shining bronze on magnificent doors of cypress, whose scent is sweet on opening and closing, and I installed (them) in their gates.

82) For my lordly pleasure, I had a portico, a replica of a Hittite palace, which is called *bīt-ḫilāni* in the

134 cubits wide opposite the tower of the Bīt-Kidmuri, (and) 95 cubits wide (on the other side)." For a chart comparing the dimensions of both the former and new palaces, see Frahm, Sanherib pp. 270–271.

74 ÍD.*te-bil-ti* "Tebilti River": S. Dalley (Iraq 56 [1994] p. 55 n. 63) has argued that ÍD.*te-bil-ti* should not be understood as a proper name, but as an epithet describing the nature of the canal; she proposes "flood-prone" and "flooder" as translations of *tebilti* and understands the preceding ÍD ("river, canal") as a bound noun followed by a genitive, not as a determinative followed by a proper name.

75 ˹É.GAL.TUR˺.[RA] "small pala[ce]": E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 60 and 81) prefers to read É.GAL.TUR.RA as the proper name Egaltura. Cf. von Soden, AHw p. 189 sub *egalturrû*, where this word is regarded as a Sumerian loanword that appears in Standard Babylonian texts.

76 1 UŠ *šid-du* 34 SAG.KI "sixty (*nindanu*) along (its) longer side (and) thirty-four (*nindanu*) along (its) shorter side": Later building reports exclude these dimensions in favor of providing those of the newly constructed terrace; see text no. 2 lines 50–51, text no. 3 lines 50–51, and text no. 4 lines 77–79. NA_4 KUR-*i dan-nu* "strong mountain stone": Sennacherib records in several inscriptions written on bull colossi that four large limestone blocks were bonded together; for example, see Thompson, Arch. 79 (1929) pl. LII nos. 122M and 122N line 16.

77 NA_4.*pi-i-li* "limestone": T.C. Mitchell and A.P. Middleton (JCS 54 [2002] pp. 93–98) tentatively conclude that *pīlu* was gypsum rather than limestone and that NA_4.^{d}ŠE.TIR (=*pendû*) in the context of large sculptures was limestone. Based on the color of the sculptures in the British Museum (London), they suggest that *peṣû* ("white") could be rendered as "light colored" or even "light grey."

78 2 UŠ 40 *ti-ib-ki* "160 courses of brick": Cf. text no. 2 line 54, text no. 3 line 54, and text no. 4 line 82. *ti-sar-šá* "its *structure*": Cf. for example text no. 3 line 55, which has *ši-kit-taš* "its structure"; *šikittu* must be a synonym of the less commonly used word *tisarru*.

79–86 These lines are more or less borrowed directly from the inscriptions of Sargon II. Cf., for example, Fuchs, Khorsabad pp. 68–70 Stierkolossen lines 60–79a, pp. 182–184 Annalen lines 429b–438a, and pp. 237–240 Prunkinschrift lines 158b–165a. E. Frahm (ISIMU 6 [2003] pp. 157–160) has suggested that the scholar Nabû-zuqup-kēnu may have been actively engaged in writing royal inscriptions during the reign of Sargon II, as suggested by close parallels between Sargon's "Display Inscription" from Dūr-Šarrukīn (Khorsabad) and Sennacherib's "First Campaign Cylinder" inscriptions; Frahm proposes that this individual may have also been the "author" of other Sargon texts, including his Annals. Of course, Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's "authorship" of these texts cannot be proven with certainty.

79 *é-gal-zag-du-nu-tuku-a* "Egalzagdunutukua": Cf. text no. 3 line 56, where the ceremonial name is written *é-gal-zag-di-nu-tuku-a*. For ZAG.DU and ZAG.DI = *šanānu*, see CAD Š/1 p. 368 sub *šanānu* 3a-1′.

80–86 This passage is not included in the building reports of text no. 3 and text no. 4.

i-šá-as-su-šú a-na mul-ta-ʾu-u-ti be-lu-ti-ia
ú-še-pi-šá qé-reb-šin

83) ⌜8⌝ UR.MAḪ.MEŠ *pe-tan bir-ki šu-ta-*⌜*tu*⌝*-ti ša*
⌜*i-na*⌝ ŠÁR ŠÁR ŠÁR GÉŠ.U GUN URUDU *nam-ru*
pi-ti-iq d*nin-á-gal šu-pu-šu ma-lu-ú nam-ri-ri*

84) *ù* 2 *tim-me šu-ta-ḫu-ti ša* ŠÁR GÉŠ.U GÉŠ.U
GÉŠ.U GÉŠ.U GUN *pi-ti-iq si-par-ri šu-ub-bu-ʾu*
a-di 2 *tim-me* GIŠ.EREN GAL.MEŠ ⌜UGU⌝
pìrig-gal-le-e ú-kin-ma dáp-pi ku-lul KÁ-*ši-in*
e-mid

85) *er-bet* UDU *šad-di* dLAMMA *ša* KÙ.BABBAR
si-par-ri it-ti UDU *šad-di* dLAMMA *ša* NA_4 KUR-*i*
eš-qí nak-liš ab-ni-ma a-na er-bet-ti šá-a-ri
ú-šá-aṣ-bi-ta SI.GAR-*ši-in as-mu*

86) *as-kup-pat* NA_4.*pi-i-li rab-ba-a-ti da-ád-me*
na-ki-ri ki-šit-ti ŠU.II-*ia qé-reb-ši-in es-si-*⌜*ḫa*⌝
a-sur-ru-ši-in ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra a-na tab-ra-a-ti
ú-šá-lik

87) GIŠ.$KIRI_6$.MAḪ-*ḫu tam-šil* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim ša*
gi-mir ŠIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ GURUN *ṣip-pa-a-te* GIŠ.MEŠ
tuk-lat šá-di-i ù KUR.*kal-di qé-reb-šú ḫur-ru-šu*
i-ta-a-šá az-qu-up

88) *áš-šu za-qa-ap ṣip-pa-a-ti* A.ŠÀ *ta-mir-ti e-le-en*
URU NIGIDAMIN.TA.ÀM *a-na* DUMU.MEŠ NINA.KI
pil-ku ú-pal-lik-ma ú-šad-gi-la pa-nu-uš-šú-un

89) *a-na miṭ-ra-a-ti šum-mu-ḫi ul-tu pa-a-ṭi*
URU.*ki-si-ri a-di ta-mir-ti* NINA.KI KUR-*a ù*
bi-ru-tú i-na ak-kul-la-te AN.BAR *ú-šat-tir-ma*
ú-še-šir ÍD.*ḫar-ru*

90) 1 1/2 KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru ul-tu qé-reb*
ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur ma-a-me da-ru-ú-ti a-šar-šá*
ú-šar-da-a qé-reb ṣip-pa-a-te šá-ti-na
ú-šaḫ-bi-ba pat-ti-iš

91) *ul-tu šip-ru* É.GAL *be-lu-ti-ia ú-qat-tu-ú*
ú-šá-an-di-la re-ba-a-ti bi-re-e-ti su-qa-a-ni

language of the land Amurru, constructed inside them.

83–84) Eight striding lions, standing opposite one another, which were made from 11,400 talents of shining copper, cast by the god Ninagal, (and) were filled with radiance — upon (those) lion colossi I installed two identical columns that were cast from 6,000 talents of bronze, together with two large cedar columns, and I positioned cross-beams (upon them) as a cornice for their gate(s).

85) I expertly fashioned four mountain sheep colossi of silver (and) bronze, together with mountain sheep colossi of massive mountain stone, and in four directions I had (them) hold their (the gates') suitable door bolt(s).

86) I engraved on large limestone slabs (images of) the enemy settlements that I had conquered. I surrounded their (the palace rooms') lower courses (with them and) made (them) an object of wonder.

87) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, which has all kinds of aromatic plants (and) fruit trees, trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, *collected* inside it.

88) To plant gardens, I subdivided the meadowland upstream of the city into plots of two *pānu* each for the citizens of Nineveh and I handed (them) over to them.

89–90) To make (those) planted areas luxuriant, I cut with iron picks a canal straight through mountain and *valley*, from the border of the city Kisiru to the plain of Nineveh. (90) I caused an inexhaustible supply of water to flow there for a distance of one and a half leagues from the Ḫusur River (and) made (it) gush through feeder canals into those gardens.

91–92) After I had finished the work on my lordly palace, broadened the squares, (and) brought light

83 *šu-ta-*⌜*tu*⌝*-ti* "standing opposite one another": In exs. 2 and 4 (the only other exemplars preserving this passage), the sign *-tu-*, although partially broken, is clear; it is not KI. H. Weidhaas (ZA 45 [1939] p. 109) correctly read the sign as TU, a reading that was adopted by W. von Soden (AHw p. 1291) and E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 45). The old reading *šu-ta-qí-ti* (S. Smith and Luckenbill) is to be abandoned. With regard to lines 83–85, see Weidhaas, ZA 45 (1939) pp. 109–110; and Engel, Dämonen pp. 35 and 152.

84 *šu-ub-bu-ʾu* "that were cast": The sign *-ʾu* is clear; it is not *-ku*. W. Von Soden (AHw p. 697) tentatively suggested that the word is derived from *nabāʾu* "(Metall) giessen." CAD N/1 p. 24 sub *nabāʾu* A and CAD Š/1 p. 420 sub *šapāku* 7c emended the text to *šu-up-pu-ku* "to cast." The word is written *šu-ub-bu-ʾu* in this text and in text no. 2 line 61; cf. text no. 15 vi 65 and text no. 16 vi 79 where it is written as *šu-bu-ʾu*. *pìrig-gal-le-e* "lion colossi": This writing of the word appears also in text no. 2 line 61; in later texts (text no. 15 vi 67, text no. 16 vi 81, and text no. 17 vii 29) the word is written as *pirig-la-le-e*. *ku-lul* KÁ-*ši-in* "a cornice for their gate(s)": Ex. 3 has *ku-lul* KÁ.⌜GAL⌝-[*ši-in*] "a cornice for [their] gate(s)."

85 SI.GAR-*ši-in* "their door bolt(s)": E. Leichty (RINAP 4 p. 24 Esarhaddon 1 vi 21), following CAD Š/2 p. 409, suggests that *šigaru* ("lock, bolt") is used synecdochically for "gate." J.N. Postgate (personal communication), however, has noted that the gates at Nineveh had rectangular sockets in the masonry that were clearly intended to house a door bolt and thus the sculpture genuinely did hold the door bolts. Our translation follows Postgate's interpretation of *ú-šá-aṣ-bi-ta* SI.GAR-*ši-in as-mu* "I had (them) hold their (the gates') suitable door bolt(s)."

87 GIŠ.$KIRI_6$.MAḪ-*ḫu* "botanical garden": For possible explanations of the term, see Thomason, Luxury and Legitimation p. 175. KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim* "Mount Amanus": L. Barbato (Kaskal 7 [2010] p. 179) suggests that the references to Mount Amanus in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions "subtly evoke and equal the heroic deed and the delightful environment of the journey to the 'Cedar Mountain' narrated in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*." *tuk-lat* "the mainstay of": Cf. CAD B p. 221 sub *biblu* A, which takes *tuk-lat* as a corruption of *biblāt*, which appears in the same contexts (for example, text no. 17 viii 27). See Frahm, Sanherib p. 45.

89 *bi-ru-tú* "*valley*": The interpretation follows Frahm, Sanherib p. 45; see also Borger, JCS 18 (1964) pp. 54–55; and A. Westenholz, AfO 23 (1970) pp. 27–31. *ú-šat-tir-ma* "I cut through and": See von Soden, Orientalia NS 27 (1958) pp. 259–260 no. 103.

uš-par-du-ma ú-nam-mir GIM u_4*-me*
92) ^{d}*aš-šur* EN GAL-*ú* DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* ^{d}IŠ.TAR.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ut* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *i-na qer-bi-šá aq-re-ma* UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *taš-ri-iḫ-ti aq-qí-ma ú-šat-lim kàd-*ʳ*ra*ˀ*-a-a*
93) *a-na ár-kàt* u_4*-me i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ*-ni* DUMU.MEŠ*-ia ša* ^{d}*aš-šur a-na* RE.É.UM*-ut* KUR *ù* UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-ú zi-kir-šú e-nu-ma* É.GAL *šá-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫu*
94) *an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-diš* MU.SAR*-e ši-ṭir šu-me-ia li-mur-ma* Ì.GIŠ *lip-*[*šu-uš*] ʳUDUˀ.SISKUR *liq-qí a-na áš-ri-šú li-ter* ^{d}*aš-šur ik-ri-bi-šú* ʳ*i*ˀ*-šem-me*

into the alleys (and) streets, making (them) as bright as day, I invited inside it (the palace) the god Aššur, the great lord, (and) the gods and goddesses living in Assyria, then I made splendid offerings and presented my gift(s).
93–94) In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when that palace becomes old and dilapidated. May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, an[oint] (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur will (then) hear his prayers.

95) 1 UŠ 34.TA.ÀM MU ŠID MU.SAR*-e*

95) The line count of the inscription is 94 (lines).

2

Three badly damaged cylinders, all presumably from Nineveh, are inscribed with a text that duplicates material from two well-known inscriptions, text no. 1 and text no. 3. This foundation inscription with annalistic narration includes a short prologue, an abbreviated report of Sennacherib's first campaign (against Marduk-apla-iddina II and his Chaldean and Elamite allies), an account of his second campaign (a military expedition against the Kassites and Yasubigallians, and the land Ellipi), and a building report describing the large-scale renovations of the "Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace) and various other public works at Nineveh, including the creation of a botanical garden. Two of the exemplars preserve a date and both were inscribed in the second half of the eponymy of Nabû-lēʾi, governor of the city Arbela (702); copies of text no. 3 were made at the same time. In addition, the scribe indicated the total number of lines; each copy was inscribed with seventy-one lines of text.

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	Rm 2,95 + BM 134458 (+) BM 123412 + BM 134482	1932-12-12,453 (TM 1931-2,8) (+) 1932-12-10,355 + 1932-12-12,477	BM 134458: Nineveh, Ištar Temple, Square OO; BM 123412: Ištar Temple, Square N	Rm 2,95+: Width: 7.7; Max. dia.: 10. BM 123412+: 15.5×12.5	11–49, 59–71, date	c
2	A 16937	—	Probably Nineveh	9.6×7.5	1–11, 62–71, date	c
3	A 16940	—	Probably Nineveh	5.3×5	50–60	c

COMMENTARY

This badly damaged inscription duplicates (with orthographic variation) text no. 3 lines 1–56 (the prologue, the military narration, and the first part of the building report) and text no. 1 lines 79–94 (the second part of the building report and concluding formulae). Despite the fact that some copies were written at the same time as the following text, this inscription was probably composed shortly before text no. 3. This is suggested by the fact that it duplicates text found in text no. 1. Note that the extant copies of both text nos. 2 and 3 were inscribed in the Elamite month Sibūti, the seventh month in the Elamite calendar and the equivalent of Araḫsamna (VIII). See the on-page note to line 72 for further information on the use of Elamite months in the dating of Assyrian royal inscriptions. As E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 46) has pointed out, two inscriptions were simultaneously in circulation during the second half of 702: text no. 2 and text no. 3.

E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 45–46) proposed the non-physical join between Rm 2,95+ and BM 123412 since the surface of both pieces is very worn in exactly the same manner (thus making the inscription difficult to read) and since at least one piece of each sub-exemplar was discovered by R.C. Thompson in the vicinity of the Ištar temple at Nineveh. After careful re-examination of the fragments in the British Museum, Frahm's conjectured join is accepted here. Frahm also raises the possibility that exs. 2 and 3 come from the same cylinder. J.A. Brinkman kindly re-examined A 16937 and A 16940 and he could not find any convincing evidence to support a view that these fragments could not belong to one and the same cylinder; Brinkman notes that the height of the signs, the vertical spacing between the lines, and the curvature are roughly the same on both fragments. Since the non-physical join between exs. 2 and 3 is tentative, it is best to edit them individually.

In addition to the three certain exemplars of this inscription, there are thirteen cylinder fragments that may preserve copies of this text. These are edited as text no. 1 ex. 1* and text no. 3 exs. 1*–12*. See the catalogues and commentaries of those texts for further details.

The master text of lines 1–50 and 59–71 is ex. 1, with some restorations from exs. 2 and 3, and that of lines 51–58 is ex. 3. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. The restorations in lines 1–56 are are based on text no. 3 and those in lines 57–71 are based on text no. 1. Note that lines 34–43 also duplicate text no. 1 lines 63–72.

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TEXT

1) [^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL GAL] LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI LUGAL *la šá-na-an* RE.É.UM *mut-nen-nu-ú pa-liḫ* DINGIR.[MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]
2) [*na-ṣir kit-ti ra-ʾi-im mi-šá*]-⌜*ri*⌝ *e-piš ú-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru dam*-[*qa-a-ti*]
3) [*eṭ-lu gít-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du*] *a-šá-red kal ma-al-ki* ⌜*rap*⌝-*pu la-ʾi-*⌜*iṭ*⌝ *la ma-gi-ri mu-*⌜*šab*⌝-*ri-*⌜*qu*⌝ [*za-ma-a-ni*]
4) [^{d}*aš-šur* KUR-*ú* GAL-*ú* LUGAL-*ut la šá-na-an*] *ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma* ⌜UGU⌝ *gi-mir a-*⌜*šib*⌝ [*pa*]-⌜*rak-ki ú-šar*⌝-*ba-a* ⌜GIŠ⌝.[TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia*]
5) [*i-na* SAG LUGAL-*ti-ia ša*

1–3) [Sennacherib, great king], strong king, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, pious shepherd who reveres the [great] god[s, guardian of truth who loves justi]ce, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (and) strives after good [deeds, perfect man, virile warrior], foremost of all rulers, the bridle that controls the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes [enemies] with lightning:

4) [The god Aššur, the great mountain], granted to me [unrivalled sovereignty] and made [my weapons] greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) [da]ises.
5–7) [At the beginning of my kingship], I brought

5 *re*-[*ṣi-šú*] "[his] al[lies]": This word is omitted in text no. 3 line 5. It is, however, included in text no. 4 line 5. With regard to lines 5–7, compare the longer, detailed account of the events in text no. 1 lines 5–29.

^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM].˹NA˺ LUGAL ˹KUR˺.*kár-dun-ía-áš a-di* ERIM.˹ḪI˺.A ELAM.˹MA˺.KI *re-*[*ṣi-šú i*]*-na ta-mir-ti kiš*.KI ˹*áš*˺*-ta-*˹*kan*˺ [BAD$_5$.BAD$_5$-*šú*]

about [the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddi]na (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), together with the troops of (the land) Elam, [his] al[lies, i]n the plain of Kish. [In the midst of that battle he abandoned his camp]. He fled alone and escaped to the land Guzummānu, (where) [he entered] the swamps and marshes [and (thereby) saved his life. I seized the chariots, wagons, horse]s, mules, donkeys, camels, and Bactrian camels that [he had abandoned] in the thick of bat[tle].

6) [*i-na* MURUB$_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri šu-a-tu e-zib* KARAŠ-*su*] *e-diš ip-par-šid-ma a-na* KUR.*gu-zu-*˹*um-ma*˺*-ni in-na-bit* ˹*qé*˺-[*reb*] ÍD.*a-gam-me* ˹*ù*˺ *ap-pa-ra-a-te* [*e-ru-um-ma na-piš-tuš e-ṭí-ir*]

7) [GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.*ṣu-um-bi* ANŠE.KUR.RA].MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ˹ANŠE˺.GAM.MAL.MEŠ *ù* ˹ANŠE.*ud-ri*˺ *ša i-na* ˹*qit-ru-ub*˺ *ta-ḫa-*[*zi ú-maš-ši-ru ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a*]

8) [*a-na* É.GAL-*šú ša qé-reb* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ḫa*]-˹*diš*˺ *e-ru-um-ma ap-te-e-ma* ˹É˺ *ni-ṣir-*˹*ti*˺*-šú* ˹KÙ˺.[GI KÙ.BABBAR *ú-nu*]-˹*ut* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR˺ NA$_4$ ˹*a*˺-[*qar-tu mim-ma šum-šu* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA *ni-ṣir-tu ka-bit-tu*]

8–9) I [joyful]ly entered [his palace, which is in Babylon], then I opened his treasury and [brought out] go[ld, silver], gold (and) silver [uten]sils, pr[ecious] stones, [all kinds of possessions (and) property, a substantial treasure, (together with) his wife, his palace women, cour]tiers, attendants, all of the crafts[men, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, and I counted (them) as booty].

9) [DAM-*su* MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL-*šú* LÚ].˹TIRUM˺.MEŠ LÚ.*man-za-az pa-ni si-*˹*ḫir-ti* LÚ˺.*um-*˹*ma*˺-[*a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú mut-tab-bi-lu-tu* É.GAL *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*]

10) [*aṣ-bat-ma* EGIR-*šú a-na* KUR.*gu-zu-um-ma-ni* LÚ].˹*mun*˺*-daḫ-ṣi-ia a-*˹*na qé-reb*˺ ÍD.*a-gam-me ù* [*ap-pa-ra-a-te ú-ma-*ʾ*e-er-ma* 5 *u*$_4$*-me i-pa-ru-nim-ma ul in-na-mir a-šar-šu*]

10) [I pursued him to the land Guzummānu and ordered] my warriors into the midst of swamps and [marshes. For five days they searched (for him), but his (hiding) place could not be found].

11) [*i-na e-muq* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia* 89 URU.MEŠ-*ni dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni*] *ša* KUR.*kal-*[*di ù* 8 ME 20 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu al-me ak-šud*^{ud} *áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*]

11–12) [With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 89 fortified cities, fortresses] of Chal[dea, and 820 small(er) settlements in their environs. I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans and Chaldeans who were in] Uruk, Nip[pur, Kish, Ḫursagkalama, (and) Cutha, together with the guilty citizens, and] I counted (them) [as booty].

12) [LÚ.*úr-bi* LÚ.*a-ra-mu ù* LÚ.*kal-du ša qé-reb*] UNUG.KI ˹NIBRU˺.[KI *kiš*.KI *ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*.KI GÚ.DU$_8$.A.KI *a-di* DUMU.MEŠ URU EN *ḫi-iṭ-ṭi ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš*] *am-nu*

13) [^{m}EN-DÙ DUMU LÚ.GAL-DÙ *pe-er-*ʾ*i šu-an-na*.KI *ša* GIM] ˹*mi*˺*-ra-ni* [*ṣa-aḫ-ri qé-reb* É.GAL-*ia ir-bu-ú a-na* LUGAL-*ut* KUR EME.GI$_7$ *ù* URI.KI *áš-ta-kan*] ˹UGU-*šú-un*˺

13) [I appointed] over them [Bēl-ibni, a son of a *rab banî* (and) a scion of Šuanna (Babylon) who had grown up like a young p]uppy [in my palace, as king of the land of Sumer and Akkad].

14) [*i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* LÚ.*tu-*ʾ*u-mu-na* LÚ.*ri-ḫi-ḫu* LÚ.*ia-daq-qu* LÚ.*ú-bu-du* LÚ.*gib-re-e* LÚ.*ma-li-ḫu* LÚ.*gu-ru-mu* LÚ.*ú-bu-lum*] ˹LÚ.*da-mu*˺*-nu*

15) [LÚ.*gam-bu-lu* LÚ.*ḫi-in-da-ru* LÚ.*ru-*ʾ*u-u-a*

14–16) [On my return march], I defeated all together [the Tuʾumuna, Riḫiḫu, Yadaqqu, Ubudu, Gibrê, Maliḫu (Malaḫu), Gurumu, Ubulu], Damunu, (15) [Gambulu, Ḫindaru, Ruʾuʾa, Puqudu, Ḫamrānu, Ḫagarānu,

7 *ša i-na* ˹*qit-ru-ub*˺ *ta-ḫa-*[*zi ú-maš-ši-ru*] "that [he had abandoned] in the thick of bat[tle]": Cf. text no. 1 line 29, which has *ša qé-reb tam-ḫa-ri muš-šu-ru* "that he had abandoned during the battle."

8–9 Cf. text no. 1 lines 30–33.

10 Cf. text no. 1 line 34. *aṣ-bat-ma* "I pursued and": Text no. 1 line 34 has *ur-ri-iḫ-ma* "I rushed and." J.N. Postgate (personal communication) tentatively suggests reading *aṣ-bat-ma* as *az-ziz-ma* "I called a halt and." However, the interpretation presented here follows the conventional reading of the AZ and BE signs as *aṣ* and *bat*. *i-pa-ru-nim-ma* "they searched (for him) and": Text no. 1 line 34 has *ú-ba-*ʾ*u-šu-ma* "they sought him out and."

11–12 Compare the longer, detailed account in text no. 1 lines 36–52. 89 URU.MEŠ-*ni* "89 cities": This text, text no. 3 line 11, and text no. 4 line 9 state that Sennacherib surrounded, captured, and plundered eighty-nine Chaldean cities. The Nineveh version of the "First Campaign Cylinder" (text no. 1) records the total as eighty-eight, but lists only eighty-one cities and the Tarbiṣu recension of that text (Frahm, ISIMU 6 [2003] pp. 138–139) also records the total as eighty-eight, but with eighty-seven cities listed in one exemplar and eighty-six in the other. In inscriptions written on prisms, the total is reduced to seventy-five (for example, text no. 22 i 36). 8 ME 20 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ "820 small(er) settlements": The number is reduced to 620 in text no. 4 (line 9) and to 420 in the prism inscriptions (text no. 22 i 37).

12 LÚ.*úr-bi* "auxiliary forces": See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 52.

15 ˹*ak-šud*^{ud}˺ "I defeated": Text no. 1 line 56 has *ak-šud*^{ud}*-ma áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un* "I defeated and plundered them."

LÚ.*pu-qu-du* LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-a-nu* LÚ.*ḫa-ga-ra-nu* LÚ.*na-ba-tu* LÚ.*li-i'-ta-a-ú* LÚ.*a-ra-mu la kan*]-˹*šú mit-ḫa-riš ak-šud*^{ud}˺

Nabatu, (and) Li'ta'u, insubmis]sive [Arameans]. I carried off into Assyria [a sub]stanial [booty (consisting of) 208,000 people, male and female, 7,200 horses (and) mules, 11,073 donkeys, 5,230 camels, 80,100 oxen, (and) 800,600 sheep and goats].

16) [2 ME 8 LIM UN.MEŠ *zik-ru u* MUNUS 7 LIM 2 ME ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ 11 LIM 73 ANŠE.MEŠ 5 LIM 2 ME 30 ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ 80 LIM 1 ME GU_4.MEŠ 8 ME LIM 6 ME US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *šal-la-tu ka*]-˹*bit-tu áš-lu-la a-na qé-reb* KUR *aš-šur*.KI˺

17) [*i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ša* ^{md}AG-EN-MU.MEŠ LÚ.*qí-pi* URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-ti* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni* GAL.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *ta*]-˹*mar-ta-šú ka-bit-tu am-ḫur*˺

17) [In the course of my campaign], I received [a] substantial [aud]ience gift [from Nabû-bēl-šumāti, the official in charge of the city Ḫararatu: gold, silver, large *musukkannu*-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats].

18) [*ba-ḫu-la-ti* URU.*ḫi-rim-me* LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣu ša ul-tu ul-la a-na ni-ri-ia la kit-nu-šu i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-šam-qit-ma na-piš-tu*] ˹*ul e-zib*˺

18–19) [I put to the sword the population of the city Ḫirimmu, a dangerous enemy who since time immemorial had not submitted to my yoke, and] I did not leave one [alive. I reorganized that district] (and) imposed for eternity [one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords].

19) [*na-gu-ú šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aṣ-bat* 1-*en* GU_4 10 UDU.MEŠ 10 ANŠE GEŠTIN.MEŠ 20 ANŠE ZÚ.LUM.MA *re-še-te-šú a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni* KUR *aš-šur*.KI EN.MEŠ-*ia*] ˹*ú-kin dà-ri-šam*˺

20) [*i-na* 2-*e ger-ri-ia* ^{d}*aš-šur be-lí ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma a-na* KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i ù* KUR *ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a* LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣi ša ul-tu ul-la a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD].˹MEŠ-*ia la kit-nu-šu lu al-lik*˺

20–21) [On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and] I marched [to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians, a dangerous enemy who since time immemorial] had not submitted [to the kings], my [ancestor]s. [In the high mountains, difficult terrain, I rode on horseback and had my personal chariot carried on (men's) necks. In very rugged terrain] I roamed about [on foot] like a wild bull.

21) [*qé-reb ḫur-šá-a-ni zaq-ru-te* A.ŠÀ *nam-ra-ṣi i-na* ANŠE.KUR.RA *ar-kab-ma* GIŠ.GIGIR GÌR.II-*ia i-na ti-ik-ka-a-te ú-šá-áš-ši áš-ru šup-šu-qu i-na* GÌR].˹II-*ia ri-ma-niš at-tag-giš*˺

22) [URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú-nu al-me ak-šud*^{ud} UN.MEŠ TUR GAL ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *ul-tu qer-bi-šu ú*]-˹*še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*˺

22–23) [I surrounded (and) conquered the city Bīt-Kilamzaḫ, their fortified city. I] brought out of it [people, young (and) old, horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats], and I counted (them) as booty. [I destroyed, devastated, (and) turned into ruins their small(er) settlements, which were without number. I burned with fire the pavilions (and) tents that they relied upon, and] reduced (them) to [as]hes.

23) [URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* TUR.MEŠ *ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú ap-pul aq-qur ú-še-me kar-meš* É EDIN *kul-ta-ri tu-kul-ti-šú-nu i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu-ma di*]-˹*tal-liš ú-še-mi*˺

24) [*ú-ter-ma* URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ šu-a-tu a-na bir-tu-ti aṣ-bat* UGU *ša* u_4-*me pa-ni ú-dan-nin a-muḫ-ḫuš* UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia ina lìb-bi*] ˹*ú-še-šib*˺

24–26) [I made that city Bīt-Kilamzaḫ a fortress again (and) strengthened its enceinte more than before]. I settled [therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. (25) I brought down from the mountains the people of the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians who had fled from my weapons and] I made (them) dwe[ll in the cities Ḫardišpu] (and) Bīt-Kubatti. [I placed them under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Arrapḫa. I

25) [UN.MEŠ KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i ù* KUR *ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a ša la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ip-par-ši-du ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*i ú-še-ri-dam-ma i-na* URU.*ḫar-diš-pi*] ˹URU.É-^{m}˺*ku-bat-ti ú-*˹*šar*˺-[*me*]

16 Note that this inscription moved this passage. Cf. text no. 1 line 60, where it appears after the statement regarding the payment received from Nabû-bēl-šumāti and the reorganization of the city Ḫirimmu as a provincial capital.

17 [*ta*]-˹*mar-ta-šú*˺ "his [aud]ience gift": Text no. 1 line 57 has *man-da-ta-šú* "his payment."

18 *ša ul-tu ul-la a-na ni-ri-ia la kit-nu-šu* "who since time immemorial had not submitted to my yoke": Cf. text no. 1 line 58, which has *ša ul-tu ul-la a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia la ik-nu-*˹*šu*˺ "who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, my ancestors."

19 Cf. text no. 1 line 59, which adds *gi-né-e* "*ginû*-offerings" between *a-na* "to" and DINGIR.MEŠ "gods."

26) [*i-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia* LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ar-rap-ḫa am-nu-šú-nu-ti* NA_4.NA.RÚ.A *ú-še-piš-ma li-i-tum ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II *ša* UGU-*šú-un áš-tak-ka-nu ṣe*]-⌜*ru*⌝-*uš-šú ú-*[*šá*]-⌜*áš-ṭir*⌝-*ma ina* ⌜*qer-bi* URU *ul-ziz*⌝

27) [*pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma a-na* KUR.*el-li-pi aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu el-la-mu-u-a* ^{m}*is-pa-ba-a-ra* LUGAL-*šú-un* URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú ú-maš-šir*]-*ma a-na ru-qé-*⌜*ti*⌝ *in-*⌜*na*⌝-*bit*

28) [*gim-ri* KUR-*šu* DAGAL-*ti ki-ma* $MURU_9$ *as-ḫu-up* URU.*mar-ú-biš-ti* URU.*ak-ku-ud-du* URU.MEŠ É LUGAL-*ti-šú a-di* 34 URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti ù* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li*]-⌜*me*⌝-*ti-šú-nu šá ni-ba la i-šu-u*

29) [*ap-pu-ul aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu-ma* $KIRI_6$.MEŠ-*šú-nu ak-šiṭ* UGU A.GÀR.MEŠ-*šú-un ḫab-ṣu-ti šá-ḫur-ra-tum at-bu-uk* KUR.*el-li-pi a-na paṭ*] ⌜*gim*⌝-*ri-šá ar-*⌜*bu*⌝-*ta ú-šá-lik*

30) [UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *la mi-nam áš-lu-lam-ma a-di la ba-še*$_{20}$-*e*] *ú-šá-lik-šú-nu-ti*

31) [URU.*ṣi-ṣi-ir-tu* URU.*ku-um-ma-aḫ-lum* URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti a-di* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu* KUR.É-*bar-ru-ú na-gu-u a-na gi-mir-ti-šú ul-tu qé*]-⌜*reb*⌝ KUR-*šú ab-tuq-ma* UGU *mi-ṣir* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-rad-di*

32) [URU.*el-en-za-áš a-na* URU LUGAL-*ti ù dan-na-at na-ge-e šu-a-tu aṣ-bat-ma* MU-*šú maḫ-ra-a ú-nak-kir-ma* URU.*kar-*^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*] ⌜*at-ta*⌝-*bi* ⌜*ni*⌝-*bit-su*

33) [*i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia ša* KUR.*ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ti ša i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia ma-am-man la iš-mu-u zi-kir* KUR.MEŠ-*šú-un man-da-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tú am-ḫur a-na ni-ri be*]-⌜*lu*⌝-[*ti*]-⌜*ia ú-šak*⌝-[*ni*]-⌜*su-nu-ti*⌝

34) [*i-na* u_4-*mi-šu-ma* NINA.KI *ma-ḫa-zu ṣi-i-ru* URU *na-ram* ^{d}*iš-tar ša nap-ḫar ki-du-de-e* DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* ^{d}IŠ.TAR.MEŠ *ba-šu*]-⌜*ú qé-reb-šu*⌝

35) [*tem-me-en-nu da-ru-ú du-ru-uš ṣa-a-ti ša ul-tu ul-la it-ti ši*]-⌜*ṭir*⌝ *bu-ru-um-me eṣ-rat-su eṣ-ret-ma* [*šu*]-⌜*pu-ú ṣi-in-du-šu*⌝

36) [*áš-ru nak-lu šu-bat pi-riš-ti ša mim-ma šum-šu ši-pir ni-kil-ti gi-mir pel-lu-de*]-⌜*e*⌝ *ni-ṣir-ti làl-gar šu-ta-bu-*⌜*lu*⌝ *qé-reb-šu*

had a stele made, had all the victorious conquests that I achieved over them] written [o]n it, and I erected (it) in (that) city.

27–29) [I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road to the land Ellipi. Before my arrival, Ispabāra, their king, abandoned his fortified cities (and) his treasury] and fled far away. [I overwhelmed all of his wide land like a fog. I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities Mar'ubištu (and) Akkuddu, cities of his royal house, together with thirty-four fortified cities and small(er) settlements in] their [en]virons, which were without number, [then I cut down their orchards (and) poured deathly quiet over their fertile fields]. (In this manner) I reduced to desolation [the land Ellipi to] its full [extent].

30–31) [I carried off people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats without number and] brought them [to nought]. I detached [fr]om his land [the cities Ṣi(ṣ)ṣirtu (and) Kummaḫlum, fortified cities, together with the small(er) settlements in their environs (and) the district of the land Bīt-Barrû in its entirety], and I added (this area) to the territory of Assyria.

32) [I took the city Elenzaš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and] called it [Kār-Sennacherib].

33) [On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention]. (Thus) I made them bow down [to the yoke of] my [lo]rd[ship].

34–36) [At that time, Nineveh, the exalted cult center, the city loved by the goddess Ištar] in which [all of the rituals for gods and goddesses are prese]nt; (35) [the enduring foundation (and) eternal base] whose plan had been designed [by the st]ars (lit. "[writ]ing") of the firmament and whose arrangement [was made man]ifest [since time immemorial; a sophisticated place (and) site of secret lore] in which [every kind of skilled craftsmanship, all of the ritual]s, (and) the

26 LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia* "a eunuch of mine": The term *ša/šūt rēši* may have designated a "eunuch" who served as Assyrian courtier, official, or general. The CAD (R p. 296 sub *rēšu* in *ša rēši* A) points out that "the evidence from later texts does not demand a meaning eunuch, though a few references, including the MA harem edicts (see *ša rēš šarri*) show that those serving as courtiers or household personnel were in at least some instances eunuchs" and thus translates *ša rēši* in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions (ibid. p. 293) as "general, official." Nevertheless, there are many scholars who believe that *ša rēši* was used in Assyria almost exclusively for castrated officials, i.e., "eunuchs"; for example, the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project always translates *ša/šūt rēši* as "eunuch(s)." Although this cannot be proven with absolute certainty, the authors prefer to translate *ša rēši* as "eunuch," rather than as "official"; for this opinion, see also Tadmor and Yamada, RINAP 1 p. 27, the on-page note to Tiglath-pileser III 5 line 8. Cf. Leichty, RINAP 4, where *ša rēši* is translated as "official." For further information on eunuchs and the title *ša/šūt rēši*, see Oppenheim, Studies Gaster pp. 325–334; Grayson, Studies von Soden pp. 85–98; Dalley, BiOr 58 (2001) cols. 198–206; Tadmor, Sex and Gender pp. 603–611; and Siddall, Gilgameš and the World of Assyria pp. 225–240.

37) [*ša ul-tu ul-la* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni a-li-kut maḫ-ri* AD.MEŠ-*ia ul-la-nu-u*]-⌜*a*⌝ *be-lu-ut* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
e-pu-šu-ma ú-⌜*ma*⌝-ʾ*e-ru* ⌜*ba*⌝-ʾ*u*-⌜*lat*⌝ ^{d}EN.LÍL
38) [*ù šat-ti-šam la na-par-ka-a e-reb la nar-ba-a-ti* GUN *mal-ki kib-rat*] *ar-ba-*ʾ*i im-da-na-aḫ-ḫa-ru*
qé-reb-šu
39) [*a-a-um-ma i-na lib-bi-šú-nu a-na* É.GAL *qer-bi-šu kúm-mu ri-mit be-lu-ti ša*] *ṣu-uḫ-ḫur*
šu-bat-su le-e-su [*ul i-da-a lib*]-⌜*bu-uš ul*
iḫ-su-us⌝
40) [*a-na šu-te-šur* SILA URU *ù šum-dul re-ba-a-ti*
ḫa-re-e ÍD *za-qa-ap ṣip-pa-a-ti ú*]-⌜*zu*⌝-*un-šú ul*
ib-ši-ma ⌜*ul uš-ta-bil*⌝ [*ka-ras*]-*su*
41) [*ia-a-ti* ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL KUR
aš-šur.KI *e-peš šip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i ṭè-em*
DINGIR.MEŠ *i-na uz-ni*]-⌜*ia*⌝ *ib-ši-ma* ⌜*ka-bat-ti*
ub-lam⌝-[*ma*]
42) [*te-ne-šet* KUR.*kal-di* LÚ.*a-ra-mu*
KUR.*man-na-a-a* KUR.*qu-e ù* KUR.*ḫi-lak-ku ša*
a-na ni-ri-ia la kit-nu-šu] ⌜*as-su-ḫa-am*⌝-[*ma*]
⌜*tup-šik-ki*⌝ [*ú-šá-áš-ši-šú-nu-ti-ma il-bi-nu* SIG_4]
43) [*a-pe ku-pe-e ša qé-reb* KUR.*kal-di ak-šiṭ-ma*
ap-pa-ri-šú-un šam-ḫu-ti i-na ba-ḫu-la-ti
na-ki-ri] ⌜*ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia ú*⌝-[*šal-di-da a-na*
e-peš šip-ri-šá]
44) [É.GAL *maḫ-ri-tu ša* 3 ME 60 *ina* 1.KÙŠ UŠ *i-na*
tar-ṣi za-me-e É *ziq-qur-rat* 80 *ina* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL
i-na tar-ṣi É.*na-ma-ri*] ⌜É ^{d}⌝15 ⌜1 ME 34 *ina*
1.KÙŠ DAGAL *i*⌝-[*na tar-ṣi* É.*na-ma-ri*
É-kid_9-*mu-ri* 95 *ina* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL]
45) [*ša* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni a-li-kut maḫ-ri* AD.MEŠ-*ia*
a-na ri-mì-ti be-lu-ti-šú-un ú-še-pi-šu-ma] *la*
ú-⌜*nak*⌝-[*ki-lu ši-pir-šá*]
46) [ÍD.*te-bil-ti a-gu-ú šit-mu-ru ša i-na na-ši-šá*
ge-gu-né-e qa-bal-ti URU *ú-ab-bi-tu-ma*]
⌜*ki-maḫ*⌝-*ḫi-šú-*⌜*un nak*⌝-[*mu-ti ú-kal-li-mu*
^{d}UTU-*šú*]
47) [*ù ul-tu* UD.MEŠ SÙ.MEŠ *ṭe-ḫi* É.GAL
*i-ba-*ʾ*u-ú-ma i-na* ILLU-*šá gap-ši i-na uš-ši-šá*
ab-bu ú-šab-šu]-*ú ú*-[*ri-ib-bu tem-me-en-šá*]
48) [É.GAL.TUR.RA *šá-a-tu a-na si-ḫir-ti-šá*
aq-qur-ma ša ÍD.*te-bil-ti ma-lak-šá uš-te-eš-na-a*
ab-bu uš-ṭib-ma ú-še-šir mu-ṣu-šá]
49) [*qé-reb ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-ki-šá šap-la-nu*
GI.MEŠ *e-la-niš* NA_4.MEŠ KUR-*i dan-ni it-ti*
ESIR.UD.A *ak-si-ma* A.ŠÀ *ul-tu ma-a-me*

secret(s) of the *lalgar* (cosmic subterranean water) are apprehended;
37–38) [in which since time immemorial earlier kings, my ancestors, before] me exercised dominion over Assyria and ruled the subjects of the god Enlil, [and] wherein [annually, without interruption], they received [an income unsurpassed in amount, the tribute of the rulers of the] four [quarters (of the world)];
39–40) [(but) not one among them had paid] heed [to (or) sho]wn interest [in the palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling] whose site had become too small; (40) nor had anyone (of them) [con]ceived of and put his [mind towards the straightening of the city's street(s) and the widening of (its) squares, the dredging of the river, (and) the planting of orchards]:
41–43) [(But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the performing of this work] came to my [attention by the will of the gods] and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed [the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Manneans, (and) the lands Que and Ḫilakku, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made them carry] baskets (of earth) [and they made bricks. I cut down canebrakes in Chaldea and I had their splendid reeds hauled (to Nineveh) for its (the palace's) construction by enemy soldiers] whom I had defeated.

44–47) [The former palace, which was 360 cubits long opposite the *zamû*-wall of the ziggurrat, 80 cubits wide opposite the tower of] the temple of the goddess Ištar, 134 cubits wide op[posite the tower of the Bīt-Kidmuri, (and) 95 cubits wide (on the other side); (45) which earlier kings, my ancestors, had had constructed for their lordly dwelling, but whose construction] they had [carried out] in[expertly — the Tebilti River, a tempestuous flood (of water) which when it rose had destroyed sacred buildings inside the city and exposed] the mou[nds of] their tombs (lit. "their moun[ded] tombs") [to the sun, and which had flowed from distant days by the side of the palace and which (thereby) had caus]ed [erosion in its foundation when its flood was in full spate] (and) had [shaken its base]:
48) [I tore down that small palace in its entirety, then I changed the course of the Tebilti River, repaired (the effects of) the erosion, and directed its outflow].
49–52) [In the hidden depths of its subterranean waters I bonded together, with bitumen, reeds below (and) strong mountain stone above, then I raised (that)

44 Compare the dimensions of the former palace in text no. 1 line 73. That inscription records the size as follows: "Whose longer side was thirty *nindanu* and whose shorter side was ten *nindanu*."
45 *a-na ri-mì-ti be-lu-ti-šú-un* "for their lordly dwelling": The purpose for which former kings built the palace is not included in text no. 1; see line 73 of that inscription.
46–48 Cf. text no. 1 lines 74–75. For the opinion that ÍD.*te-bil-ti* is not a proper name, but rather an epithet describing the nature of a river course, see Dalley, Iraq 56 (1994) p. 55 n. 63.
48 É.GAL.TUR.RA "small palace": See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 75.
49–53 Cf. text no. 1 lines 76–77.

ú-še-lam-ma na-ba-liš ú-ter]

50) [7 ME *ina* AS_4.LUM GAL-*ti* UŠ 1 ME 62 *ina* AS_4.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI AN.TA IM.SI.SÁ 2 ME 17 *ina* AS_4.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI $MURUB_4$-*tim*]

51) [3 ME 86 *ina* AS_4.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI KI.TA] ⌜$IM.U_{18}$⌝.LU [ÚS.SA.DU ÍD.IDIGNA *tam-la-a ú-mal-li-ma am-šu-uḫ me-ši-iḫ-ta*]

52) [*la-ba-riš* UD.MEŠ *i-na* ILLU *kiš-šá-ti*] ⌜*tem-me*⌝*-en-šú la* ⌜*e*⌝-[*né-še as-kup-pat* NA_4*.pi-i-li rab-ba-a-ti a-sur-ru-šu ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra ú-dan-nin šu-pu-uk-šú*]

53) [MU.SAR-*e ši-ṭir šu-mi-ia* 1 ME 60] ⌜*ti*⌝*-ib-ki tam-*⌜*li*⌝*-i* ⌜*qé*⌝-[*reb-šú al-ṭu-ur-ma šap-la-nu i-na uš-ši-šu e-zib aḫ-ra-taš*]

54) [*ar-ka-nu šu-uš-qu-ú tam-li-i ka*]*-bat-ti ub-*⌜*lam*⌝*-ma* [20 *ti-ib-ki ṣe-er maḫ-ri-i uṣ-ṣip-ma* 1 ME 80 *ti-ib-ki ú-šaq-qí e-la-niš*]

55) [*tar-pa-šu-ú el ša* u_4*-me pa-ni ú-šar*]-⌜*bi*⌝ *ṣe-*⌜*er*⌝ *me-ši-iḫ-*[*ti* É.GAL *maḫ-ri-ti ú-rad-di-ma ú-šá-an-di-la ši-kit-taš*]

56) [É.GAL ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG GIŠ.*mu-suk*]-⌜*kan*⌝*-ni* GIŠ.⌜EREN⌝ GIŠ.ŠUR.[MÌN ŠIM.LI *ù* GIŠ.*bu-uṭ-ni é-gal-zag-di-nu-tuku-a a-na mu-šab* LUGAL-*ti-ia ú-še-pi-šá qé-reb-šu*]

57) [GIŠ.ÙR.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN *tar-bit* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim ša*] *ul-tu* ⌜*qé*$^{?}$*-reb*⌝ *ḫur-šá-*[*a-ni ru-qu-ú-ti nam-ra-ṣi-iš ib-bab-lu-ni ú-šat-ri-ṣa ta-ra-an-ši-in*]

58) [GIŠ.IG.ME GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN *ṣi-ra-a-ti ša i-na*] *pe-te-e* ⌜*ù ta*⌝*-*[*a-ri e-re-sin ṭa-a-bu me-sér* ZABAR *nam-ri ú-rak-kis-ma ú-rat-ta-a ba-bi-šin*]

59) [É *ap-pa-a-te tam-šil* É.GAL KUR.*ḫat-ti ša i*]-⌜*na*⌝ *li-šá-*⌜*a*⌝*-*[*ni* KUR MAR.TU.KI É *ḫi-la-a-ni i-šá-as-su*]-⌜*šu*⌝ *a-na* ⌜*mul-ta-*$'$*u*⌝*-u-ti be-lu-*⌜*ti*⌝*-*[*ia ú-še-pi-šá qé-reb-šin*]

60) [8 UR.MAḪ.MEŠ *pe-tan bir-ki šu-ta-tu-ti ša i-na* ŠÁR ŠÁR ŠÁR GÉŠ.U GUN URUDU *nam-ru*] ⌜*pi*⌝*-ti-iq* ^{d}*nin-á-gal šu-pu-šu* ⌜*ma*⌝*-*[*lu-ú nam-ri-ri*]

61) [*ù* 2 *tim-me šu-ta-ḫu-ti ša* ŠÁR GÉŠ.U GÉŠ.U GÉŠ.U GÉŠ.U GUN *pi-ti-iq si-par-ri*] ⌜*šu*⌝*-ub-bu-*$'$*u a-di* 2 *tim-me* GIŠ.EREN GAL.MEŠ UGU *pìrig-gal-le-e ú-*[*kin-ma dáp-pi ku-lul* KÁ*-ši-in e-mid*]

62) [*er-bet* UDU *šad-di* ^{d}LAMMA *ša* KÙ.BABBAR

area out of the water and converted (it) to dry land. (50) I filled in and measured a terrace of 700 large *aslu*-cubits along (its) longer side, 162 large *aslu*-cubits along (its) upper, northern shorter side, 217 large *aslu*-cubits along the inner, shorter side, (and) 386 large *aslu*-cubits along the lower], southern [shorter side, (which is) beside the Tigris River]. In order to prevent its foundation [from being weakened over the passage of time by cresting flood(s), I surrounded its damp course with large limestone slabs (and thereby) reinforced its base].

53) [I inscribed objects bearing my name 160] courses of brick wi[thin] the terrace, [and I deposited (them) deep down in its foundation for ever after].

54–55) [Afterwards, I] decided [to increase the height of the terrace], then I added 20 courses of brick to the former (terrace) and (thus) I raised (it) to a (total) height of 180 courses of brick. (55) I made the area larg]er [than before, added] (it) to [the former] dimensions [of the palace, and (thus) enlarged its structure].

56) [I had a palace of elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, *musuk*]*kannu*-wood, cedar, cyp[ress, juniper, and terebinth, (a palace that I named) Egalzagdinutukua ("The Palace Without a Rival"), constructed thereon as my royal residence].

57–58) [I roofed them (the rooms of the palace) with beams of cedar grown on Mount Amanus, which were brought with difficulty] from (that) [distant] mountain terr[ain. I fastened bands of shining bronze on magnificent doors of cypress, whose scent is sweet on] opening and clos[ing, and I installed (them) in their gates].

59) For [my] lordly pleasure, [I had a portico, a replica of a Hittite palace, which is called *bīt-ḫilāni*] in the language [of the land Amurru, constructed inside them].

60–61) Eight striding lions, standing opposite one another, which] were made [from 11,400 talents of shining copper, c]ast by the god Ninagal, (and) were [filled with radiance] — upon (those) lion colossi I [installed two identical columns] that were cast [from 6,000 talents of bronze], together with two large cedar columns, [and I positioned cross-beams (upon them) as a cornice for their gate(s)].

62) I expertly fashioned [four mountain sheep colossi

50–51 Text no. 1 records the dimensions of the bonded stone, which apparently comprised four large limestone blocks, in lieu of the dimensions of the terrace; that area is said to have been "sixty (*nindanu*) along (its) longer side (and) thirty-four (*nindanu*) along (its) shorter side." 1 ME 62 "162," 2 ME 17 "217," and 3 ME 86 "386": Text no. 4 lines 77–79 has 1 ME 76 "176," 2 ME 68 "268," and 3 ME 86 "386." That inscription also includes the dimensions of a fifth façade of the palace; that side is said to have measured 383 large *aslu*-cubits.

55 *ši-kit-taš* "its structure": Text no. 1 line 78 has *ti-sar-šá* "its *structure*."

56 *é-gal-zag-di-nu-tuku-a* "Egalzagdinutukua": See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 79.

57–63 Text no. 3 and text no. 4 do not include these passages in their building reports.

61 ⌜*šu*⌝*-ub-bu-*$'$*u* "that were cast": See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 84.

62 SI.GAR-*ši-in* "their door bolt(s)": See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 85.

si-par-ri it-ti UDU *šad-di* ^{d}LAMMA *ša* NA$_4$ KUR-*i*] *eš-qí nak-liš ab-ni-ma a-na er-bet-ti šá-a-ri ú-šá-aṣ-bi-ta* [SI.GAR-*ši-in as-mu*]

of silver (and) bronze, together with mountain sheep colossi of] massive [mountain stone], and in four directions I made (them) hold [their (the gates') suitable door bolt(s)].

63) [*as-kup-pat* NA$_4$.*pi-i-li rab-ba-a-ti da-ád-me na-ki*]-⌜*ri*⌝ *ki-šit-*⌜*ti*⌝ [ŠU.II]-⌜*ia*⌝ *qé-reb-ši-in e-si-ḫa a-sur-ru-ši-in ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra a-na tab-*⌜*ra*⌝-[*a-ti ú-šá-lik*]

63) I engraved on [large limestone slabs (images of) the ene]my [settlements] that [I] had conquered. I surrounded their (the palace rooms') lower courses (with them and) [made] (them) an object of wo[nder].

64) [GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MAḪ-*ḫu tam-šil* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim ša gi-mir*] ⌜ŠIM⌝.ḪI.A GURUN [*ṣip-pa-a*]-⌜*te*⌝ GIŠ.MEŠ *tuk-lat* KUR-*i ù* KUR.*kal-di qé-reb-šu ḫur-ru-šu i-ta-*[*a-šá az-qu-up*]

64) [I planted] alongsi[de it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus], which has [all kinds of] aromatic plants (and) fruit [trees], trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, *collected* inside it.

65) [*áš-šu za-qa-ap ṣip-pa-a-ti* A.ŠÀ *ta-mir-ti e-le-en*] URU NIGIDAMIN.⌜TA⌝.[ÀM] *a-na* DUMU.MEŠ NINA.KI *pil-ku ú-pal-lik-ma ú-šad-gi-la* ⌜*pa*⌝-[*nu-uš-šú-un*]

65) [To plant gardens], I subdivided [the meadowland upstream of] the city into plots of two *pānu* ea[ch] for the citizens of Nineveh and I handed (them) over to [them].

66) [*a-na miṭ-ra-a-ti šum-mu-ḫi ul-tu pa-a-ṭi*] ⌜URU⌝.*ki-si-ri a-*⌜*di ta-mir*⌝*-ti* NINA.KI KUR-*a ù bi-ru-tú i-na ak-kul-la-te* AN.BAR *ú-šat-tir-ma* ⌜*ú*⌝-[*še-šir* ÍD.*ḫar-ru*]

67) [1 1/2 KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru ul-tu qé-reb* ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur*] *ma-a-me da-ru-ú-ti a-šar-šá ú-šar-da-a qé-reb ṣip-pa-a-ti šá-ti-na ú-šaḫ-bi-ba* [*pat-ti-iš*]

66–67) [To make (those) planted areas luxuriant], I cut with iron picks [a canal straight through] mountain and *valley*, [from the border of] the city Kisiru to the plain of Nineveh. I caused an inexhaustible supply of water to flow there for [a distance of one and a half leagues from the Ḫusur River] (and) made (it) gush [through feeder canals] into those gardens.

68) [*ul-tu šip-ru* É.GAL *be-lu-ti-ia ú-qat*]-*tu-u ú-šá-an-di-la re-ba-a-ti bi-re-e-ti su-qa-a-ni uš-par-du-ma ú-nam-mir* [GIM *u$_4$-me*]

69) [^{d}*aš-šur* EN GAL-*ú* DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* ^{d}IŠ.TAR.MEŠ *a*]-⌜*ši*⌝-*bu-ut* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *i-na qer-be-šá aq-re* UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *taš-ri-iḫ-ti aq-qí-ma ú-šat-lim* [*kàd-ra-a-a*]

68–69) [After I had finish]ed [the work on my lordly palace], broadened the squares, (and) brought light into the alleys (and) streets, making (them) [as] bright [as day], I invited inside it (the palace) [the god Aššur, the great lord, (and) the gods and goddesses l]iving in Assyria, then I made splendid offerings and presented [my gift(s)].

70) [*a-na ár-kàt u$_4$-me i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* DUMU.MEŠ]-⌜*ia*⌝ *ša* ^{d}*aš-šur a-na* RE.É.UM-*ut* KUR *ù* UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šú e-nu-ma* É.GAL *šá-a-tú i-*[*lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫu*]

71) [*an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-diš* MU.SAR-*e ši-ṭir*] ⌜*šu*⌝-*me-ia li-mur-ma* Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU.SISKUR *liq-qí a-*⌜*na*⌝ *áš-ri-šú li-ter* ⌜^{d}*aš-šur ik-ri-bi-šú*⌝ [*i-šem-me*]

70–71) [In the future, may one of the kings], my [descendants], whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, [renovate its dilapidated section(s)] when that palace be[comes old and dilapidated]. May he find [an inscribed object bearing] my name, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur [will (then) hear] his prayers.

72) [1 UŠ 11.TA.ÀM] ⌜MU⌝.DIDLI MU.SAR-*e* ITI.*si-bu-ti li-mu* ^{md}MUATI-ZU LÚ.GAR.⌜KUR URU$^{?}$.LÍMMU$^{?}$-DINGIR$^{?}$⌝

72) The line count of the inscription is [71] (lines). Sibūti, eponymy of Nabû-lē'i, governor of the city Arbela (702).

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64 GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MAḪ-*ḫu* "botanical garden" and *tuk-lat* "the mainstay of": See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 87.

66 *bi-ru-tú* "*valley*" and *ú-šat-tir-ma* "I cut through and": See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 89.

72 Sibūti, the month in which exs. 1 and 2 of this text and some exemplars of the following inscription (text no. 3) were inscribed, is an Elamite month, the seventh month in the Elamite year. For details on the Elamite calendar, see Reiner, AfO 24 (1973) pp. 97–102; and Cohen, The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East pp. 362–365. According to 5 R pl. 43:44 and other commentaries on the Elamite calendar, the month Sibūti corresponds to Araḫsamna (VIII). Note also that some copies of Esarhaddon Nineveh A are dated by Elamite months and the observations of some astronomical events are mentioned as being observed during an Elamite month; see Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 26 Esarhaddon 1, the on-page note to vi 75B and 75D.

3

One complete clay cylinder and several fragments of clay cylinders are inscribed with an inscription that is a near duplicate of text no. 2. The prologue and military narration (which contains accounts of Sennacherib's first two campaigns) are identical to the previous inscription (with one minor omission and minor orthographic variations). The building report, however, deviates from that text, as it omits the passage recording the roofing of the palace, the construction of an ornate portico (a *bīt-ḫilāni*), and the lining of the walls of the palace with sculpted orthostats, as well as the passage stating that the gods were invited into the "Palace Without a Rival" upon its completion. The complete cylinder (ex. 1) was inscribed at the same time as several copies of text no. 2, in the second half of the eponymy of Nabû-lēʾi, governor of the city Arbela (702). The scribe also indicated the total number of lines; each copy was inscribed with sixty-three lines of text. The inscription is commonly referred to as the "Bellino Cylinder." The name derives from Karl Bellino's hand-drawn facsimile of the complete cylinder (ex. 1) that C.J. Rich, the Resident in Baghdad for the East India Company, purchased at Nineveh in 1820; that copy was published in 1850 by G.F. Grotefend, who had received the copy in 1820 (just before Bellino died). In older literature, this inscription is very occasionally referred to as "Cylinder A."

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	BM 22502 (K 1680)	R 102	Acquired by C.J. Rich, probably at Nebi Yunus	25.5 long; 12.5 dia.	1–63, date	c
2	BM 134469	1932-12-12,464	Nineveh	12×11	38–63	c
3	—	79-7-8,288	Probably Nineveh	10.5×6.5	47–63	c

CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	K 1649	R 104	Same as ex. 1	6×5	1–11	c
2*	NBC 6057	—	—	10×9	7–26	c
3*	Rm 2,185	—	Probably Nineveh	4.5×4	12–23	c
4*	—	81-2-4,478	Probably Nineveh	3×3	21–27	c
5*	BM 123428	1932-12-10,371	Nineveh, Area SH	3.6×3.5	26–32	c
6*	BM 134457	1932-12-12,452	Nineveh	6.5×10	28–48	c
7*	VA 15467	Ass 15773 (Ass ph 4583)	Aššur, hD/hE, dump	10.5×4.7	33–44	c
8*	BM 98560	Th 1905-4-9,66	Nineveh	3×4.2	35–44	c
9*	—	81-7-27,7	Probably Nineveh	4.5×4.5	39–48	c
10*	—	81-2-4,175	Probably Nineveh	5×5	43–56	c
11*	VA 15470	Ass 11594 (Ass ph 2764)	Aššur, bA8II	5×6	17–27	c

12*	VA Ass 4367	Ass 15806 (Ass ph 4786)	Aššur, city area	7.6×7.3	37–57	c
13*	K 1646	—	Probably Nineveh	2.5×3	55–60	c

COMMENTARY

The birth of the study of Sennacherib's inscriptions began in 1820, when C.J. Rich visited Mosul and acquired what he described as "a small earthen vase covered with cuneiform writing" (= ex. 1). Shortly thereafter, K. Bellino, his secretary, made a facsimile of the text, which he sent to G.F. Grotefend, a man who by that time had already made several breakthroughs in the decipherment of Persian cuneiform. Thirty years later, Grotefend published Bellino's copy in Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Hist.-phil. Klasse 4 (after p. 206). As for the cylinder itself, Rich brought it back to England. In 1825, Mrs. Rich sold it, along with numerous other objects and manuscripts, to the British Museum. Those purchased objects formed the "R[ich]" collection; for details on the R[ich] collection, see Stolper, Studies Larsen pp. 516–517 and Reade in Searight, Assyrian Stone Vessels p. 108.

An old, yellow paper label attached to ex. 1 states that the clay cylinder was "From Nineveh." E.A.W. Budge (By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 25) and others (Frahm, Sanherib pp. 29 and 46) have suggested that the piece originates from Nebi Yunus, where locals had already dug deep into the mound, exposing the foundation of a palace of Sennacherib there. Ex. 1*, which also is part of the R[ich] collection, may have been acquired at the same time as ex. 1, in 1820, and may come from a similar provenance as the complete cylinder (ex. 1). Exs. 7* and 11*–12*, however, do not come from Nineveh, but originate from Aššur.

In addition to the three certain exemplars of this inscription, there are fourteen cylinder fragments that may preserve copies of the "Bellino Cylinder" (best preserved on ex. 1). These are edited as exs. 1*–13* and as text no. 1 ex. 1*. For text no. 1 ex. 1*, see the commentary to that inscription.

Exs. 1*–12*, all of which preserve parts of lines 1–56, are duplicates of either the "Bellino Cylinder" (ex. 1) or text no. 2 since both inscriptions are near duplicates up to line 56, at which point the texts deviate. Ex. 1* may preserve lines 1–11 of text no. 2, but since it does not add *re-ṣi-šú* ("his ally") after ELAM.MA.KI ("Elam") in line 5, that fragment is more likely an exemplar of this text. Should exs. 2*–12* be exemplars of text no. 2, then those fragments would preserve the following lines of that inscription: ex. 2* contains parts of lines 7–26; ex. 3* has parts of lines 12–23; ex. 4* preserves parts of lines 21–27; ex. 5* is inscribed with parts of lines 26–32; ex. 6* contains parts of lines 28–48; ex. 7* has parts of lines 33–44; ex. 8* preserves parts of lines 35–44; ex. 9* is inscribed with parts of lines 39–48; ex. 10* contains parts of lines 43–56; ex. 11* has parts of lines 17–27; and ex. 12* is inscribed with parts of lines 37–57.

Ex. 13* may be a duplicate of either text no. 3 or text no. 4. Should that fragment be an exemplar of the latter text, then it preserves parts of lines 83–88.

It is uncertain how long this inscription was in circulation since only ex. 1 has a date preserved on it. It is possible that this inscription was also inscribed on clay cylinders during the eponymy of Ḫanānu, governor of the city Tīl-Barsip (701); note that all of the known copies of text no. 4 that preserve a date were inscribed in the first part of the eponymy of Mitūnu (700).

The master text is ex. 1, with some minor improvements from the other exemplars. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. The scribe of ex. 1 marked every tenth line with a winkelhaken on the left edge; line counts also appear on several exemplars of text no. 4.

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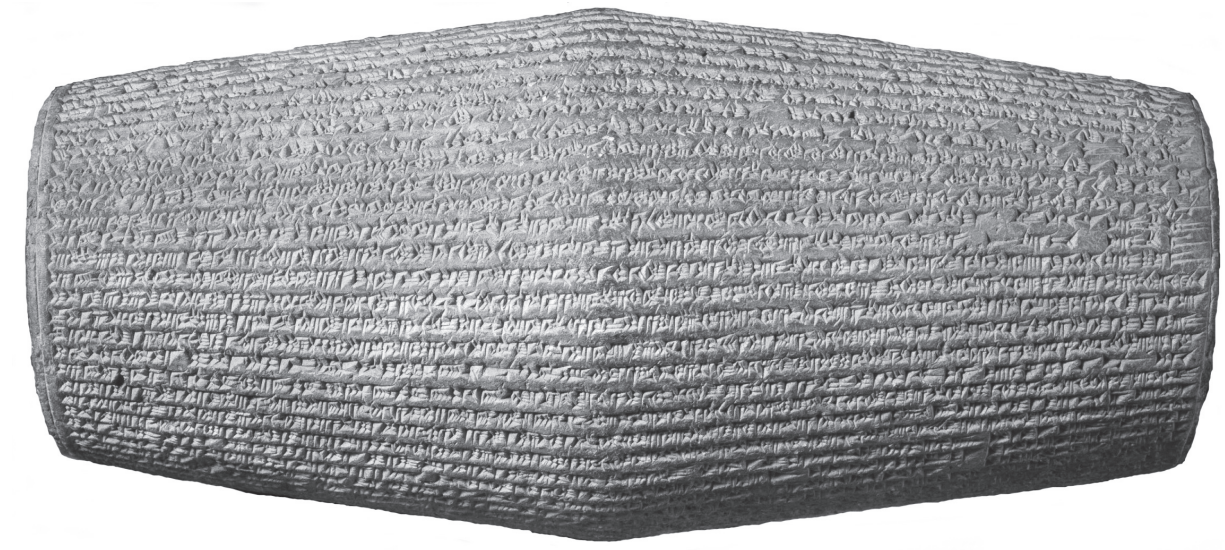

Figure 4. BM 22502 (text no. 3 ex. 1), the Bellino Cylinder of Sennacherib, which records two military campaigns and the construction of the "Palace Without a Rival." © Trustees of the British Museum.

TEXT

1) ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL GAL LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI LUGAL *la šá-na-an* RE.É.UM *mut-nen-nu-ú pa-liḫ* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ

2) *na-ṣir kit-ti ra-ʾi-im mi-šá-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti*

3) *eṭ-lu gít-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du a-šá-red kal ma-al-ki rap-pu la-ʾi-iṭ la ma-gi-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni*

4) ^{d}*aš-šur* KUR-*ú* GAL-*ú* LUGAL-*ut la šá-na-an ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma* UGU *gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki*

1–3) Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, pious shepherd who reveres the great gods, guardian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (and) strives after good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridle that controls the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning:

4) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater

1–56 Text no. 2 lines 1–56 duplicate these lines, apart from orthographic variants and the one minor deviation in line 5, for which see the on-page notes.

ú-šar-ba-a GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia*
5) *i-na* SAG LUGAL-*ti-ia ša* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA LUGAL KUR.*kár-dun-ía-áš a-di* ERIM.ḪI.A ELAM.MA.KI *i-na ta-mir-ti kiš*.KI *áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú*
6) *i-na* $MURUB_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri šu-a-tu e-zib* KARAŠ-*su e-diš ip-par-šid-ma a-na* KUR.*gu-zu-um-ma-ni in-na-bit qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me ù ap-pa-ra-a-te e-ru-um-ma na-piš-tuš e-ṭí-ir*
7) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.*ṣu-um-bi* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ *ù* ANŠE.*ud-ri ša i-na qit-ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi ú-maš-ši-ru ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a*
8) *a-na* É.GAL-*šú ša qé-reb* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ḫa-diš e-ru-um-ma ap-te-e-ma* É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR *ú-nu-ut* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR NA_4 *a-qar-tu mim-ma šum-šu* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA *ni-ṣir-tu ka-bit-tu*
9) DAM-*su* MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL-*šú* LÚ.TIRUM.MEŠ LÚ.*man-za-az pa-ni si-ḫir-ti um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú mut-tab-bi-lu-tu* É.GAL *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*
10) *aṣ-bat-ma* EGIR-*šú a-na* KUR.*gu-zu-um-ma-ni* LÚ.*mun-daḫ-ṣi-ia a-na qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me ù ap-pa-ra-a-te ú-ma-ʾe-er-ma* 5 u_4-*me i-pa-ru-nim-ma ul in-na-mir a-šar-šu*
11) *i-na e-muq* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia* 89 URU.MEŠ-*ni dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni ša* KUR.*kal-di ù* 8 ME 20 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu al-me ak-šud*^{ud} *áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*
12) LÚ.*úr-bi* LÚ.*a-ra-mu ù* LÚ.*kal-du ša qé-reb* UNUG.KI NIBRU.KI *kiš*.KI *ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*.KI GÚ.DU_8.A.KI *a-di* DUMU.MEŠ URU EN *ḫi-iṭ-ṭi ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*
13) ^{m}EN-DÙ DUMU LÚ.GAL-DÙ *pe-er-ʾi šu-an-na*.KI *ša* GIM *mi-ra-a-ni ṣa-aḫ-ri qé-reb* É.GAL-*ia ir-bu-ú a-na* LUGAL-*ut* KUR EME.GI_7 *ù* URI.KI *áš-ta-kan* UGU-*šú-un*
14) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* LÚ.*tu-ʾu-mu-na* LÚ.*ri-ḫi-ḫu* LÚ.*ia-daq-qu* LÚ.*ú-bu-du* LÚ.*gib-re-e* LÚ.*ma-li-ḫu* LÚ.*gu-ru-mu* LÚ.*ú-bu-lum* LÚ.*da-mu-nu*
15) LÚ.*gam-bu-lu* LÚ.*ḫi-in-da-ru* LÚ.*ru-ʾu-u-a* LÚ.*pu-qu-du* LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-a-nu* LÚ.*ḫa-ga-ra-nu* LÚ.*na-ba-tu* LÚ.*li-iʾ-ta-a-ú* LÚ.*a-ra-mu la kan-šú mit-ḫa-riš ak-šud*^{ud}
16) 2 ME 8 LIM UN.MEŠ *zik-ru u* MUNUS 7 LIM 2 ME ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ 11 LIM 73 ANŠE.MEŠ 5 LIM 2 ME 30 ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ 80 LIM 1 ME GU_4.MEŠ 8 ME LIM 6 ME US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu áš-lu-la a-na qé-reb* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
17) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ša* ^{md}AG-EN-MU.MEŠ LÚ.*qí-pi* URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-ti* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR

than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises.

5–7) At the beginning of my kingship, I brought about the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), together with the troops of (the land) Elam in the plain of Kish. In the midst of that battle he abandoned his camp. He fled alone and escaped to the land Guzummānu, (where) he entered the swamps and marshes and (thereby) saved his life. I seized the chariots, wagons, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, and Bactrian camels that he had abandoned in the thick of battle.

8–9) I joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then I opened his treasury and brought out gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, precious stones, all kinds of possessions (and) property, a substantial treasure, (together with) his wife, his palace women, courtiers, attendants, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, and I counted (them) as booty.

10) I pursued him to the land Guzummānu and ordered my warriors into the midst of swamps and marshes. For five days they searched (for him), but his (hiding) place could not be found.

11–12) With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 89 fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 820 small(er) settlements in their environs. I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans and Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Ḫursagkalama, (and) Cutha, together with the guilty citizens, and I counted (them) as booty.

13) I appointed over them Bēl-ibni, a son of a *rab banî* (and) a scion of Šuanna (Babylon) who had grown up like a young puppy in my palace, as king of the land of Sumer and Akkad.

14–16) On my return march, I defeated all together the Tuʾumuna, Riḫiḫu, Yadaqqu, Ubudu, Gibrê, Maliḫu (Malaḫu), Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu, (15) Gambulu, Ḫindaru, Ruʾuʾa, Puqudu, Ḫamrānu, Ḫagarānu, Nabatu, (and) Liʾtaʾu, insubmissive Arameans. I carried off into Assyria a substantial booty (consisting of) 208,000 people, male and female, 7,200 horses (and) mules, 11,073 donkeys, 5,230 camels, 80,100 oxen, (and) 800,600 sheep and goats.

17) In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audience gift from Nabû-bēl-šumāti, the

5 This inscription omits *re-ṣi-šú* "his ally" after ELAM.MA.KI "(the land) Elam." Cf. text no. 2 line 5 and text no. 4 line 5.

GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni* GAL.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *ta-mar-ta-šú ka-bit-tu am-ḫur*

18) *ba-ḫu-la-ti* URU.*ḫi-rim-me* LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣu ša ul-tu ul-la a-na ni-ri-ia la kit-nu-šu i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-šam-qit-ma na-piš-tu ul e-zib*

19) *na-gu-ú šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aṣ-bat* 1-*en* GU_4 10 UDU.MEŠ 10 ANŠE GEŠTIN.MEŠ 20 ANŠE ZÚ.ᶠLUMᵀ.MA *re-še-te-šú a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni* KUR *aš-šur*.KI EN.MEŠ-*ia ú-kin dà-ri-šam*

20) *i-na* 2-*e ger-ri-ia* ^{d}*aš-šur be-lí ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma a-na* KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i ù* KUR *ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a* LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣi ša ul-tu ul-la a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia la kit-nu-šu lu al-lik*

21) *qé-reb ḫur-šá-a-ni zaq-ru-te* A.ŠÀ *nam-ra-ṣi i-na* ANŠE.KUR.RA *ar-kab-ma* GIŠ.GIGIR GÌR.II-*ia i-na ti-ik-ka-a-te ú-šá-áš-ši áš-ru šup-šu-qu i-na* GÌR.II-*ia ri-ma-niš at-tag-giš*

22) URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú-nu al-me ak-šud*^{ud} UN.MEŠ TUR GAL ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *ul-tu qer-bi-šu ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*

23) URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* TUR.MEŠ ᶠ*ša*ᵀ *ni-ba la i-šu-ú ap-pul aq-qur ú-še-me kar-meš* É EDIN *kul-ta-ri tu-kul-ti-šú-nu i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu-ma* (erasure) *di-tal-liš ú-še-mi*

24) *ú-ter-ma* URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ šu-a-tu a-na bir-tu-ti aṣ-bat* UGU *ša* u_4-*me pa-ni ú-dan-nin a-muḫ-ḫuš* UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia ina lìb-bi ú-še-šib*

25) UN.MEŠ KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i ù* KUR *ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a ša la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ip-par-ši-du ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*i ú-še-ri-dam-ma i-na* URU.*ḫar-diš-pi* URU.É-^{m}*ku-bat-ti ú-šar-me*

26) *i-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia* LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ar-rap-ḫa am-nu-šú-nu-ti* NA_4.NA.RÚ.A *ú-še-piš-ma li-i-tum ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II *ša* UGU-*šú-un áš-tak-ka-nu ṣe-ru-uš-šú ú-šá-áš-ṭir-ma ina qer-bi* URU *ul-ziz*

27) *pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma a-na* KUR.*el-li-pi aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu el-la-mu-u-a* ^{m}*is-pa-ba-a-ra* LUGAL-*šú-un* URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú ú-maš-šir-ma a-na ru-qé-e-ti in-na-bit*

28) *gim-ri* KUR-*šu* DAGAL-*ti ki-ma* $MURU_9$ *as-ḫu-up* URU.*mar-ú-biš-ti* URU.*ak-ku-ud-du* URU.MEŠ É LUGAL-*ti-šú a-di* 34 URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti ù* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú*

29) *ap-pu-ul aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu-ma* $KIRI_6$.MEŠ-*šú-nu ak-šiṭ* UGU A.GÀR.MEŠ-*šú-un ḫab-ṣu-ti šá-ḫur-ra-tum at-bu-uk* KUR.*el-li-pi a-na paṭ gim-ri-šá ar-bu-ta ú-šá-lik*

official in charge of the city Ḫararatu: gold, silver, large *musukkannu*-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

18–19) I put to the sword the population of the city Ḫirimmu, a dangerous enemy who since time immemorial had not submitted to my yoke, and I did not leave one alive. I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

20–21) On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and I marched to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians, a dangerous enemy who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, my ancestors. In the high mountains, difficult terrain, I rode on horseback and had my personal chariot carried on (men's) necks. In very rugged terrain I roamed about on foot like a wild bull.

22–23) I surrounded (and) conquered the city Bīt-Kilamzaḫ, their fortified city. I brought out of it people, young (and) old, horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats, and I counted (them) as booty. I destroyed, devastated, (and) turned into ruins their small(er) settlements, which were without number. I burned with fire the pavilions (and) tents that they relied upon, and reduced (them) to ashes.

24–26) I made that city Bīt-Kilamzaḫ a fortress again (and) strengthened its enceinte more than before. I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. (25) I brought down from the mountains the people of the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians who had fled from my weapons and I made (them) dwell in the cities Ḫardišpu (and) Bīt-Kubatti. I placed them under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Arrapḫa. I had a stele made, had all the victorious conquests that I achieved over them written on it, and I erected (it) in (that) city.

27–29) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road to the land Ellipi. Before my arrival, Ispabāra, their king, abandoned his fortified cities (and) his treasury and fled far away. I overwhelmed all of his wide land like a fog. I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities Marʾubištu (and) Akkuddu, cities of his royal house, together with thirty-four fortified cities and small(er) settlements in their environs, which were without number, then I cut down their orchards (and) poured deathly quiet over their fertile fields. (In this manner) I reduced to desolation the land Ellipi to its full extent.

30) UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *la mi-nam áš-lu-lam-ma a-di la ba-še$_{20}$-e ú-šá-lik-šú-nu-ti*
31) URU.*ṣi-*ʳ*ṣi*ˀ*-ir-tu* URU.*ku-um-*ʳ*ma*ˀ*-aḫ-lum* URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti a-di* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu* KUR.É*-bar-ru-ú na-gu-u a-na gi-mir-ti-šú ul-tu qé-reb* KUR*-šú ab-tuq-ma* UGU *mi-ṣir* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-rad-di*
32) URU.*el-en-za-áš a-na* URU LUGAL*-ti ù dan-na-at na-ge-e šu-a-tu aṣ-bat-ma* MU*-šú maḫ-ra-a ú-nak-kir-ma* URU.*kar-*^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ*-eri-ba at-ta-bi ni-bit-su*
33) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia ša* KUR.*ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ti ša i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ*-ni* AD.MEŠ*-ia ma-am-man la iš-mu-u zi-kir* KUR.MEŠ*-šú-un man-da-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tú am-ḫur a-na ni-ri be-lu-ti-ia ú-šak-ni-su-nu-ti*
34) *i-na* u_4*-mi-šu-ma* NINA.KI *ma-ḫa-zu ṣi-i-ru* URU *na-ram* ^{d}*iš-tar ša nap-ḫar ki-du-de-e* DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* ^{d}IŠ.TAR.MEŠ *ba-šu-ú qé-reb-šu*
35) *tem-me-en-nu da-ru-ú du-ru-uš ṣa-a-ti ša ul-tu ul-la it-ti ši-ṭir bu-ru-um-me eṣ-rat-su eṣ-ret-ma šu-pu-ú ṣi-in-du-šu*
36) *áš-ru nak-lu* ʳ*šu*ˀ*-bat pi-riš-ti ša mim-ma šum-šu ši-pir ni-kil-ti gi-mir pel-lu-de-e ni-ṣir-ti làl-gar šu-ta-bu-lu qé-reb-šu*

37) *ša ul-tu ul-*ʳ*la*ˀ LUGAL.MEŠ*-ni a-li-kut maḫ-ri* AD.MEŠ*-ia ul-la-nu-u-a be-lu-tu* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *e-pu-šu-ma ú-ma-*ʾ*e-ru ba-*ʾ*u-lat* ^{d}EN.LÍL
38) *ù šat-ti-šam la na-par-ka-a e-reb la nar-ba-a-ti* GUN *mal-ki kib-rat ar-ba-*ʾ*i im-da-na-aḫ-ḫa-ru qé-reb-šu*
39) *a-a-um-ma i-na lib-bi-šú-nu a-na* É.GAL *qer-bi-šu kúm-mu ri-mit be-lu-ti ša ṣu-uḫ-ḫur šu-bat-su le-e-su ul i-da-a lib-bu-uš ul iḫ-su-us*
40) *a-na šu-te-šur* SILA URU *ù šum-dul re-ba-a-ti ḫa-re-e* ÍD *za-qa-ap ṣip-pa-a-ti ú-zu-un-šu ul ib-ši-ma ul uš-ta-bil ka-ras-su*

41) *ia-a-ti* ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ*-eri-ba* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI *e-peš šip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i ṭè-em* DINGIR.MEŠ *i-na uz-ni-ia ib-ši-ma ka-bat-ti ub-lam-ma*
42) *te-ne-šet* KUR.*kal-di* LÚ.*a-ra-mu* KUR.*man-na-a-a* KUR.*qu-e ù* KUR.*ḫi-lak-ku ša a-na ni-ri-ia la kit-nu-šu as-su-ḫa-am-ma tup-šik-ki ú-šá-áš-ši-šú-nu-ti-ma il-bi-nu* SIG_4
43) *a-pe ku-pe-e ša qé-reb* KUR.*kal-di ak-šiṭ-ma ap-pa-ri-šú-un šam-ḫu-ti i-na ba-ḫu-la-ti na-ki-ri ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II*-ia ú-šal-di-da a-na e-peš šip-ri-šá*

30–31) I carried off people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats without number and brought them to nought. I detached from his land the cities Ṣi(ṣ)ṣirtu (and) Kummaḫlum, fortified cities, together with the small(er) settlements in their environs (and) the district of the land Bīt-Barrû in its entirety, and I added (this area) to the territory of Assyria.

32) I took the city Elenzaš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and called it Kār-Sennacherib.

33) On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down to the yoke of my lordship.

34–36) At that time, Nineveh, the exalted cult center, the city loved by the goddess Ištar in which all of the rituals for gods and goddesses are present; (35) the enduring foundation (and) eternal base whose plan had been designed by the stars (lit. "writing") of the firmament and whose arrangement was made manifest since time immemorial; a sophisticated place (and) site of secret lore in which every kind of skilled craftsmanship, all of the rituals, (and) the secret(s) of the *lalgar* (cosmic subterranean water) are apprehended;
37–38) in which since time immemorial earlier kings, my ancestors, before me exercised dominion over Assyria and ruled the subjects of the god Enlil, and wherein annually, without interruption, they received an income unsurpassed in amount, the tribute of the rulers of the four quarters (of the world);
39–40) (but) not one among them had paid heed to (or) shown interest in the palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling whose site had become too small; (40) nor had anyone (of them) conceived of and put his mind towards the straightening of the city's street(s) and the widening of (its) squares, the dredging of the river, (and) the planting of orchards:
41–43) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the performing of this work came to my attention by the will of the gods and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Manneans, (and) the lands Que and Ḫilakku, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made them carry baskets (of earth) and they made bricks. I cut down canebrakes in Chaldea and I had their splendid reeds hauled (to Nineveh) for its (the palace's) construction by enemy soldiers whom I had defeated.

44) É.GAL *maḫ-ri-tu ša* 3 ME 60 *ina* 1.KÙŠ UŠ *i-na tar-ṣi za-me-e* É *ziq-qur-rat* 80 *ina* 1.KÙŠ ⌜DAGAL⌝ *i-na tar-ṣi* É.*na-ma-ri* É ^{d}15 1 ME 34 *ina* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL *i-na tar-ṣi* É.*na-ma-ri* É-*kid*$_9$-*mu-ri* 95 *ina* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL

45) *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni a-li-kut maḫ-ri* AD.MEŠ-*ia a-na ri-mì-ti be-lu-ti-šú-un ú-še-pi-šu-ma la ú-nak-ki-lu ši-pir-šá*

46) ÍD.*te-bil-ti a-gu-ú šit-mu-ru ša i-na na-ši-šá ge-gu-né-e qa-bal-ti* URU *ú-ab-bi-tu-ma ki-maḫ-ḫi-šú-un nak-mu-ti ú-kal-li-mu* ^{d}UTU-*šú*

47) *ù ul-tu* UD.MEŠ SÙ.MEŠ *ṭe-ḫi* É.GAL *i-ba-ʾu-ú-ma i-na* ILLU-*šá gap-ši i-na uš-ši-šá ab-bu ú-šab-šu-u ú-ri-ib-bu tem-me-en-šá*

48) É.GAL.TUR.RA *šá-a-tu a-na si-ḫir-ti-šá aq-qur-ma ša* ÍD.*te-bil-ti ma-lak-šá uš-te-eš-na-a ab-bu uš-ṭib-ma ú-še-šir mu-ṣu-šá*

49) *qé-reb ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-ki-šá šap-la-nu* GI.MEŠ *e-la-niš* NA$_4$.MEŠ KUR-*i dan-ni it-ti* ESIR.UD.A *ak-si-ma* A.ŠÀ *ul-tu ma-a-me ú-še-lam-ma na-ba-liš ú-ter*

50) 7 ME *ina* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* UŠ 1 ME 62 *ina* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI AN.TA IM.SI.SÁ 2 ME 17 *ina* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI MURUB$_4$-*tim*

51) 3 ME 86 *ina* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI KI.TA IM.U$_{18}$.LU ÚS.SA.DU ÍD.IDIGNA *tam-la-a ú-mal-li-ma am-šu-uḫ me-ši-iḫ-ta*

52) *la-ba-riš* UD.MEŠ *i-na* ILLU *kiš-šá-ti tem-me-en-šú la e-né-še as-kup-pat* NA$_4$.*pi-i-li rab-ba-a-ti a-sur-ru-šu ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra ú-dan-nin šu-pu-uk-šú*

53) MU.SAR-*e ši-ṭir šu-mi-ia* 1 ME 60 *ti-ib-ki tam-li-i qé-reb-šú al-ṭu-ur-ma šap-la-nu i-na uš-ši-šu e-zib aḫ-ra-taš*

54) *ar-ka-nu šu-uš-qu-ú tam-li-i ka-bat-ti ub-lam-ma* 20 *ti-ib-ki ṣe-er maḫ-ri-i uṣ-ṣip-ma* 1 ME 80 *ti-ib-ki ú-šaq-qí e-la-niš*

55) *tar-pa-šu-ú el ša u$_4$-me pa-ni ú-šar-bi ṣe-er me-ši-iḫ-ti* É.GAL *maḫ-ri-ti ú-rad-di-ma ú-šá-an-di-la ši-kit-taš*

56) É.GAL ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni* GIŠ.EREN GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN ŠIM.LI *ù* GIŠ.*bu-uṭ-ni é-gal-zag-di-nu-tuku-a a-na mu-šab* LUGAL-*ti-ia ú-še-pi-šá qé-reb-šu*

57) GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MAḪ-*ḫu tam-šil* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim ša gi-mir* ŠIM.ḪI.A GURUN *ṣip-pa-a-ti* GIŠ.MEŠ *tuk-lat* KUR-*i ù* KUR.*kal-di qé-reb-šu ḫur-ru-šu i-ta-a-šá az-qu-up*

44–47) The former palace, which was 360 cubits long opposite the *zamû*-wall of the ziggurrat, 80 cubits wide opposite the tower of the temple of the goddess Ištar, 134 cubits wide opposite the tower of the Bīt-Kidmuri, (and) 95 cubits wide (on the other side); (45) which earlier kings, my ancestors, had had constructed for their lordly dwelling, but whose construction they had carried out inexpertly — the Tebilti River, a tempestuous flood (of water) which when it rose had destroyed sacred buildings inside the city and exposed the mounds of their tombs (lit. "their mounded tombs") to the sun, and which had flowed from distant days by the side of the palace and which (thereby) had caused erosion in its foundation when its flood was in full spate (and) had shaken its base:

48) I tore down that small palace in its entirety, then I changed the course of the Tebilti River, repaired (the effects of) the erosion, and directed its outflow.

49–52) In the hidden depths of its subterranean waters I bonded together, with bitumen, reeds below (and) strong mountain stone above, then I raised (that) area out of the water and converted (it) to dry land. (50) I filled in and measured a terrace of 700 large *aslu*-cubits along (its) longer side, 162 large *aslu*-cubits along (its) upper, northern shorter side, 217 large *aslu*-cubits along the inner, shorter side, (and) 386 large *aslu*-cubits along the lower, southern shorter side, (which is) beside the Tigris River. In order to prevent its foundation from being weakened over the passage of time by cresting flood(s), I surrounded its damp course with large limestone slabs (and thereby) reinforced its base.

53) I inscribed objects bearing my name 160 courses of brick within the terrace and I deposited (them) deep down in its foundation for ever after.

54–55) Afterwards, I decided to increase the height of the terrace, then I added 20 courses of brick to the former (terrace) and (thus) I raised (it) to a (total) height of 180 courses of brick. (55) I made the area larger than before, added (it) to the former dimensions of the palace, and (thus) enlarged its structure.

56) I had a palace of elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, *musukkannu*-wood, cedar, cypress, juniper, and terebinth, (a palace that I named) Egalzagdinutukua ("The Palace Without a Rival"), constructed thereon as my royal residence.

57) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, which has all kinds of aromatic plants (and) fruit trees, trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, *collected* inside it.

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44 80 "80": Ex. 6* has 1 ME 20 "120." *kid*$_9$-: Ex. 1 has MAŠ-.

57–60 These lines duplicate text no. 1 lines 87–90 and text no. 2 lines 64–67, for which see the on-page notes.

57 Text no. 2 deviates from this text at this point. That text, following the building report of text no. 1, includes passages recording the roofing of the palace with cedar beams and the hanging of cypress doors in its gates, the construction of an ornate portico (a *bīt-ḫilāni*), and the lining of the walls of the palace with sculpted orthostats; see text no. 2 lines 57–63. Text no. 4 also does not include those passages.

58) *áš-šú za-qa-ap ṣip-pa-a-ti* A.ŠÀ *ta-mir-ti e-le-en* URU NIGIDAMIN.TA.ÀM *a-na* DUMU.MEŠ NINA.KI *pil-ku ú-pal-lik-ma ú-šad-gi-la pa-nu-uš-šú-un*

59) *a-na miṭ-ra-a-ti šum-mu-ḫi ul-tu pa-a-ṭi* URU.*ki-si-ri a-di ta-mir-ti* NINA.KI KUR-*a ù bi-ru-tú i-na ak-kul-la-te ú-šat-tir-ma ú-še-šir* ÍD.*ḫar-ru*

60) 1 1/2 KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru ul-tu qé-reb* ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur ma-a-me da-ru-ú-ti a-šar-šá ú-šar-da-a qé-reb ṣip-pa-a-ti šá-ti-na ú-šaḫ-*⌜*bi*⌝*-ba pat-ti-iš*

61) *ša* NINA.KI URU *be-lu-ti-ia šu-bat-su uš-rab-bi re-ba-ti-šú ú-šá-an-dil-ma bi-re-e-ti ù su-qa-a-ni uš-par-di ú-nam-mir* GIM u_4-*me*

62) *a-na* EGIR UD.MEŠ *i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* DUMU.MEŠ-*ia ša* ^{d}*aš-šur a-na* RE.É.UM-*ut* KUR *ù* UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šú e-nu-ma* É.GAL *šá-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫu*

63) *an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-diš* MU.SAR-*e ši-ṭir šu-*⌜*mi*⌝*-ia li-mur-ma* Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU.SISKUR *liq-qí a-na áš-ri-šú li-ter* ^{d}*aš-šur ik-ri-bi-šu i-šem-me*

58) To plant gardens, I subdivided the meadowland upstream of the city into plots of two *pānu* each for the citizens of Nineveh and I handed (them) over to them.

59–60) To make (those) planted areas luxuriant, I cut with iron picks a canal straight through mountain and *valley*, from the border of the city Kisiru to the plain of Nineveh. (60) I caused an inexhaustible supply of water to flow there for a distance of one and a half leagues from the Ḫusur River (and) made (it) gush through feeder canals into those gardens.

61) I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my capital city. I broadened its squares and brought light into the alleys and streets, making (them) as bright as day.

62–63) In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when that palace becomes old and dilapidated. May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur will (then) hear his prayers.

64) 1 UŠ 3.TA.ÀM MU.DIDLI MU.SAR-*e* ITI.*si-bu-*⌜*ti*⌝ *lim-mu* ^{md}AG-ZU LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.*er-ba-ìl*

64) The line count of the inscription is 63 (lines). Sibūti, eponymy of Nabû-lēʾi, governor of the city Arbela (702).

4

Eight complete clay cylinders and numerous fragments from Nineveh and Aššur are inscribed with a text describing Sennacherib's first three campaigns and his large-scale renovations of the "Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace) at Nineveh, as well as various other public works in that city, including the creation of a botanical garden, the broadening of city squares, and the construction of a bridge. The prologue, the accounts of the first and second campaigns, and the building report are similar to those of text no. 3. This inscription also includes the earliest known account of his third campaign, during which he marched to the Levant, where he collected gifts and tribute from eight kings, deposed Ṣidqâ of Sidon and replaced him with a pro-Assyrian ruler (Šarru-lū-dāri), defeated an Egyptian-led coalition that had been organized by the nobles and citizens of the city Ekron, reinstalled Padî as king of Ekron, captured numerous cities belonging to the Judean king Hezekiah, and laid siege to Jerusalem (but without capturing the city). Some of the events in Judah are also described in the Bible (2 Kings 18:13–19:36 and 2 Chronicles 32:1–22). The military narration concludes with a boast about Hezekiah sending a substantial payment

3 line 61 This inscription and text no. 4 do not state that the palace was completed, nor do their building reports include mention of the gods being invited inside it. Cf. text no. 1 lines 91–92 and text no. 2 lines 68–69.

3 lines 62–63 These lines duplicate text no. 1 lines 93–94 and text no. 2 lines 70–71.

3 line 64 Sibūti, the month in which ex. 1 of this text and some exemplars of the previous inscription (text. no. 2) were inscribed, is an Elamite month, the seventh month in the Elamite year. For details, see the on-page note to text no. 2 line 72.

to Nineveh and a short passage stating that Sennacherib formed a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers from prisoners deported from conquered lands. Several exemplars preserve a date and these were inscribed at the beginning of the eponymy of Mitūnu, governor of the city Isāna (700). In addition, the scribe indicated the total number of lines; each copy was inscribed with ninety-four lines of text. The inscription is commonly referred to as the "Rassam Cylinder," being named after Hormuzd Rassam, who discovered several complete copies (exs. 1–5) in the ruins of the South-West Palace. In older literature, this inscription is also referred to as "Cylinder B."

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number/ Source	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	BM 22503	80-7-19,1	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Court VI, in the wall between Doors d and e	26.3 long; 10.7 dia. on right (smallest edge)	1–94, date	c
2	BM 22500	81-2-4,42	Presumably from Nineveh, South-West Palace	25.9 long; 10.1 dia. on right (smallest edge)	1–94, date	c
3	BM 22501	79-7-8,302	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Court VI, in the wall between Doors g and h	25.6 long; 11.1 dia. on right (smallest edge)	1–94, date	c
4	BM 22504	80-7-19,2	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Court VI, in the wall between Doors c and d	26 long; 10.4 dia. on left (smallest edge)	1–94, date	c
5	Istanbul (unnumbered)	(formerly 80-7-19,3)	Nineveh, South-West Palace, in the wall between Room VII and Room VIII just east of Door a	—	1–94, date	p
6	—	81-7-27,1 + 81-7-27,264	Probably Nineveh	9.5 long; 10.2 dia. on right (smallest edge)	1–94, date	c
7	—	81-2-4,47	Probably Nineveh	1 long	1–94, date	c
8	Sumer 24 pl. 16B	—	Nineveh, South-West Palace, in the foundation of the western wall of the throne room	—	1–94, date	n
9	VA 7516	Ass 5040	Aššur, gD5IV, "Quergraben I," by the Libbu-Wall	9.6×8.2	1–18, 77–94, date	c
10	—	81-2-4,168	Probably Nineveh	5.5×6.5	1–12	c
11	K 1636a	—	Probably Nineveh	14 long, 13.5 high	1–10, 72–94, date	c
12	K 1637	—	Probably Nineveh	4.5×7	1–9, 88–94, date	c
13	BM 98558	Th 1905-4-9,64	Nineveh	3.2×5.4	1–9, date	c
14	BM 134456	1932-12-12,451	Nineveh, Kuyunjik	3×4	1–7	c
15	K 1641	—	Probably Nineveh	5×6.5	1–6, 93–94, date	c
16	—	80-7-19,10	Nineveh, Kuyunjik, probably the South-West Palace	6×6.5	4–20	c
17	K 1644 + 79-7-8,220	79-7-8,220	Probably Nineveh	10.5×5	5–19	c

18	—	81-7-27,5	Probably Nineveh	4.5×6	7–23	c
19	Sm 2123 + Rm 2,94	—	Probably Nineveh	5.5×13.5	12–43	c
20	K 1642 + 81-7-27,6	81-7-27,6	Probably Nineveh	4×3.5	14–34	c
21	—	79-7-8,15	Probably Nineveh	5.5×5	14–29	c
22	—	79-7-8,16	Probably Nineveh	4×5.5	14–28	c
23	DT 69	—	Probably Nineveh	5×8	16–37	c
24	EHE 322	—	—	6×5	16–32	
25	VA 7508	Ass 1248	Aššur, 18, palace of the crown prince	6.8×6.7	17–36	c
26	BM 123415	1932-12-10,358	Nineveh, Ištar Temple, Square R	8.4×7.7	18–41	c
27	BM 99047	Ki 1904-10-9,76	—	6×9	19–40	c
28	—	80-7-19,11	Probably Nineveh	5×4.7	19–31	c
29	—	81-2-4,170	Probably Nineveh	2×7.5	20–39	c
30	BM 98559	Th 1905-4-9,65	Nineveh	4.7×3.2	21–28	c
31	Rm 952	—	Probably Nineveh	3.5×3.5	21–28	c
32	BM 134451	1932-12-12,446	Nineveh	3×5.5	24–34	c
33	A 16933	—	Probably Nineveh	—	25–40	c
34	—	81-2-4,171	Probably Nineveh	4.3×6.5	27–44	c
35	K 1640	—	Probably Nineveh	3.5×6	29–44	c
36	—	81-7-27,17	Probably Nineveh	4.5×4	29–37	c
37	—	81-7-27,2 + 81-7-27,4	Probably Nineveh	7×12	30–57	c
38	Rm 1030	—	Probably Nineveh	5×2.5	32–44	c
39	K 1636b	—	Probably Nineveh	4.5×2	33–43	c
40	MMA 86.11.197	—	—	4×4.1	33–43	c
41	A 3515	—	Probably Nineveh	3.5×5.6	34–44	c
42	K 15312	—	Probably Nineveh	3×2.5	34–40	c
43	Private possession	—	Probably Aššur	6.6×2.2	36–52	p
44	—	Bu 89-4-26,141	Probably Nineveh	3.5×5.5	36–48	c
45	Private possession	—	Probably Aššur	—	40–51	n
46	Rm 1029	—	Probably Nineveh	4×4	40–49	c
47	BM 123430	1932-12-10,373	Nineveh, Ištar Temple, Square S	5.2×5.1	42–53	c
48	A 3596 (Istanbul)	Ass 17180 (Ass ph 5180)	Aššur, iD3IV, in rubble	—	42–50	c
49	BM 99325	Ki 1904-10-9,358	Nineveh	3×4	43–52	c
50	K 19428	—	Probably Nineveh	2×2.3	44–49	c
51	BM 123417	1932-12-10,360	Nineveh, Ištar Temple, Square M	11×9	46–77	c
52	—	81-2-4,45	Probably Nineveh	6×7	46–62	c
53	—	Bu 89-4-26,137	Probably Nineveh	6×6	46–59	c
54	BM 134492	1932-12-12,487	Nineveh, South-West Palace Trench II	3.3×5	47–60	c
55	K 1639	—	Probably Nineveh	3×5	47–59	c
56	VA Ass 4368	Ass 7157 (Ass ph 1972)	Aššur, dump	3.5×4.7	47–53	c
57	K 20864	—	Probably Nineveh	2.5×3.5	49–57	c
58	BM 123431 + BM 127972	1932-12-10,374 + 1929-10-12,628	BM 123431: Nineveh, Ištar Temple, Square J; BM 127972: Nineveh, Asn. Palace, Square H	4.7×5.2	52–73	c
59	—	Bu 89-4-26,139	Probably Nineveh	5×6	53–68	c
60	VAT 11955	—	Aššur	3.8×6.1	56–71	c
61	—	Bu 89-4-26,138	Probably Nineveh	6×5	58–69	c
62	—	82-5-22,23	Probably Nineveh	9.5×7.5	59–75	c
63	BM 99050	Ki 1904-10-9,79	Nineveh	4×7.5	61–85	c
64	BM 123432	1932-12-10,375	Nineveh, Ištar Temple, Square EE	5.5×5	62–77	c
65	K 1648 + Sm 1894 + Sm 2007	—	Probably Nineveh	13×9	67–87	c
66	A 16934	—	Probably Nineveh	8.9×3.8	68–90	c

67	VA 15468	Ass 15222 (Ass ph 4335)	Aššur, 1D11I west	9.7×7.5	67–84	c
68	K 1647	—	Probably Nineveh	10×5.5	69–94, date	c
69	VA Ass 4364	Ass 8578 + Ass 8722 (Ass ph 1972)	Aššur, cD6II, vestibule of House 24	8×7×2	70–88	c
70	VA Ass 4363	Ass 8532 (Ass ph 1972)	Same as ex. 69	8.9×7.2	71–94	c
71	K 1638	—	Probably Nineveh	5.5×5.5	75–87	c
72	K 1650	—	Probably Nineveh	8.5×7	76–90	c
73	BM 134515	1932-12-12,510	Nineveh, Kuyunjik	5×6	77–93	c
74	VA 7509	Ass 1261	Aššur, 1C9III, by the inner wall of the palace of the prince	3.5×4.7×2	78–87	c
75	—	82-5-22,25	Probably Nineveh	6×5	79–94	c
76	—	79-7-8,17	Probably Nineveh	5×7	80–94	c
77	—	Bu 89-4-26,74	Probably Nineveh	2.5×4.5	83–93	c
78	BM 134606	1932-12-12,601	Probably Nineveh	4×7	84–94	c
79	—	48-11-4,281	Probably Nineveh	5×5	85–94, date	c
80	BM 99048	Ki 1904-10-9,77	Nineveh	6×6	87–94, date	c
81	—	80-7-19,14	Probably Nineveh	4×4	87–94	c
82	VA Ass 4365	Ass 5405 (Ass ph 1972)	Aššur, city area	8×8.5	15–37	c
83	VA 15473	Ass 9858 (Ass ph 1972)	Aššur, city area	9.3×4.6	22–36	c
84	VA Ass 4366	Ass 11398 (Ass ph 2470)	Aššur, bD8III	7.1×8.7	45–62	c
85	VA 7502	Ass 2448	Aššur, hB4V, southeast corner	4×4.5	47–55	c
86	VA Ass 4369	Ass 5456 (Ass ph 1972)	Aššur, dE5IV, by the west corner of the small ziggurrat	4.2×3.9	54–62	c
87	VA 15472	Ass 15625 (Ass ph 4541)	Aššur, city area	4×2.8	55–65	c

COMMENTARY

The prologue, the accounts of the first and second campaigns, and the building report of this inscription are more or less borrowed directly from text no. 3, but with some omissions and additions, and the occasional substitution of words; most of text no. 3 is copied from text no. 2, which in turn borrows some of its content from text no. 1. The report of the third campaign, however, appears to have been composed anew for this inscription. Close examination of text nos. 1–4, as well as of inscriptions written on clay prisms between 697 and 691/689 (text nos. 15–18 and 22–23), provides valuable insight into some of the editorial practices of scribes used in the composition of this king's *res gestae*; omissions, additions, and substitutions can be easily tracked from one edition to the next. This volume, however, is not the venue for a complete and thorough examination of the editorial history of Sennacherib's foundation inscriptions. Some of the more significant changes are noted in the on-page notes of text nos. 1–4, 15–18, and 22–23. For further information about Sennacherib's foundation inscriptions that were written on clay cylinders, see the commentary of text no. 1.

Ex. 32 (BM 134451) may have been inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-šarrāni (699) since a horizontal ruling separates the reports of the second and third campaigns (after line 8′). Ruling lines appear to have been used for the first time in texts inscribed in 699 (Sennacherib's 6th regnal year); see Frahm, Sanherib pp. 49 (ex. HHH) and 61, and the commentary to text no. 5.

Exs. 1–5, all complete cylinders, were discovered by Hormuzd Rassam, or his nephew Nimroud Rassam, during the 1878–82 excavations of the South-West Palace. J. Reade (ARRIM 4 [1986] pp. 33–34) suggests that they were discovered in the following order: ex. 3 (BM 22501), ex. 1 (BM 22503), ex. 4 (BM 22504), ex. 5 (Istanbul; formerly 80-7-19,3), and ex. 2 (BM 22500). Since BM 22501 (ex. 3) reached the British Museum in mid-1879, that complete cylinder is most likely the cylinder discovered in December 1878, in "the solid brick pillar ... between entrances

g and h of Chamber IX." BM 22503 (ex. 1) was found by N. Rassam on 25 October 1879, in the "first foundations" of Room VII, in the "small pillar at the entrance" (= the wall between Doors d and e). BM 22504 (ex. 4) was discovered by N. Rassam on 22 November 1879, in the "second foundations" of Room VII; the "second foundations" are thought to be the wall between Doors c and d. The Istanbul cylinder (formerly 80-7-19,3; ex. 5) was found by N. Rassam on 20 January 1880, in the "foundations" (that is, the wall) between Rooms VII and VIII. BM 22500 (ex. 2) is thought to have been discovered prior to December 1880 in a wall of Sennacherib's palace; the details of its discovery are not known. See Reade, ARRIM 4 (1986) pp. 33–34 for further details, including the relevant documentation in the British Museum.

Several fragments of clay cylinders inscribed with copies of this text were discovered at Aššur. These are edited as exs. 9, 25, 43, 45, 48, 56, 60, 67, 69–70, 74, and 82–87. It is curious that texts whose building reports describe construction at Nineveh should be found at Aššur, and in more than one exemplar; note that some exemplars of text no. 1 and text no. 3 were also discovered at Aššur.

There are a number of cases where two or more fragments probably come from the same cylinder, but without any physical join (for example, exs. 29 and 34, and exs. 69 and 70 [suggested by O. Pedersén; Katalog p. 207]). Since such speculation is necessarily tentative, all unjoined fragments are registered in the catalogue as separate exemplars.

There are numerous scribal errors in the completely preserved cylinders, exs. 1–5; ex. 3 has an exceptionally high number of errors, dittographies in particular. The high number of erasures, omissions, and dittographies may be attributed to the fact that the scribes divided the ninety-four-line text in the exact same way on every copy of the inscription. Based on orthography, exs. 1–5 are assumed to have been inscribed by three different scribes; exs. 1–2 and 5 by one scribe, ex. 3 by another, and ex. 4 by a third scribe. The scribes of exs. 7, 29, and 68 marked every tenth line with a winkelhaken on the left edge; line counts also appear on text no. 3 ex. 1.

In addition to the eighty-seven certain exemplars of this inscription, there are two cylinder fragments that may preserve copies of this text. These are edited as text no. 1 ex. 1* and text no. 3 ex. 13*. See the catalogues and commentaries of those texts for further details. S.A. Picchioni (Sumer 42 [1979–81] p. 50 fig. 7) published a photograph of a badly damaged clay cylinder in the Mosul Museum. That object could be a duplicate of this inscription, but the photograph is illegible. Since its contents cannot be confirmed, it is excluded from the catalogue. MMA 86.11.197 (ex. 40) is included here courtesy of G. Frame. A copy and an edition of the fragment will appear in Spar, CTMMA 4 (forthcoming).

The master text is generally ex. 1, with some minor improvements from the other exemplars; see the on-page notes for details. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. Ex. 5 (formerly 80-7-19,3) was sent to Istanbul, but was copied (up to line 65) by G. Smith; his unpublished copy is in the Western Asiatic Department of the British Museum. A transliteration of this complete cylinder is included in the score since it was collated from legible photographs. 81-2-4,47 (ex. 7) is really just the left rim of a cylinder, with only traces of one sign on each line. Enough traces are preserved to recognize that these are the first signs of lines 1–95 of this text, but it would be pedantic to transliterate those signs, all of which would appear between half brackets in the score; in lieu of this, ellipses (...) appear for each line of ex. 7. Ex. 8 is known only from a mostly illegible photograph (lines 47–54 are legible) published by T. Madhloom (Sumer 24 [1968] pl. 16B). Since that complete cylinder was not available for study, that exemplar does not appear in the score.

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TEXT

1) ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL GAL-*ú* LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI LUGAL *la šá-na-an* RE.É.UM *mut-nen-nu-ú pa-liḫ* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
2) *na-ṣir kit-ti ra-'i-im mi-šá-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti*
3) *eṭ-lu gít-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du a-šá-red kal ma-al-ki rap-pu la-'i-iṭ la ma-gi-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni*
4) ^{d}*aš-šur* KUR-*ú* GAL-*ú* LUGAL-*ut la šá-na-an ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma* UGU *gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki*

1–3) Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, pious shepherd who reveres the great gods, guardian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (and) strives after good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridle that controls the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning:

4) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater

1 LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti* "king of the world": This title is first used by Sennacherib in this inscription; cf. text no. 1 line 1, text no. 2 line 1, and text no. 3 line 1.

ú-šar-ba-a GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia*
5) *i-na maḫ-re-e ger-ri-ia ša*
md*AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA LUGAL
KUR.*kár-dun-ia-áš a-di* ERIM.ḪI.A ELAM.MA.KI
re-ṣi-šú i-na ta-mir-ti kiš.KI *áš-ta-kan*
BAD_5.BAD_5-*šu*
6) *i-na* $MURUB_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri šu-a-tu e-zib* KARAŠ-*su*
e-diš ip-par-šid-ma na-piš-tuš e-ṭí-ir
GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GIŠ.*ṣu-um-bi*
ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ *ša ina qit-ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi*
ú-maš-ši-ru ik-šu-da ŠU.II-*a-a*
7) *a-na* É.GAL-*šu ša qé-reb* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ḫa-diš*
e-ru-um-ma ap-te-e-ma É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú* KÙ.GI
KÙ.BABBAR *ú-nu-ut* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR NA_4
a-qar-tu mim-ma šum-šú NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA
ni-ṣir-tu ka-bit-tu
8) DAM-*su* MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL.MEŠ-*šú*
LÚ.TIRUM.MEŠ LÚ.*man-za-az pa-ni si-ḫir-ti*
um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú mut-tab-bi-lu-tú
É.GAL-*uš ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*
9) *i-na e-muq* d*aš-šur* EN-*ia* 89 URU.MEŠ-*šú*
dan-nu-ti É BÀD.MEŠ *ša* KUR.*kal-di ù* 6 ME 20
URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu al-me*
KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*
10) LÚ.*úr-bi* LÚ.*a-ra-mu* LÚ.*kal-du ša qé-reb*
UNUG.KI NIBRU.KI *kiš*.KI *ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*.KI
$GÚ.DU_8$.A.KI ZIMBIR.KI EN DUMU.MEŠ URU EN
ḫi-iṭ-ṭi ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
11) mEN-DÙ DUMU LÚ.GAL-DÙ *i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA
LUGAL-*ti-šú ú-še-šib* UN.MEŠ KUR URI.KI
ú-šad-gil pa-nu-uš-šú UGU *gi-mir na-ge-e*
KUR.*kal-di* LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG.MEŠ-*ia a-na* LÚ.NAM-*ti*
áš-kun-ma ni-ir be-lu-ti-ia e-mid-su-nu-ti
12) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* LÚ.*tu-ʾu-mu-na* LÚ.*ri-ḫi-ḫu*
LÚ.*ia-daq-qu* LÚ.*ú-bu-du* LÚ.*gib-re-e* LÚ.*ma-li-ḫu*
LÚ.*gu-ru-mu* LÚ.*ú-bu-lum* LÚ.*da-mu-nu*
13) LÚ.*gam-bu-lum* LÚ.*ḫi-in-da-ru* LÚ.*ru-ʾu-u-a*
LÚ.*pu-qu-du* LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-nu* LÚ.*ḫa-ga-ra-nu*
LÚ.*na-ba-tu* LÚ.*li-iʾ-ta-a-ú* LÚ.*a-ra-mu la kan-šu*
mit-ḫa-riš ak-šud^{ud}
14) 2 ME 8 LIM UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS 7

than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises.

5–6) On my first campaign, I brought about the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), together with the troops of (the land) Elam, his allies, in the plain of Kish. In the midst of that battle he abandoned his camp, fled alone, and (thereby) saved his life. I seized the chariots, horses, wagons, (and) mules that he had abandoned in the thick of battle.

7–8) I joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then I opened his treasury and brought out gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, precious stones, all kinds of possessions (and) property, a substantial treasure, (together with) his wife, his palace women, courtiers, attendants, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, and I counted (them) as booty.

9–10) With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 89 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 620 small(er) settlements in their environs. I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Ḫursagkalama, Cutha, (and) Sippar, together with the guilty citizens, and I counted (them) as booty.

11) I placed Bēl-ibni, a son of a *rab banî*, on his royal throne (and) entrusted him with the people of Akkad. I appointed my eunuchs to be governors over all of the districts of Chaldea and I imposed the yoke of my lordship upon them.

12–14) On my return march, I defeated all together the Tuʾumuna, Riḫiḫu, Yadaqqu, Ubudu, Gibrê, Maliḫu (Malaḫu), Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu, Gambulu, Ḫindaru, Ruʾuʾa, Puqudu, Ḫamrānu, Ḫagarānu, Nabatu, (and) Liʾtaʾu, insubmissive Arameans. I carried off into Assyria a substantial booty (consisting of) 208,000 people, young (and) old, male and female, 7,200 horses (and) mules, 11,073 donkeys, 5,230 camels, 80,100

5 *i-na maḫ-re-e ger-ri-ia* "on my first campaign": Cf. text no. 1 line 5, text no. 2 line 5, and text no. 3 line 5, all of which have *i-na* SAG LUGAL-*ti-ia* "at the beginning of my kingship." *re-ṣi-šú* "his allies": Cf. text no. 3 line 5, which omits this word.

6 Cf. text no. 3 line 6, which adds *a-na* KUR.*gu-zu-um-ma-ni in-na-bit qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me ù ap-pa-ra-a-te e-ru-um-ma* "he escaped to the land Guzummānu, (where) he entered the swamps and marshes." Also compare the list of equipment and animals let loose during that battle; text no. 3 line 7 has GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.*ṣu-um-bi* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ *ù* ANŠE.*ud-ri* "chariots, wagons, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, and Bactrian camels."

7 *ú-nu-ut* "utensils": Ex. 3 has NA_4 "stone" instead of *ú-nu-ut*.

8 This inscription omits reference to Sennacherib's troops searching the marshes for the fugitive Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan) and their failure to locate him after five days. Cf. text no. 3 line 10.

9 6 ME 20 URU.MEŠ "620 cities": The number of small(er) cities is 820 in text no. 1 line 50, text no. 2 line 11, and text no. 3 line 11. Later prism inscriptions reduce the number to 420; see for example, text no. 22 i 37.

11 Cf. text no. 1 line 54, text no. 2 line 13, and text no. 3 line 13. Earlier inscriptions do not mention Sennacherib appointing his officials as governors over Chaldea.

14 5 LIM 2 ME 30 ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ 80 LIM 1 ME GU_4.MEŠ "5,230 camels, 80,100 oxen": Ex. 3 has 5 LIM 2 ME 33 ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ 2 ME LIM 1 ME GU_4.MEŠ "5,233 camels, 200,100 oxen." 6 ME LIM 6 ME US_5.UDU.ḪI.A "600,600 sheep and goats": ex. 2 has ⌜8⌝ ME LIM 8 ME US_5.UDU.ḪI.A "800,800 sheep and goats"; exs. 3–4 have 8 ME LIM 6 ME US_5.UDU.ḪI.A "800,600 sheep and goats"; and ex. 19 has 8 ME LIM 5 ME US_5.UDU.⌜ḪI⌝.[A] "800,500 sheep and goats."

LIM 2 ME ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ 11 LIM 73 ANŠE.MEŠ 5 LIM 2 ME 30 ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ 80 LIM 1 ME GU_4.MEŠ 6 ME LIM 6 ME US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu áš-lu-la a-na qé-reb* KUR *aš-šur*.KI

oxen, (and) 600,600 sheep and goats.

15) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ša* ^{md}AG-EN-MU.MEŠ LÚ.*qí-pi* URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-te* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni* GAL.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *ta-mar-ta-šú ka-bit-tú am-ḫur*

15) In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audience gift from Nabû-bēl-šumāti, the official in charge of the city Ḫararatu: gold, silver, large *musukkannu*-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

16) *ba-ḫu-la-ti* URU.*ḫi-rim-me* LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣi i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-šam-qit-ma e-du ul e-zib pag-ri-šú-un i-na ga-ši-ši a-lul-ma si-ḫir-ti* URU *ú-šal-me*

16–17) I put to the sword the population of the city Ḫirimmu, a dangerous enemy, and I did not spare a single one. I hung their corpses on poles and placed (them) around the city. I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

17) *na-gu-ú šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aṣ-bat* 1-*en* GU_4 10 UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ 10 ANŠE GIŠ.GEŠTIN.MEŠ 20 ANŠE ZÚ.LUM.MA *re-še-te-šú a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni* KUR *aš-šur*.KI EN.MEŠ-*ia ú-kin dà-ri-šam*

18) *i-na* 2-*e ger-ri-ia* ^{d}*aš-šur be-lí ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma a-na* KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i ù* KUR *ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a ša ul-tu ul-la a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia la kit-nu-šú lu al-lik*

19) *qé-reb ḫur-šá-a-ni zaq-ru-ti* A.ŠÀ *nam-ra-ṣi i-na* ANŠE.KUR.RA *ar-kab-ma* GIŠ.GIGIR GÌR.II-*ia i-na ti-ik-ka-ti ú-šá-áš-ši áš-ru šup-šu-qu i-na* GÌR.II-*ia ri-ma-niš at-tag-giš*

18–21) On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and I marched to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians, who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, my ancestors. In the high mountains, difficult terrain, I rode on horseback and had my personal chariot carried on (men's) necks. In very rugged terrain I roamed about on foot like a wild bull.

20) URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ* URU.*ḫa-ar-diš-pi* URU.É-^{m}*ku-bat-ti* URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú-nu* É BÀD.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti al-me* KUR-*ud* UN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *ul-tu qer-bi-šú-un ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*

(20) I surrounded (and) conquered the cities Bīt-Kilamzaḫ, Ḫardišpu, (and) Bīt-Kubatti, their fortified walled cities. I brought out from them people, horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats, and I counted (them) as booty. Moreover, I destroyed, devastated, (and) turned into ruins their small(er) settlements, which were without number. I burned with fire pavilions (and) tents, their abodes, and reduced (them) to ashes.

21) *ù* URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* TUR.MEŠ *ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú ap-pul aq-qur ú-še-me kar-meš* É EDIN *kul-ta-ri mu-šá-bi-šú-nu i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu-ma di-tal-liš ú-še-mi*

22) *ú-ter-ma* URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ šu-a-tu a-na bir-tu-ti aṣ-bat* UGU *ša* u_4-*me pa-ni* BÀD.MEŠ-*šú ú-dan-nin-ma* UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia ina lìb-bi ú-še-šib*

22–24) I made that city Bīt-Kilamzaḫ a fortress again (and) I strengthened its walls more than before, then I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I brought down from the mountains the people of the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians who had fled from my weapons and I made (them) dwell in the cities Ḫardišpu (and) Bīt-Kubatti. I placed them under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Arrapḫa. I had a stele

23) UN.MEŠ KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i ù* KUR LÚ.*ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a ša la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ip-par-ši-du ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*i ú-še-ri-dam-ma ina* URU.*ḫar-diš-pi* URU.É-^{m}*ku-bat-ti ú-šar-me*

15 URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-te* "the city Ḫararatu": Ex. 1 has URU.*ḫa-ra-re-te*; all other preserved exemplars have URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-te*.
16 Text no. 3 line 18 adds *ša ul-tu ul-la a-na ni-ri-ia la kit-nu-šu* "who who since time immemorial had not submitted to my yoke" after LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣu* "a dangerous enemy." Cf. text no. 3 line 18, which does not include the statement about hanging corpses on poles around the city.
18 Cf. text no. 3 line 20, which adds LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣi* "a dangerous enemy" between KUR *ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a* "the land of the Yasubigallians" and *ša* "who."
20 URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ* ... URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú-nu* É BÀD.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti* "Bīt-Kilamzaḫ ... their fortified walled cities": Cf. text no. 3 line 22, which has URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú-nu* "Bīt-Kilamzaḫ, their fortified city." Text no. 3 adds TUR GAL "young (and) old" after UN.MEŠ "people." ANŠE.MEŠ "donkeys": Omitted in exs. 1–2.
21 *mu-šá-bi-šú-nu* "their abodes": Text no. 3 line 23 has *tu-kul-ti-šú-nu* "that they relied."
22 BÀD.MEŠ-*šú ú-dan-nin-ma* "I strengthened its walls and": Text no. 3 line 24 has *ú-dan-nin a-muḫ-ḫuš* "I strengthened its enceinte."

24) *i-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia* LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ar-rap-ḫa am-nu-šú-nu-ti* NA_4.NA.RÚ.A *ú-še-piš-ma li-i-tú ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II *ša* UGU-*šú-un áš-tak-ka-nu ṣe-ru-uš-šú ú-šá-áš-ṭir-ma i-na qé-reb* URU *ul-ziz*

made, had all the victorious conquests that I achieved over them written on it, and I erected (it) in (that) city.

25) *pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma a-na* KUR.*el-li-pi aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu el-la-mu-u-a* ^{m}*is-pa-ba-a-ra* LUGAL-*šú-un* URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú ú-maš-šir-ma a-na ru-qé-e-ti in-na-bit*

25–26) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road to the land Ellipi. Before my arrival, Ispabāra, their king, abandoned his fortified cities (and) his treasury and fled far away. I overwhelmed all of his wide land like a fog. I surrounded, conquered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities Marʾubištu (and) Akkuddu, cities of his royal house, together with thirty-four small(er) settlements in their environs.

26) *gim-ri* KUR-*šu* DAGAL-*ti* GIM $MURU_9$ *as-ḫu-up* URU.*mar-ú-biš-ti* URU.*ak-ku-ud-du* URU.MEŠ É LUGAL-*ti-šú a-di* 34 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu al-me* KUR-*ud ap-pul aq-qur ina* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*

27) UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *la mi-nam áš-lu-lam-ma a-di la ba-ši-i ú-šá-lik-šú-ma ú-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-ir ma-a-su*

28) URU.*ṣi-ṣi-ir-tú* URU.*ku-um-ma-aḫ-lum* URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti a-di* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu* KUR.É-^{m}*ba-ar-ru-u na-gu-u a-na gi-mir-ti-šú ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*šú ab-tuq-ma* UGU *mi-ṣir* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-rad-di*

26–28) I carried off people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats without number, then I brought him (Ispabāra) to nought and made his land smaller. I detached from his land the cities Ṣi(ṣ)ṣirtu (and) Kummaḫlum, fortified cities, together with the small(er) settlements in their environs (and) the district of the land Bīt-Barrû in its entirety, and I added (this area) to the territory of Assyria.

29) URU.*el-en-za-áš a-na* URU LUGAL-*ti ù dan-na-at na-ge-e šu-a-tu aṣ-bat-ma* MU-*šú maḫ-ra-a ú-nak-kir-ma* URU.*kar*-^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba at-ta-bi ni-bit-su*

30) UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia i-na lìb-bi ú-še-šib i-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia* LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ḫar-ḫar am-nu-ma ú-rap-piš ma-a-ti*

29–30) I took the city Elenzaš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and called it Kār-Sennacherib. (30) I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I placed (it) under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Ḫarḫar, and (thus) enlarged my land.

31) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia ša* KUR.*ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ti ša i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia ma-am-man la iš-mu-ú zi-kir* KUR-*ti-šú-un man-da-at-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu am-ḫur a-na ni-ri be-lu-ti-ia ú-šak-ni-su-nu-ti*

31) On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down to the yoke of my lordship.

32) *i-na šal-ši ger-ri-ia a-na* KUR.*ḫa-at-ti lu al-lik* ^{m}*lu-li-i* LUGAL URU.*ṣi-du-un-ni pul-ḫi me-lam-me be-lu-ti-ia is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma a-na ru-uq-qí* $MURUB_4$ *tam-tim in-na-bit*

33) URU.*ṣi-du-un-nu* GAL-*ú* URU.*ṣi-du-un-nu ṣe-eḫ-ru* URU.É-*zi-it-te* URU.*ṣa-ri-ip-tu* URU.*ma-ḫal-li-ba* URU.*ú-šu-ú* URU.*ak-zi-ba* URU.*ak-ku-ú*

34) URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni a-šar ri-i-ti ù maš-qí-ti* É *tuk-la-ti-šú ra-šub-bat* GIŠ.TUKUL ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia is-ḫu-pu-šú-nu-ti-ma ik-nu-šú še-pu-u-a*

32–34) On my third campaign, I marched to the land Ḫatti. Fear of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed Lulî, the king of the city Sidon, and he fled afar into the midst of the sea. The awesome terror of the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed the cities Great Sidon, Lesser Sidon, Bīt-Zitti, Ṣarepta, Maḫalliba, Ušû, Akzibu, (and) Acco, his fortified cities (and) fortresses, an area of pasture(s) and water-place(s), resources upon which he relied, and they bowed down at my feet.

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26 *a-di* 34 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu* "together with thirty-four small(er) settlements in their environs": Cf. text no. 3 line 28, which has *a-di* 34 URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti ù* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú* "together with thirty-four fortified cities and small(er) settlements in their environs, which were without number." Text no. 3 also has a longer description of the devastation of the land Ellipi; see text no. 3 line 29.

30 This passage may have been composed anew for this inscription.

32–60 The account of the third campaign and the general statement regarding booty from conquered lands may have been composed anew for this inscription.

35) ^{m}*tu-ba-a'-lu i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL-*ti-šú* UGU-*šú-un ú-še-šib-ma* GUN *man-da-at-tú be-lu-ti-ia šat-ti-šam la ba-aṭ-lu ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú*

35) I placed Tu-Ba'lu on his royal throne over them and imposed upon him tribute (and) payment (in recognition) of my overlordship (to be delivered) yearly (and) without interruption.

36) *ša* ^{m}*mi-nu-ḫi-im-mu* URU.*sam-si-mu-ru-na-a-a* ^{m}*tu-ba-a'-lu* URU.*ṣi-du-un-na-a-a* ^{m}*ab-di-li-i'-ti* URU.*a-ru-da-a-a* ^{m}*ú-ru-mil-ki* URU.*gu-ub-la-a-a*

37) ^{m}*mi-ti-in-ti* URU.*as-du-da-a-a* ^{m}*bu-du*-DINGIR KUR.É-*am-ma-na-a-a* ^{m}*kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi* KUR.*ma-'a-ba-a-a* ^{md}*a-a-ram-mu* KUR.*ú-du-um-ma-a-a*

36–38) As for Minuḫimmu of the city Samsimuruna, Tu-Ba'lu of the city Sidon, Abdi-Li'ti of the city Arwad, Ūru-Milki of the city Byblos, Mitinti of the city Ashdod, Būdi-il of the city Bīt-Ammon, Kammūsu-nadbi of the land Moab, Aya-rāmu of the land Edom, all of the kings of the land Amurru, they brought extensive gifts, *four times* (the normal amount), as their substantial audience gift before me and kissed my feet.

38) LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* KUR MAR.TU.KI *ka-li-šú-nu* IGI.SÁ-*e šad-lu-ti ta-mar-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu a-di 4-šú a-na maḫ-ri-ia iš-šu-nim-ma iš-ši-qu* GÌR.II-*ia*

39) *ù* ^{m}*ṣi-id-qa-a* LUGAL URU.*is-qa-lu-na ša la ik-nu-šú a-na ni-ri-ia* DINGIR.MEŠ É AD-*šú šá-a-šú* DAM-*su* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú* DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* NUMUN É AD-*šú as-su-ḫa-am-ma a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-ra-áš-šú*

39) Moreover, (as for) Ṣidqâ, the king of the city Ashkelon who had not bowed down to my yoke, I forcibly removed the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, (and other) offspring of his father's house and took him to Assyria.

40) ^{m}LUGAL-*lu-dà-ri* DUMU ^{m}*ru-kib-ti* LUGAL-*šú-nu maḫ-ru-ú* UGU UN.MEŠ URU.*is-qa-lu-na áš-kun-ma na-dan* GUN *kàd-re-e be-lu-ti-ia e-mì-su-ma i-šá-ṭa ab-šá-a-ni*

40) I set Šarru-lū-dāri, son of Rūkibtu, their former king, over the people of the city Ashkelon and imposed upon him the payment of tribute (and) gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship so that he (now) pulls my yoke.

41) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia* URU.É-*da-gan-na* URU.*ia-pu-u* URU.*ba-na-a-a-bar-qa* URU.*a-zu-ru* URU.MEŠ *ša* ^{m}*ṣi-id-qa-a ša a-na* GÌR.II-*ia ár-ḫiš la ik-nu-šú al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*

41) In the course of my campaign, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Bīt-Daganna, Joppa, Banayabarqa, (and) Azuru, the cities of Ṣidqâ that had not submitted to me quickly.

42) LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ *ù* UN.MEŠ URU.*am-qar-ru-na ša* ^{m}*pa-di-i* LUGAL-*šú-nu* EN *a-di-i ù ma-mit šá* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *bi-re-tú* AN.BAR *id-du-ma a-na* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú* KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a id-di-nu-šú nak-riš*

43) *a-na an-zil-li e-pu-šu ip-làḫ lìb-ba-šú-un* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.*mu-ṣu-ri* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ša* LUGAL KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫa e-mu-qí la ni-bi ik-te-ru-nim-ma il-li-ku re-ṣu-su-un*

42–43) (As for) the governors, the nobles, and the people of the city Ekron who had thrown Padî, their king who was bound by treaty and oaths to Assyria, into iron fetters and who had handed him over to Hezekiah of the land Judah in a hostile manner, they became frightened on account of the villainous acts they had committed. They formed a confederation with the kings of Egypt (and) the archers, chariots, (and) horses of the king of the land Meluḫḫa, forces without number, and they came to their aid.

44) *i-na ta-mir-ti* URU.*al-ta-qu-u el-la-mu-u-a si-id-ru šit-ku-nu ú-šá-'a-lu* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú-un i-na tukul-ti aš-šur* EN-*ia it-ti-šú-un am-da-ḫi-iṣ-ma áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú-un*

44–45) In the plain of the city Eltekeh, they sharpened their weapons while drawing up in battleline before me. With the support of (the god) Aššur, my lord, I fought with them and defeated them. (45) In the thick of battle, I captured alive the Egyptian charioteers

37 ^{m}*bu-du*-DINGIR "Būdi-il": The reading of the name follows PNA 1/2 p. 350 sub Būdi-il, where the name is understood as a Phoenician name meaning "in the hand of god." It is possible, based on North-West Semitic names, that the name of this ruler of Bīt-Ammon is actually read ^{m}*pu-du*-DINGIR, where the first element represents a nominal form of *pdy*, "to ransom, redeem," with *ā* becoming *ō*; compare PNA 3/1 p. 978 sub Padî and Padû-il and p. 998 sub Pūdî and Pūdītu.

38 *a-di 4-šú* "*four times* (the normal amount)" or "*fourfold* (the normal amount)": For this interpretation, see Frahm, Sanherib pp. 59 and 104, and Cogan, Raging Torrent p. 114. Cf. D.D. Luckenbill (Senn. p. 30) and E. Vogt (Analecta Biblica 106 [1986] p. 9 n. 40) who translate *a-di 4-šú* as "for the fourth time." It seems more plausible, however, as Frahm has already pointed out in his commentary of this passage (Sanherib p. 104), that these kings of Amurru paid tribute for the first time to Sennacherib in 701, and not for the fourth time in 701 (with tribute also being paid in 704, 702, and 701). Sennacherib appears to have requested the payment of four years of tribute all at once.

42 KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a* "of the land Judah": So exs. 1 and 4–6. Ex. 2 omits KUR and ex. 3 has URU.*ia-ú-da-a-a* "of the city Judah."

43 LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.*mu-ṣu-ri* "the kings of Egypt": So exs. 2–4, 34, and 47. Exs. 1 and 5 have LUGAL KUR.*mu-ṣu-ri* "the king of Egypt."

45) LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù* DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.*mu-ṣu-ra-a-a a-di* LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša* LUGAL KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫa bal-ṭu-su-un i-na* MURUB$_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a*

(and) princes (lit. "the sons of the kings"), together with the charioteers of the king of the land Meluḫḫa.

46) URU.*al-ta-qu-ú* URU.*ta-am-na-a al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un a-na* URU.*am-qar-ru-na aq-rib-ma* LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ *ša ḫi-iṭ-ṭu ú-šab-šu-ú a-duk-ma ina di-ma-a-ti si-ḫir-ti* URU *a-lul pag-ri-šú-un*

47) DUMU.MEŠ URU *e-piš an-ni ù gíl-la-ti a-na šal-la-ti am-nu si-it-tu-te-šú-nu la ba-bil ḫi-ṭi-ti ù gul-lul-ti ša a-ra-an-šú-nu la ib-šu-ú uš-šur-šu-un aq-bi*

46–47) I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Eltekeh (and) Tamnâ. I approached the city Ekron and I killed the governors (and) nobles who had committed crime(s) and hung their corpses on towers around the city; I counted the citizens who had committed the criminal acts as booty; (and) I commanded that the rest of them, (those) who were not guilty of crimes or wrongdoing, (to) whom no penalty was due, be allowed to go free.

48) ^{m}*pa-di-i* LUGAL-*šú-nu ul-tu qé-reb* URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu ú-še-ṣa-am-ma i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *be-lu-ti* UGU-*šú-un ú-še-šib-ma man-da-at-tú be-lu-ti-ia ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú*

48) I brought out Padî, their king, from the city Jerusalem and placed (him) on the lordly throne over them, then I imposed upon him payment (in recognition) of my overlordship.

49) *ša* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú* KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a* 46 URU.MEŠ-*šú* É BÀD.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti ù* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú*

50) *i-na šuk-bu-us a-ram-me ù qur-ru-ub šu-pe-e mit-ḫu-uṣ zu-uk* GÌR.II *pil-ši nik-si ù kal-ba-na-ti al-me ak-šud*^{ud}

51) 2 ME LIM 1 ME 50 UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ù* US$_5$.UDU.ḪI.A *šá la ni-bi ul-tu qer-bi-šú-un ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*

49–51) (As for) Hezekiah of the land Judah, I surrounded (and) conquered forty-six of his fortified walled cities and small(er) settlements in their environs, which were without number, (50) by having ramps trodden down and battering rams brought up, the assault of foot soldiers, sapping, breaching, and siege engines. I brought out of them 200,150 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number, and I counted (them) as booty.

52) *šá-a-šú* GIM MUŠEN *qu-up-pi qé-reb* URU.*ur-sa-li-im-ma* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú e-sír-šu* URU.ḪAL.ṢU.MEŠ UGU-*šú ú-rak-kis-ma a-ṣe-e* KÁ.GAL URU-*šú ú-ter-ra ik-ki-bu-uš*

53) URU.MEŠ-*šú ša áš-lu-la ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*šú ab-tuq-ma a-na* ^{m}*mi-ti-in-ti* LUGAL URU.*as-du-di ù* ^{m}*pa-di-i* LUGAL URU.*am-qar-ru-na* ^{m}GISSU-EN LUGAL KUR.*ḫa-zi-ti ad-din ú-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-ir* KUR-*su*

52–54) As for him (Hezekiah), I confined him inside the city Jerusalem, his royal city, like a bird in a cage. I set up blockades against him and made him dread exiting his city gate. I detached from his land the cities of his that I had plundered and I gave (them) to Mitinti, the king of the city Ashdod, and Padî, the king of the city Ekron, (and) Ṣilli-Bēl, the king of the land Gaza, (and thereby) made his land smaller. To the former tribute, their annual giving, I added the payment (of) gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship and imposed (it) upon them.

54) *e-li* GUN *maḫ-ri-ti na-da-an šat-ti-šú-un man-da-at-ti kàd-re-e be-lu-ti-ia ú-rad-di-ma ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú-un*

55) *šu-ú* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú pu-ul-ḫi me-lam-me*

55–58) As for him, Hezekiah, fear of my lordly

45 DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.*mu-ṣu-ra-a-a* "Egyptian princes (lit. "the sons of the Egyptian kings")": So exs. 1–2 and 4–5. Ex. 3 has DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL KUR.*mu-ṣu-ra-a-a* lit. "the sons of the Egyptian king."

46 URU.*ta-am-na-a* "the city Tamnâ": Ex. 3 has URU.*ta-am-ma-na-a*. This is probably a scribal error since ex. 3 has numerous mistakes and since all of the other preserved exemplars have URU.*ta-am-na-a*.

47 *a-ra-an-šú-nu* "their penalty": Ex. 3 has *a-ra-šú-nu*, which is probably a mistake because there are many errors in that exemplar. On the other hand, it could simply be a non-morphographemic writing of *aranšunu* (*araššunu*).

49 Exs. 3 and 54 have *ù* "moreover" instead of *ša* "of" at the beginning of the line. KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a* "of the land Judah": So exs. 3–4, 54, and 85. Exs. 1–2 and 5 have URU.*ia-ú-da-a-a* "of the city Judah." 46 URU.MEŠ-*šú* "forty-six of his cities": So exs. 3–5, 47, 52, and 85; ex. 1 has 36 URU.MEŠ-*šú* "thirty-six of his cities" and ex. 2 has 56 URU.MEŠ-*šú* "fifty-six of his cities."

50 *qur-ru-ub* "having brought up": So exs. 1–3, 5, 52, and 85. Exs. 4 and 47 have *qit-ru-ub* "coming close up to."

52 GIM MUŠEN *qu-up-pi* "like a bird in a cage": The simile of an enemy ruler caged like a bird is used for the first time in an Assyrian context by Tiglath-pileser III. Here and in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, "like a bird in a cage" is used not only to indicate that the enemy king is confined to his city, but also the cowardly nature of that ruler. The expression *kīma iṣṣūr quppi* is used also by Rib-Addi, the king of Byblos, in letters written to the Egyptian pharaoh during the Amarna Period. On the use of animals and similes in Assyrian inscriptions, see Marcus, Orientalia NS 46 (1977) pp. 86–106; and Milano, Animali pp. 47–67. C. Uehlinger ('Like a Bird in a Cage' pp. 293–305) has recently suggested that slab 28 in Sennacherib's throne room may depict Jerusalem and that the man standing on the walls is Hezekiah. KÁ.GAL URU-*šú* "his city gate": So exs. 2–6, 56, and 84; ex. 1 has KÁ.GAL-*šú* "his city gate."

54 *ṣe-ru-uš-šú-un* "upon them": So exs. 4 and 6. Exs. 1–3 and 5 *ṣe-ru-uš-šú* "upon him."

55 LÚ.*úr-bi* "auxiliary forces": See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 52.

be-lu-ti-ia is-ḫu-pu-šú-ma LÚ.*úr-bi*
LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ-*šú* SIG_5.MEŠ *ša a-na dun-nu-un*
URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú*
ú-še-ri-bu-ma ir-šu-u til-la-a-te

56) 30 GUN KÙ.GI 8 ME GUN KÙ.BABBAR *ni-siq-ti*
gu-uḫ-li ták-kàs-si NA_4.AN.ZA.GUL.ME GAL.MEŠ
GIŠ.NÁ.MEŠ ZÚ GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ *né-me-di* ZÚ KUŠ
AM.SI ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG *lu-bul-ti bir-me*
TÚG.GADA SÍG.*ta-kil-tú* SÍG.*ar-ga-man-nu*

57) *ú-nu-ut* ZABAR AN.BAR URUDU AN.NA AN.BAR
GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ga-ba-bi az-ma-re-e si-ri-ia-am*
GÍR.MEŠ AN.BAR *šib-bi til-pa-ni u uṣ-ṣi til-li*
ú-nu-ut ta-ḫa-zi šá ni-ba la i-šu-ú

58) *it-ti* DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* MUNUS.UN.MEŠ
É.GAL-*šú* LÚ.NAR.MEŠ MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ *a-na*
qé-reb NINA.KI URU *be-lu-ti-ia* EGIR-*ia*
ú-še-bi-lam-ma a-na na-dan man-da-at-ti ù
e-peš ARAD-*ú-ti iš-pu-ra rak-bu-šú*

59) *i-na šal-la-at* KUR.MEŠ *šá-ti-na ša áš-lu-la* 10
LIM GIŠ.PAN 10 LIM GIŠ.*a-ri-tú ina lìb-bi-šú-nu*
ak-ṣur-ma UGU *ki-ṣir* LUGAL-*ti-ia ú-rad-di*

60) *si-it-ti šal-la-ti na-ki-ri ka-bit-tu a-na gi-mir*
KARAŠ-*ia ù* LÚ.EN.NAM.MEŠ-*ia* UN.MEŠ
ma-ḫa-za-ni-ia GAL.MEŠ *ki-ma ṣe-e-ni lu*
ú-za-ʾi-iz

61) *i-na* u_4-*me-šu-ma* NINA.KI *ma-ḫa-zu ṣi-i-ru* URU
na-ram ^{d}*iš-tar ša nap-ḫar ki-du-de-e*
DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* ^{d}IŠ.TAR.MEŠ *ba-šu-u qé-reb-šu*

62) *tem-me-en-nu da-ru-ú du-ru-uš ṣa-a-ti ša ul-tu*
ul-la it-ti ši-ṭir bu-ru-ú-me eṣ-rat-su eṣ-ret-ma
šu-pu-ú ṣi-in-du-šu

63) *áš-ru nak-lu šu-bat pi-riš-ti ša mim-ma šum-šu*
ši-pir ni-kil-ti gi-mir pel-lu-de-e ni-ṣir-ti làl-gar
šu-ta-bu-la qé-reb-šu

64) *ša ul-tu ul-la* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni a-li-kut maḫ-ri*
AD.MEŠ-*ia ul-la-nu-u-a be-lu-ti* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
e-pu-šu-ma ú-ma-ʾe-er ba-ʾu-lat ^{d}EN.LÍL

65) *ù šat-ti-šam la na-par-ka-a e-reb nar-ba-a-ti*
GUN *mal-ki kib-rat ar-ba-ʾi im-da-na-ḫa-ru*
qé-reb-šu

brilliance overwhelmed him and, after my (departure), he had the auxiliary forces (and) his elite troops whom he had brought inside to strengthen the city Jerusalem, his royal city, and who had provided support, (along with) 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, choice antimony, large blocks of ..., ivory beds, armchairs of ivory, elephant hide(s), elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, garments with multi-colored trim, linen garments, blue-purple wool, red-purple wool, utensils of bronze, iron, copper, tin, (and) iron, chariots, shields, lances, armor, iron belt-daggers, *bows* and *uṣṣu*-arrows, equipment, (and) implements of war, (all of) which were without number, together with his daughters, his palace women, male singers, (and) female singers brought into Nineveh, my capital city, and he sent a mounted messenger of his to me to deliver (this) payment and to do obeisance.

59–60) From the booty of those lands that I had plundered, I conscripted 10,000 archers (and) 10,000 shield bearers and added (them) to my royal contingent. (60) I divided up the rest of the substantial enemy booty like sheep and goats among my entire camp and my governors, (and) the people of my great cult centers.

61–63) At that time, Nineveh, the exalted cult center, the city loved by the goddess Ištar in which all of the rituals for gods and goddesses are present; the enduring foundation (and) eternal base whose plan had been designed by the stars (lit. "writing") of the firmament and whose arrangement was made manifest since time immemorial; a sophisticated place (and) site of secret lore in which every kind of skilled craftsmanship, all of the rituals, (and) the secret(s) of the *lalgar* (cosmic subterranean water) are apprehended;

64–65) in which since time immemorial earlier kings, my ancestors, before me exercised dominion over Assyria and ruled the subjects of the god Enlil, (65) and wherein annually, without interruption, they received an enormous income, the tribute of the rulers of the four quarters (of the world);

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56 30 GUN KÙ.GI 8 ME GUN KÙ.BABBAR "30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver": According to 2 Kings 18:14, Hezekiah sent 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold to Sennacherib while the Assyrian king was at Lachish. NA_4.AN.ZA.GUL.ME "...": See von Soden, ZA 45 (1939) p. 47; and Schuster-Brandis, AOAT 46 p. 273.

56–57 Cf. the shorter list of payment sent by Hezekiah in the accounts of the third campaign in later prism inscriptions. For example, text no. 15 iv 9′ and text no. 22 iii 45 have *mim-ma šum-šú ni-ṣir-tu ka-bit-tu* "every kind of valuable treasure" in lieu of *lu-bul-ti bir-me ... šá ni-ba la i-šu-ú* "garments with multi-colored trim ... which were without number."

58 DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* "his daughters": So exs. 2–5 and 54. Ex. 1 has MUNUS.DUMU-*šú* "his daughter."

59–60 Similar passages appear in several prism inscriptions. Cf., for example, text no. 15 v 10–17 and text no. 16 v 33–40 which record that Sennacherib collected 20,000 archers and 15,000 shield bearers.

60 *ma-ḫa-za-ni-ia* "my cult centers": Ex. 2 has *ma-ḫa-ze-ni-ia*.

61–92 The building report of this inscription and that of text no. 3 are near duplicates, apart from orthographic variants. Major variants and additions appear in lines 65, 69, 73, 77–78, 80, 84, and 90–92. See the on-page notes to those lines.

61 *ma-ḫa-zu* "cult center": The master line follows exs. 4, 52, and 58, which in turn follow text nos. 1–3. Exs. 1–3 and 5 have *ma-ḫa-zi* "my cult center."

65 *šat-ti-šam* "annually": So exs. 3–5. Exs. 1–2 have *šat-tú-šam*. *e-reb nar-ba-a-ti* "an enormous income": So exs. 1–3, 5, and 64; exs. 4 and 58 have *e-reb la nar-ba-a-ti* "an income unsurpassed in amount."

66) *a-a-um-ma ina lìb-bi-šú-nu a-na* É.GAL *qer-bi-šu kúm-mu ri-mit be-lu-ti ša ṣu-uḫ-ḫu-ru šu-bat-su le-e-su ul id-da-a lib-bu-uš ul iḫ-su-us*
67) *a-na šu-te-šur* SILA URU *ù šum-dul$_6$ re-ba-a-ti ḫa-re-e* ÍD *za-qa-ap ṣip-pa-a-ti ú-zu-un-šú ul ib-ši-ma ul uš-ta-bil ka-ras-su*

68) *ia-a-ti* ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI *e-peš šip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i ṭè-em* DINGIR.MEŠ *i-na uz-ni-ia ib-ši-ma ka-bat-ti ub-lam-ma*
69) *te-ne-šet* KUR.*kal-di* LÚ.*a-ra-me* KUR.*man-na-a-a* KUR.*qu-e* KUR.*ḫi-lak-ku* KUR.*pi-liš-tu ù* KUR.*ṣur-ri ša a-na ni-ri-ia la ik-nu-šú as-su-ḫa-am-ma tup-šik-ku ú-šá-áš-ši-šú-nu-ti-ma il-bi-nu* SIG$_4$
70) *a-pe ku-pe-e ša qé-reb* KUR.*kal-di ak-šiṭ-ma ap-pa-ri-šú-un šam-ḫu-ti i-na ba-ḫu-la-ti na-ki-ri ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia ú-šal-di-da a-na e-peš šip-ri-šá*
71) É.GAL *maḫ-ri-tu ša* 3 ME 60 *ina* 1.KÙŠ UŠ *tar-ṣi za-me-e* É *ziq-qur-rat* 80 *ina* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL *i-na tar-ṣi* É.*na-ma-ri* É ^{d}*iš-tar* 1 ME 34 *ina* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL *i-na tar-ṣi* É.*na-ma-ri* É-*kid$_9$-mu-ri* 95 *ina* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL
72) *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni a-li-kut maḫ-ri* AD.MEŠ-*ia a-na ri-mit be-lu-ti-šú-un ú-še-pi-šu-ma la ú-nak-ki-lu ši-pir-šá*
73) ÍD.*te-bil-ti a-gu-ú šit-mu-ru ša i-na na-ši-šá ge-gu-né-e qa-bal-ti* URU *ú-ab-bi-tu-ma ki-maḫ-ḫi-šú-un pa-az-ru-ti ú-kal-li-mu* ^{d}UTU-*šú*
74) *ù ul-tu u$_4$-me* SÙ.MEŠ *ṭe-eḫ* É.GAL *i-ba-ʾu-ú-ma i-na* ILLU-*šá gap-ši i-na uš-ši-šá ab-bu ú-šab-šu-ú ú-ri-bu tem-me-en-šá*
75) É.GAL.TUR.RA *šá-a-tu a-na si-ḫir-ti-šá aq-qur-ma ša* ÍD.*te-bil-ti ma-lak-šá uš-te-eš-na-a ab-bu uš-ṭib-ma ú-še-šir mu-ṣu-u-šá*
76) *qé-reb ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-ku šap-la-a-nu* GI.MEŠ *e-la-niš* NA$_4$ KUR-*i dan-ni it-ti* ESIR.UD.A *ak-si-ma* A.ŠÀ *ul-tu ma-a-me ú-še-lam-ma na-ba-liš ú-ter*
77) 7 ME *ina* 1.KÙŠ AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* UŠ 1 ME 76 *ina* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI AN.TA IM.SI.SÁ 2 ME 68 *ina* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI MURUB$_4$-*ti mé-eḫ-ret za-me-e at-man-ni ku-tal* ^{d}*iš-tar*
78) 3 ME 83 *ina* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI *qab-li-tum*

66–67) (but) not one among them had paid heed to (or) shown interest in the palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling whose site had become too small; nor had anyone (of them) conceived of and put his mind towards the straightening of the city's street(s) and the widening of (its) squares, the dredging of the river, (and) the planting of orchards:

68–70) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the performing of this work came to my attention by the will of the gods and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Manneans, the lands Que, Ḫilakku, (and) Philistia, and the land (of the city) Tyre, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made them carry baskets (of earth) and they made bricks. (70) I cut down canebrakes in Chaldea and I had their splendid reeds hauled (to Nineveh) for its (the palace's) construction by enemy soldiers whom I had defeated.

71–74) The former palace, which was 360 cubits long opposite the *zamû*-wall of the ziggurrat, 80 cubits wide opposite the tower of the temple of the goddess Ištar, 134 cubits wide opposite the tower of the Bīt-Kidmuri, (and) 95 cubits wide (on the other side); which earlier kings, my ancestors, had had constructed for their lordly dwelling, but whose construction they had carried out inexpertly — the Tebilti River, a tempestuous flood (of water) which when it rose had destroyed sacred buildings inside the city and exposed their hidden tombs to the sun, and which had flowed from distant days by the side of the palace and which (thereby) had caused erosion in its foundation when its flood was in full spate (and) had shaken its base:

75) I tore down that small palace in its entirety, then I changed the course of the Tebilti River, repaired (the effects of) the erosion, and directed its outflow.

76–80) In the hidden depths of (its) subterranean waters I bonded together, with bitumen, reeds below (and) strong mountain stone above, then I raised (that) area out of the water and converted (it) to dry land. I filled in and measured a terrace of 700 large *aslu*-cubits along (its) longer side, 176 large *aslu*-cubits along (its) upper, northern shorter side, 268 large *aslu*-cubits along the inner, shorter side, (which is) opposite the *zamû*-wall of the shrine behind (the temple of) the

69 This inscription adds KUR.*pi-liš-tu ù* KUR.*ṣur-ri* "the land Philistia, and the land (of the city) Tyre" after KUR.*ḫi-lak-ku* "the land Ḫilakku"; cf. text no. 3 line 42.
70 KUR.*kal-di* "Chaldea": So exs. 2–5 and 58. Ex. 1 has URU.*kal-di* "the city Chaldea." Ex. 63 omits this line.
71 1 ME 34 "134": So exs. 1, 3–5, 51, and 65. Ex. 2 has 1 ME 84 "184."
73 *pa-az-ru-ti* "hidden": Ex. 11 has ⌜*nak-mu-ti*⌝ "mounded"; this follows text no. 3 line 46.
77 1.KÙŠ AS$_4$.LUM "by the *aslu*-cubit": Text no. 3 line 50 has AS$_4$.LUM "by the *aslu*-cubit." 1 ME 76 "176" and 2 ME 68 "268": Cf. text no. 3 line 50, which has 1 ME 62 "162" and 2 ME 17 "217." *mé-eḫ-ret za-me-e at-man-ni ku-tal* ^{d}*iš-tar* "opposite the *zamû*-wall of the shrine behind (the temple of) the goddess Ištar": This information is added after SAG.KI MURUB$_4$-*ti* in this inscription to differentiate the "inner, shorter side" from the "other, parallel, inner shorter side" in line 78.
78 The building accounts of text no. 2 and text no. 3 do not include the measurement of the "other, parallel, inner shorter side"; see text no. 2 lines 50–51 and text no. 3 lines 50–51. *ziq-qur-rat* "ziggurrat": So exs. 3–6, 11, 63, and 65; exs. 1–2 have *ziq-rat*.

šá-ni-tú mu-uḫ-ḫur-ti šá-a-ri a-mur-ri ku-tal É *ziq-qur-rat* É ^{d}*iš-tar*

79) 3 ME 86 *ina* AS_4.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI KI.TA $IM.U_{18}$.LU ÚS.SA.DU ÍD.IDIGNA *tam-la-a ú-mal-li-ma am-šu-uḫ me-ši-iḫ-ta*

80) *la-ba-riš* u_4*-me ina* ILLU *kiš-šá-ti tem-me-en-šú la e-né-še as-kup-pat* NA_4.*pi-i-li rab-ba-a-ti ki-is-su-ú-šu ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra ú-dan-ni-na šu-pu-uk-šu*

81) MU.SAR-*e ši-ṭir šu-mi-ia* 1 ME 60 *ti-ib-ki tam-li-i qé-reb-šu al-ṭu-ur-ma šap-la-nu ina uš-ši-šu e-zib aḫ-ra-taš*

82) *ar-ka-a-nu šu-uš-qu-ú tam-li-i ka-bat-ti ub-lam-ma* 20 *ti-ib-ki ṣe-er maḫ-ri-i uṣ-ṣip-ma* 1 ME 80 *ti-ib-ki ú-šaq-qí e-la-niš*

83) *tar-pa-šu-ú* UGU *ša* u_4*-me pa-ni ú-šar-bi ṣe-er me-ši-iḫ-ti* É.GAL *maḫ-ri-ti ú-rad-di-ma ú-šá-an-di-la ši-kit-taš*

84) É.GAL NA_4.$GIŠ.NU_{11}$.GAL ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni* GIŠ.EREN GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN GIŠ.*dáp-ra-ni* ŠIM.LI *ù* GIŠ.*bu-uṭ-ni é-gal-zag-di-nu-tuku-a a-na mu-šab* LUGAL-*ti-ia ú-še-pi-šá qé-reb-šá*

85) $GIŠ.KIRI_6$.MAḪ-*ḫu tam-šil* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim ša gi-mir* ŠIM.ḪI.A GURUN *ṣip-pa-a-ti* GIŠ.MEŠ *tuk-lat* KUR-*i ù* KUR.*kal-di qé-reb-šu ḫur-ru-šu i-ta-a-šá az-qu-up*

86) *áš-šú za-qa-ap ṣip-pa-a-ti* A.ŠÀ *ta-mir-ti e-le-en* URU NIGIDAMIN.TA.ÀM *a-na* DUMU.MEŠ NINA.KI *pil-ku ú-pal-lik-ma ú-šad-gi-la pa-nu-uš-šú-un*

87) *a-na miṭ-ra-a-ti šum-mu-ḫi ul-tu pa-a-ṭi* URU.*ki-si-ri a-di ta-mir-ti* NINA.KI KUR-*a ù bi-ru-tú ina ak-kul-la-a-ti ú-šat-tir-ma ú-še-šir* ÍD.*ḫar-ru*

88) 1 1/2 KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru ul-tu qé-reb* ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur ma-a-me da-ru-ú-ti a-šar-šá ú-šar-da-a qé-reb ṣip-pa-a-ti šá-ti-na ú-šaḫ-bi-ba pat-ti-iš*

89) *ša* NINA.KI URU *be-lu-ti-ia šu-bat-su uš-rab-bi re-ba-ti-šú ú-šá-an-dil-ma bi-re-e-ti ù su-qa-a-ni uš-par-di-ma ú-nam-mir* GIM u_4*-me*

90) *i-na mé-eḫ-ret* KÁ.GAL $MURUB_4$ URU *i-na a-gúr-ri* NA_4.*pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e a-na me-ti-iq be-lu-ti-ia ú-šak-bi-is ti-tur-ru*

91) MU.SAR-*a ú-še-piš-ma li-i-tú ù da-na-nu ša i-na tukul-ti aš-šur* EN GAL EN-*ia* UGU *kul-lat*

goddess Ištar, 383 large *aslu*-cubits along the other, parallel, inner shorter side, (which is) on the west behind the ziggurrat of the temple of the goddess Ištar, (and) 386 large *aslu*-cubits along the lower, southern shorter side, (which is) beside the Tigris River. (80) In order to prevent its foundation from being weakened over the passage of time by cresting flood(s), I surrounded its base with large limestone slabs (and thereby) reinforced its base.

81) I inscribed objects bearing my name 160 courses of brick within the terrace and I deposited (them) deep down in its foundation for ever after.

82–83) Afterwards, I decided to increase the height of the terrace, then I added 20 courses of brick to the former (terrace) and (thus) I raised (it) to a (total) height of 180 courses of brick. I made the area larger than before, added (it) to the former dimensions of the palace, and (thus) enlarged its structure.

84) I had a palace of alabaster, elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, *musukkannu*-wood, cedar, cypress, *daprānu*-juniper, juniper, and terebinth, (a palace that I named) Egalzagdinutukua ("The Palace Without a Rival"), constructed thereon as my royal residence.

85) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, which has all kinds of aromatic plants (and) fruit trees, trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, *collected* inside it.

86) To plant gardens, I subdivided the meadowland upstream of the city into plots of two *pānu* each for the citizens of Nineveh and I handed (them) over to them.

87–88) To make (those) planted areas luxuriant, I cut with picks a canal straight through mountain and *valley*, from the border of the city Kisiru to the plain of Nineveh. I caused an inexhaustible supply of water to flow there for a distance of one and a half leagues from the Ḫusur River (and) made (it) gush through feeder canals into those gardens.

89) I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my capital city. I broadened its squares and brought light into the alleys and streets, making (them) as bright as day.

90) I had a bridge constructed opposite the Citadel Gate (by packing down) paving stones of white limestone for my lordly procession(s).

91–92) I had an inscribed object made and inscribed thereon all the mighty victories that I achieved over all

80 *ki-is-su-ú-šu* "its base": Text no. 3 line 52 has *a-sur-ru-šu* "its damp course."

84 This inscription adds alabaster (NA_4.$GIŠ.NU_{11}$.GAL) and *daprānu*-juniper to the list of materials used in the construction of the palace; cf. text no. 3 line 56.

87 *ak-kul-la-a-ti* "picks": So exs. 1–2 and 4–5. Exs. 3, 11, and 75 have *ak-kul-la-te/ti* AN.BAR "iron picks."

89 *ú-šá-an-dil-ma* "I broadened": Exs. 1–2 have *ú-šá-na-dil-ma*. M. Worthington (Textual Criticism p. 123) suggests that this spelling originates in a misreading of *dil* as *aš*, with hypercorrection of the perceived *ú-šá-an-aš-ma* to *ú-šá-na-aš-ma*.

90 KÁ.GAL $MURUB_4$ URU "the Citadel Gate": For a suggested identification of this gate, see Scott and MacGinnis, Iraq 52 (1990) p. 67. With regard to lines 90–92, these two short passages may have been composed anew for this inscription.

na-ki-ri áš-tak-ka-nu
92) *ù mim-ma ep-šet e-tep-pu-šu qé-reb-šu ú-šaṭ-ṭir-ma i-na tem-me-en-ni* É.GAL *be-lu-ti-ia e-zib aḫ-ra-taš*
93) *a-na ar-kàt* u_4*-me i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ*-ni* DUMU.MEŠ*-ia ša* ^{d}*aš-šur a-na* RE.É.UM*-ut* KUR *ù* UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šu e-nu-ma* É.GAL *šá-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫu*
94) *an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-diš* MU.SAR*-a ši-ṭir šu-mi-ia li-mur-ma* Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU.SISKUR *liq-qí a-na áš-ri-šú li-ter* ^{d}*aš-šur ik-ri-bi-šu i-šem-me*

of (my) enemies with the support of (the god) Aššur, the great lord, my lord, and everything (else) that I had been doing. I deposited (it) in the foundation of my lordly palace for ever after.
93–94) In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when that palace becomes old and dilapidated. May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur will (then) hear his prayers.

95) 1 UŠ 34.TA.ÀM MU.DIDLI MU.SAR*-e* ITI.GU_4.SI.SÁ *li-mu* ^{m}*mi-tu-nu* LÚ.GAR.KUR URU*.i-sa-na*

95) The line count of the inscription is 94 (lines). Ayyāru (II), eponymy of Mitūnu, governor of the city Isāna (700).

5

A small fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves parts of the prologue, concluding formulae, and date line of a foundation inscription with annalistic narration. The cylinder was inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-šarrāni, governor of the city Kurbail (699), the year after the three-campaign version (text no. 4) was composed, and thus the military narration presumably included an account of Sennacherib's fourth campaign, which was directed against Bīt-Yakīn. It is no longer possible to determine which building project at Nineveh this inscription's building report commemorated.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
K 1645	—	Probably Nineveh	3.5×4	c

COMMENTARY

E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 61) suggests that there are four cylinder fragments that were inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-šarrāni (699): (1) K 1645 (this text); (2) 82-5-22,24 (text no. 6); (3) Bu 91-5-9,32 (text no. 7); and (4) 81-2-4,46 (text no. 8). K 1645 and 81-2-4,46 (text no. 8) preserve part of the date line, but 82-5-22,24 (text no. 6) and Bu 91-5-9,32 (text no. 7) do not. The assignment of text no. 6 to 699 is based on the fact that the scribe responsible for copying that inscription on the cylinder separated passages with horizontal rulings. Prior to 699 (Sennacherib's 6th regnal year), ruling lines were not used to divide units of text, but only to separate the date line from the inscription; cf. text nos. 1–4.

With regard to the content of these four texts, Frahm proposes that these editions contained a short prologue, accounts of Sennacherib's first four campaigns, (probably) a concluding statement about forming a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers, a building report (with concluding formulae), and a date line.

Due to the poor state of preservation of text

4 line 92 *ú-šaṭ-ṭir-ma* "I inscribed and": So exs. 1, 3, and 5. Exs. 2, 4, and 9 have *ú-šá-áš-ṭir-ma* "I had inscribed and."

nos. 5–8, it is not certain how many inscriptions those four fragments represent. There could be as few as two texts or as many as four. Text nos. 5 and 8 clearly represent different editions of Sennacherib's *res gestae*, as do text nos. 7 and 8. Text nos. 5, 6, and 7, on the other hand, either represent a single inscription or two or three different inscriptions. Moreover, text nos. 6 and 8 could be parts of the same text. Because text nos. 5–8 are not sufficiently preserved to be certain of their contents, each fragment is edited on its own.

The extant text of this inscription duplicates text no. 4 lines 1–3 and 93–94 and text no. 8 lines 1–3 and 19′–20′, but with variation in the prologue and concluding formulae. Text no. 8 follows earlier texts (text nos. 1–4), while text no. 5 deviates in several regards. In the prologue, the epithets *šar lā šanān* ("unrivalled king") and *rē'ûm mutnennû pāliḫ ilāni rabûti* ("pious shepherd who reveres the great gods") were replaced by *šar kibrāt erbetti* ("king of the four quarters"), *rē'ûm itpēšu* ("capable shepherd"), and *migir ilāni rabûti* ("favorite of the great gods"). In the concluding formulae, Ištar, the patron deity of Nineveh, is invoked alongside Aššur. Because these editorial changes also appear in texts written on clay prisms (starting in 698), it is likely that text no. 5 was written later in the eponymy of Bēl-šarrāni than text no. 8. For a study of Sennacherib's titulary, see Liverani in Fales, ARIN pp. 225–257.

Although this inscription has more in common with later texts than with earlier texts, restorations are based on other cylinder inscriptions, namely text no. 4.

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TEXT

1) [^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL GAL-*ú* LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI LUGAL *kib-rat* LÍMMU-*ti* RE.É.UM *it-pe-šú*] *mi-gir* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.⌜MEŠ⌝

2) [*na-ṣir kit-ti ra-'i-im mi-šá-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru*] ⌜*dam*⌝-*qa-a-ti*

3) [*eṭ-lu gít-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du a-šá-red kal mal-ki rap-pu la-'i-iṭ la ma-gi-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za*]-⌜*ma*⌝-*a-ni*

Lacuna

1′) [*a-na ar-kàt* u_4-*me ina* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* DUMU.MEŠ-*ia ša* ^{d}*aš-šur a-na* RE.É.UM-*ut* KUR *ù* UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šú e-nu-ma x* (*x*) *šá-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru*]-⌜*ma*⌝ *en-na-*⌜*ḫu*⌝

2′) [*an-ḫu-us-su*? *lu-ud-diš* MU.SAR-*a ši-ṭir šu-mi-ia li-mur-ma* Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU.SISKUR *liq-qí a-na áš-ri-šú li-ter* ^{d}*aš-šur ù* ^{d}*iš-tar ik-ri-bi-šú*] *i-šem-mu-*⌜*u*⌝

3′) [*x x* (*x x*).TA.ÀM MU.DIDLI MU.SAR-*e* ... *li-mu* ^{md}EN-LUGAL-*an-ni* LÚ.GAR].⌜KUR⌝ URU.*kur-ba-ìl*

1–3) [Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), capable shepherd], favorite of the great gods, [guardian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (and) strives after] good deeds, [perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridle that controls the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes en]emies [with lightning]:

Lacuna

1′–2′) [In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when that ... becomes old] and dilapidated. [May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur and the goddess Ištar] will (then) hear [his prayers].

3′) [The line count of the inscription is ... (lines). ..., the eponymy of Bēl-šarrāni, govern]or of the city Kurbail (699).

1 [LUGAL *kib-rat* LÍMMU-*ti* RE.É.UM *it-pe-šú*] *mi-gir* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.⌜MEŠ⌝ "[king of the four quarters (of the world), capable shepherd], favorite of the great gods": Text no. 4 line 1 and text no. 8 line 1 have LUGAL *la šá-na-an* RE.É.UM *mut-nen-nu-ú pa-liḫ* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ "unrivalled king, pious shepherd who reveres the great gods."

2′ *an-ḫu-us-su*? "its dilapidated section(s)": Or possibly restore instead *an-ḫu-sa*; see text no. 4 line 94. *i-šem-mu-*⌜*u*⌝ "they will (then) hear": Cf. text no. 4 line 94 and text no. 8 line 20′, both of which have *i-šem-me* "he will (then) hear." The subject of the verb in this text is none other than Aššur and Ištar.

6

A small fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves part of a foundation inscription with annalistic narration. The extant text, which is difficult to read because the inscribed surface is badly worn, contains parts of reports of Sennacherib's third and fourth campaigns (to the Levant and against Bīt-Yakīn respectively). Although the date is no longer preserved, this cylinder was probably inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-šarrāni, governor of the city Kurbail (699).

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
—	82-5-22,24	Probably Nineveh	6×6	c

COMMENTARY

This inscription, as noted already by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 61), is either part of the same inscription as text nos. 5 and/or 7, the same inscription as text no. 8, or a unique inscription. Because of the fragmentary nature of the sources, one cannot be certain of the relationship of 82-5-22,24 (this text) to K 1645 (text no. 5), Bu 91-5-9,32 (text no. 7), and 81-2-4,46 (text no. 8), and therefore this fragment is edited on its own.

With regard to its contents, the complete text may have contained a short prologue, accounts of Sennacherib's first four campaigns, (probably) a concluding statement about forming a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers, a building report (with concluding formulae), and a date line. As for the year 82-5-22,24 was inscribed, Frahm (Sanherib p. 61) proposes 699 (Sennacherib's 6th regnal year) since this text includes a report of Sennacherib's fourth campaign (700) and because the scribe who copied out the text used a horizontal ruling to separate the accounts of the third and fourth campaigns (between lines 14′ and 15′). Moreover, the report of the campaign to the Levant has more in common with those of later prism inscriptions than with the account of the third campaign in text no. 4; cf. lines 1′–14′ to text no. 22 ii 82–iii 49 and text no. 4 lines 44–58.

The surface of the cylinder is very badly worn and relatively little of the extant text can be read with certainty, and thus no edition is given. However, we provide here a few minor notes, most of which follow Frahm, Sanherib p. 62. Line 6′ reads: [... KUR.*ia-ú-da-a*]-⌜*a ša*⌝ *la ik-nu-šu a-na* [*ni*]-⌜*ri*⌝-*ia x x* [...] "[... of the land Juda]h, who did submit to my [yok]e, ... [...]." The phrase *ša lā iknušu ana nīrīya* is included in the reports of later prism inscriptions, but not in that of text no. 4; compare text no. 22 iii 18–19 to text no. 4 line 49. Lines 12′–14′ read: [... *pul-ḫi me-lam-me be*]-⌜*lu*⌝-*ti-ia is-ḫu-pu-šú*[?]-*ma* [LÚ].*úr-bi ù* ⌜LÚ⌝.[ERIM.MEŠ-*šú* SIG_5.MEŠ ...] / [... *ni-s*]*iq-ti gu-uḫ-li ták-*⌜*kàs*⌝-[*si* NA_4.AN.ZA.GUL.ME GAL.MEŠ ...] / [...] MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ *a-na qé-*⌜*reb* NINA[?]⌝.[KI ...] "[... fear of] my [lord]ly [splendor] overwhelmed him and [the] auxiliary forces and [his elite troops ... choi]ce antimony, [large] block[s of ..., ...] (and) female singers into *Nineveh* [...]." Those lines duplicate text no. 22 iii 38–47. After the initial report of the third campaign in text no. 4 (700), the list of payment received from Hezekiah was significantly reduced in subsequent editions (beginning in 699); compare text no. 22 iii 38–49 to text no. 4 lines 55–58.

After a ruling line, a small portion of one line (with traces of four signs) is preserved. Line 15′ is probably the first line of an account of Sennacherib's fourth campaign (700), rather than that of the building report. The extant text of that line, [...] *x x* GAL[?] *x* [...], does not appear to correspond with text found in later prism inscriptions. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 62 and 200) has suggested that the text written on K 2627 + K 2666 + K 2676 (+) DT 320 may have had the same narration of military campaigns as 82-5-22,24 since that inscription also deviates from the fourth cam-

paign report that was included in texts inscribed on octagonal and hexagonal prisms (text nos. 15–18 and 22–23). 82-5-22,24 and K 2627+, however, are both too poorly preserved to confirm Frahm's proposal. K 2627+ will be edited in Part 2, with the other inscriptions of Sennacherib written on clay tablets.

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7

A tiny fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves part of the building report and concluding formulae of a foundation inscription (with annalistic narration) commemorating the construction of the citadel wall of Nineveh, the expansion and internal restructuring of that city, and the building of a bridge. Although the date is no longer preserved, this cylinder is thought to have been inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-šarrāni, governor of the city Kurbail (699), in the same year as text nos. 5–6 and 8.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
—	Bu 91-5-9,32	Probably Nineveh	3×3	c

COMMENTARY

R. Borger identified this text as a Sennacherib inscription. As noted by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 61), this text is either part of the same inscription as text nos. 5 and/or 6, or a unique inscription. This text, however, belongs to a different text than 81-2-4,46 (text no. 8). Because of the fragmentary nature of the sources, one cannot be certain of the relationship of Bu 91-5-9,32 (this text) to K 1645 (text no. 5) and 82-5-22,24 (text no. 6), and therefore this fragment is edited on its own.

With regard to its contents and date, Frahm (Sanherib p. 61) proposes that Bu 91-5-9,32 was inscribed in 699 and that the text, when complete, may have contained a short prologue, accounts of Sennacherib's first four campaigns, (probably) a concluding statement about forming a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers, a building report (with concluding formulae), and a date line. The preserved text most closely parallels an inscription written on tablet fragment K 2662 (rev. 3′–20′); see Frahm, Sanherib pp. 197–198. It is from that inscription, which is a later copy (reign of Ashurbanipal or Esarhaddon), that we are able to determine that the building report of Bu 91-5-9,32 commemorated the construction of Nineveh's citadel wall. That project is confirmed by Ashurbanipal, who not only names Sennacherib as a previous builder but also records that he discovered foundation inscriptions of his when he renovated sections of that wall; see Borger, BIWA pp. 118–120 Prism D viii 64–100 and p. 183 Prism E Stück 18 lines 4–8.

Restorations are based on text no. 4, text no. 8, and K 2662 (Frahm, Sanherib pp. 197–198); lines 3′ and 6′–8′ are restored from K 2662. With regard to the restorations, preference is given, when possible, to text no. 4 and text no. 8 because K 2662 is a copy from the time of Ashurbanipal (or Esarhaddon).

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TEXT

Lacuna

1′) [...] *x* (*x*) [...]

2′) [...] ⌜*iš*⌝-*de-e-*⌜*šu*⌝ [...]

3′) [*ša* MURUB$_4$ URU *u* NINA.KI URU] ⌜*be*⌝-*lu-ti-ia šu-*⌜*bat*⌝-[*su-nu uš-rab-bi re-ba-ti-šú-un ú-šá-an-dil-ma bi-re-e-ti ù su-qa-a-ni uš-par-di-ma ú-nam-mir* GIM *u$_4$-me*]

4′) [*i-na mé-eḫ-ret* KÁ.GAL] ⌜MURUB$_4$⌝ URU *i-na a-*⌜*gúr*⌝-[*ri* NA$_4$*.pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e a-na me-ti-iq* GIŠ.GIGIR *be-lu-ti-ia ú-še-piš ti-tur-ru*]

5′) [MU.SAR-*a ú-še-piš-ma li-i*]-*tum ù* ⌜*da*⌝-[*na-nu ša i-na tukul-ti aš-šur* EN GAL EN-*ia* UGU *kul-lat na-ki-ri áš-tak-ka-nu ù mim-ma e-piš-ti* ŠU.II-*ia ú-šá-áš-ṭir qé-reb-šú*]

6′) [*it-ti* MU.SAR-*e ša mal*]-⌜*ki*⌝ *a-li-kut* ⌜*maḫ*⌝-[*ri* AD.MEŠ-*ia ina* BÀD MURUB$_4$ URU *šá* NINA.KI URU *be-lu-ti-ia a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-*ia e-zib aḫ-ra-taš*]

7′) [*ma-ti-ma ina* DUMU].⌜MEŠ⌝-*ia* ⌜*ar*⌝-[*ku-ti ša* ^{d}*aš-šur a-na* RE.É.UM-*ut* KUR *ù* UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šu e-nu-ma* BÀD *šá-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫu an-ḫu-us-su lu-ud-diš*]

8′) [MU.SAR-*a ši-ṭir šu-mi-ia*] ⌜*li*⌝-*mur-*[*ma* Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU.SISKUR *liq-qí a-na áš-ri-šú li-ter* ^{d}*aš-šur ù* ^{d}*iš-tar ik-ri-bi-šú i-šem-mu-u*]

Ruling line and date missing

Lacuna

1′–2′) [...] ... [...] its foundations [...].

3′) [I enlarged] the si[te of the citadel and Nineveh], my [c]apital [city. I broadened their squares and brought light into the alleys and streets, making (them) as bright as day].

4′) [I had a bridge constructed opposite] the Citadel [Gate] with paving ston[es of white limestone for the passage of my lordly chariot].

5′–6′) [I had an inscribed object made and had all the mi]ghty victo[ries that I achieved over all of (my) enemies with the support of (the god) Aššur, the great lord, my lord, and all of my (other) achievements inscribed thereon. With inscribed objects of] earl[ier rule]rs, [my ancestors, I deposited (it) for ever after in the citadel wall of Nineveh, my capital city, for the kings, my descendants].

7′–8′) [At any time (in the future), may one of] my [descendants (lit. "future children"), whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when that wall becomes old and dilapidated]. May he find [an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur and the goddess Ištar will (then) hear his prayers].

Ruling line and date missing

2′ See Frahm, Sanherib p. 197 K 2662 lines 3′–5′.

3′ NINA.KI "Nineveh": Or URU.NINA. *su-qa-a-ni* "streets": Or *su-qa-a-ti*; see Frahm, Sanherib p. 198 K 2662 line 8′.

4′ *ú-še-piš* "I had constructed": The restoration is based on text no. 8 line 16′ and K 2662 line 10′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 198). Cf. text no. 4 line 90, which has *ú-šak-bi-is* "I had constructed (by packing down)."

5′ The restoration of damaged text is based on text no. 8 line 17′, which is partially restored from text no. 4 lines 91–92 and K 2662 lines 11′–13′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 198). *ú-še-piš-ma* "I had made and": K 2662 line 11′ has *ab-ni-ma* "I built and." *mim-ma e-piš-ti* ŠU.II-*ia* "all of my (other) achievements": Text no. 4 line 92 has *mim-ma ep-šet e-tep-pu-šu* "everything (else) I had been doing."

6′ The restoration is based on text no. 8 line 18′, which is partially restored from K 2662 lines 14′–16′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 198). Cf. text no. 4 line 92.

7′ *ma-ti-ma*: Apart from K 2662 line 17′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 198), *matīma* "for ever" is used to introduce the concluding formulae only in the Baltimore Inscription line 122 (Grayson, AfO 20 [1963] p. 96) and the Bavian Inscription line 57 (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 84). Cf. text no. 4 line 93, which has *a-na ar-kàt u$_4$-me i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* "in the future, may one of the kings." ^{d}*aš-šur* "the god Aššur": K 2662 line 18′ has AN.ŠÁR "(the god) Aššur." Frahm (Sanherib p. 199) correctly points out that the writting of the name Aššur as AN.ŠÁR in that text clearly indicates that the tablet is a later copy; this writing of the DN in cylinder and prism inscriptions of Sennacherib from Nineveh appears only in text no. 10. *a-na* RE.É.UM-*ut* KUR *ù* UN.MEŠ "for shepherding the land and people": The restoration is based on text no. 4 line 93. K 2662 line 18′ has *a-na be-*⌜*lut*⌝ KUR *u* [UN.MEŠ] "for the lordship of the land and [people]," which is otherwise unattested in the concluding formulae of Sennacherib's inscriptions. The use of *ana bēlūt māti u nišē* may be a slip on the part of the scribe who copied the inscription, as that expression is commonly used in this context in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal; see, for example, Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 26 Esarhaddon 1 vi 66; and Borger, BIWA p. 74 Prism A x 109 and Prism F vi 63. This is further evidence that K 2662 is a later copy (reign of Ashurbanipal or Esarhaddon).

8′ MU.SAR-*a* "inscribed object": Or MU.SAR-*u* or MU.SAR-*e*. ^{d}*aš-šur ù* ^{d}*iš-tar ik-ri-bi-šú i-šem-mu-u* "the god Aššur and the goddess Ištar will (then) hear his prayers": Or possibly restore ^{d}*aš-šur ik-ri-bi-šu i-šem-me* "the god Aššur will (then) hear his prayers."

8

A fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves part of a foundation inscription with annalistic narration. The cylinder was inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-šarrāni, governor of the city Kurbail (699), but earlier in the year than text no. 5 (see the commentary). The extant text contains parts of the prologue, an account of the first campaign (against Marduk-apla-iddina II and his Chaldean and Elamite allies), and the building report (with concluding formulae). The complete inscription probably also included accounts of the second, third, and fourth campaigns, as well as a concluding statement about forming a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers. The building report commemorates the construction of the inner and outer walls of Nineveh, Badnigalbilukurašušu ("Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies") and Badnigerimḫuluḫa ("Wall, Terrorizer of Enemies"), and various other public works, including the construction of aqueducts and a bridge.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
—	81-2-4,46	Probably Nineveh	9×12	c

COMMENTARY

This inscription, as noted already by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 61), is either part of the same inscription as text no. 6 or a unique inscription; this text, however, belongs to a different text than K 1645 (text no. 5) and Bu 91-5-9,32 (text no. 7). Because of the fragmentary nature of the sources, one cannot be certain of the relationship of 81-2-4,46 (this text) to 82-5-22,24 (text no. 6) and therefore this fragment is edited on its own.

The extant text of the prologue and report of the first campaign (lines 1–15) and the concluding formulae (lines 19′–20′) duplicates text no. 4 lines 1–15 and 93–94. Text no. 5, which was also written in the eponymy of Bēl-šarrāni (699), includes several editorial changes known from inscriptions written on octagonal and hexagonal clay prisms (beginning in 698); for example, Sennacherib's epithets *šar lā šanān* ("unrivalled king") and *rēʾûm mutnennû pāliḫ ilāni rabûti* ("pious shepherd who reveres the great gods") were replaced in text no. 5 (and texts written after 699) by *šar kibrāt erbetti* ("king of the four quarters"), *rēʾûm itpēšu* ("capable shepherd"), and *migir ilāni rabûti* ("favorite of the great gods"). Such differences between this text and text no. 5 indicate that 81-2-4,46 was inscribed earlier in the year than K 1645 (text no. 5) since it follows more closely the prologue and concluding formulae of text no. 4. Moreover, these changes indicate that several editorial changes were introduced to those passages during the year 699.

The building report (lines 1′–18′) includes passages composed for earlier inscriptions (commemorating the construction of Egalzagdinutukua) and sections composed anew for inscriptions recording the construction of Badnigalbilukurašušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa, Nineveh's inner and outer walls. With regard to material borrowed from other cylinders (text nos. 1–4), lines 1′–3′, 14′, and 16′–18′ duplicate (with a few minor changes) text no. 4 lines 86–92. As for lines 4′–13′ and 15′ — which describe the creation of a marsh, the construction of the walls of Nineveh, and the building of aqueducts — these passages were either composed anew for this inscription or were borrowed from an earlier text (now lost) that also commemorated those events. Those sections of the building report were incorporated (with editorial changes) into the building reports of inscriptions written on octagonal clay prisms inscribed from 698 to 695. Cf. text no. 15 vii 14–24, 24′–30′, viii 2′–8′a, and 1′′–7′′; and text no. 16 vii 22–33, 70–76a,

81–84, and viii 29–51.

Restorations are based on text no. 4, text no. 15, and text no. 16, but with help in lines 1′–5′ and 18′–19′ from K 2662 and K 3752 (Frahm, Sanherib pp. 197–198), two fragmentarily preserved clay tablets.

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TEXT

1) [^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL GAL-*ú* LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI LUGAL *la šá-na-an* RE].É.UM ⌜*mut-nen*⌝-*nu-ú pa-liḫ* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ

2) [*na-ṣir kit-ti ra-ʾi-im mi-šá-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki*]-⌜*i*⌝ *sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti*

3) [*eṭ-lu gít-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du a-šá-red kal ma-al-ki rap-pu la-ʾi*]-⌜*iṭ*⌝ *la ma-gi-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni*

4) [^{d}*aš-šur* KUR-*ú* GAL-*ú* LUGAL-*ut la šá-na-an ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma* UGU *gi-mir a-šib pa*]-⌜*rak*⌝-*ki ú-šar-ba-a* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia*

1–3) [Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, unrivalled king], pious [shep]herd who reveres the great gods, [guardian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the wea]k, (and) strives after good deeds, [perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridle that con]trols the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning:

4) [The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and] made my weapons greater [than (those of) all who sit on (royal) da]ises.

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5) [*i-na maḫ-re-e ger-ri-ia ša* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA LUGAL KUR.*kár-dun-ia-áš a-di* ERIM.ḪI.A ELAM].⌜MA⌝.KI *re-ṣi-šú i-na ta-mir-ti kiš*.KI *áš-ta-*⌜*kan*⌝ [BAD$_5$.BAD$_5$-*šu*]

6) [*i-na* MURUB$_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri šu-a-tu e-zib* KARAŠ-*su e-diš ip-par-šid-ma na-piš-tuš e-ṭí-ir* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GIŠ.*ṣu-um-bi* ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ] ⌜*ša*⌝ *ina qit-ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi ú-maš-ši-ru ik-šu-da* [ŠU.II-*a-a*]

7) [*a-na* É.GAL-*šu ša qé-reb* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ḫa-diš e-ru-um-ma ap-te-e-ma* É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR *ú-nu-ut* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR NA$_4$ *a-qar-tu mim-ma šum-šú*] NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA *ni-ṣir-tu ka-bit-*[*tu*]

8) [DAM-*su* MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL.MEŠ-*šú* LÚ.TIRUM.MEŠ LÚ.*man-za-az pa-ni si-ḫir-ti um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú mut-tab-bi-lu*]-*tú* É.GAL-*uš ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš* [*am-nu*]

9) [*i-na e-muq* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia* 89 URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ *ša* KUR.*kal-di ù* 6 ME 20 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*] ⌜*al*⌝-*me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-*[*su-un*]

10) [LÚ.*úr-bi* LÚ.*a-ra-mu* LÚ.*kal-du ša qé-reb*

5–6) [On my first campaign], I brought about [the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), together with the troops of (the land) Ela]m, his allies, in the plain of Kish. [In the midst of that battle he abandoned his camp, fled alone, and (thereby) saved his life. I] seized [the chariots, horses, wagons, (and) mules] that he had abandoned in the thick of battle.

7–8) [I joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then I opened his treasury and] brought out [gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, precious stones, all kinds of] possessions (and) property, a substan[tial] treasure, (together with) [his wife, his palace women, courtiers, attendants, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were], (and) his palace [attendan]ts, and [I counted] (them) as booty.

9–10) [With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord], I surrounded, conquered, (and) plunder[ed 89 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 620 small(er) settlements in their environs]. (10) I brought out [the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans who

1–16 These lines duplicate text no. 4 lines 1–16, for which see the on-page notes.
9 The number of cities and towns surrounded, captured, and plundered is based on text no. 4 line 9. Later prism inscriptions reduce the numbers from 89 and 620 to 75 and 420; for example, see text no. 22 i 36–37. It is possible that these numbers were first reduced in inscriptions written on clay cylinders in 699, rather than in texts inscribed on prisms in 698.

UNUG.KI NIBRU.KI *kiš*.KI *ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*.KI GÚ.DU$_8$.A.KI ZIMBIR.KI EN DUMU.MEŠ URU] ⌜EN⌝ *ḫi-iṭ-ṭi ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-*[*la-tiš am-nu*]

were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Ḫursagkalama, Cutha, (and) Sippar, together with] the guilty [citizens], and [I counted (them) as] bo[oty].

11) [^{m}EN-DÙ DUMU LÚ.GAL-DÙ *i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL-*ti-šú ú-še-šib* UN.MEŠ KUR URI.KI *ú-šad-gil pa-nu-uš-šú* UGU *gi-mir na-ge-e* KUR.*kal-di* LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG.MEŠ-*ia a-na* LÚ.NAM-*ti áš*]-*kun-ma ni-ir be-lu-ti-ia* [*e-mid-su-nu-ti*]

11) [I placed Bēl-ibni, a son of a *rab banî*, on his royal throne (and) entrusted him with the people of Akkad. I ap]pointed [my eunuchs to be governors over all of the districts of Chaldea] and [I imposed] the yoke of my lordship [upon them].

12) [*i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* LÚ.*tu-ʾu-mu-na* LÚ.*ri-ḫi-ḫu* LÚ.*ia-daq-qu* LÚ.*ú-bu-du* LÚ.*gib-re-e* LÚ.*ma-li-ḫu* LÚ.*gu-ru-mu*] LÚ.*ú-*⌜*bu*⌝*-lum* ⌜LÚ⌝.[*da-mu-nu*]

13) [LÚ.*gam-bu-lum* LÚ.*ḫi-in-da-ru* LÚ.*ru-ʾu-u-a* LÚ.*pu-qu-du* LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-nu* LÚ.*ḫa-ga-ra-nu* LÚ.*na-ba-tu* LÚ.*li-iʾ-ta-a-ú* LÚ.*a-ra-mu la*] ⌜*kan*⌝*-šú-*⌜*ti mit*$^{?}$*-ḫa*$^{?}$*-riš*⌝ [*ak-šud*^{ud}]

12–14) [On my return march, I defeated] all together [the Tuʾumuna, Riḫiḫu, Yadaqqu, Ubudu, Gibrê, Maliḫu (Malaḫu), Gurumu], Ubulu, [Damunu, Gambulu, Ḫindaru, Ruʾuʾa, Puqudu, Ḫamrānu, Ḫagarānu, Nabatu, (and) Liʾtaʾu, in]submissive [Arameans. I carried] off into [Assyria a substantial booty (consisting of) 208,000 people, young (and) old, male and female, 7,200 horses (and) mules, 11,073 donkeys, 5,230 camels, 80,100 oxen, (and) 600,600 sheep and goats].

14) [2 ME 8 LIM UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS 7 LIM 2 ME ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ 11 LIM 73 ANŠE.MEŠ 5 LIM 2 ME 30 ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ 80 LIM 1 ME GU$_4$.MEŠ 6 ME LIM 6 ME US$_5$.UDU.ḪI.A *šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu áš-lu*]-*la a-na qé-*[*reb* KUR *aš-šur*.KI]

15) [*i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ša* ^{md}AG-EN-MU.MEŠ LÚ.*qí-pi* URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-te* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni* GAL.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ù* US$_5$.UDU.ḪI.A *ta*]-*mar-ta-šú* [*ka-bit-tú am-ḫur*]

15) [In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial aud]ience gift [from Nabû-bēl-šumāti, the official in charge of the city Ḫararatu: gold, silver, large *musukkannu*-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats].

16) [...] *x* [...]

16) [...] ... [...].

Lacuna

Lacuna

1′) [*áš-šú za-qa-ap ṣip-pa-a-ti* A.ŠÀ *ta-mir-ti e-le-en* URU NIGIDAMIN.TA.ÀM *a-na* DUMU.MEŠ NINA.KI *pil-ku ú-pal-lik-ma ú-šad*]-⌜*gi-la*⌝ [*pa-nu-uš-šú-un*]

1′) [To plant gardens, I subdivided the meadowland upstream of the city into plots of two *pānu* each for the citizens of Nineveh and I handed] (them) over [to them].

2′) [*a-na miṭ-ra-a-ti šum-mu-ḫi ul-tu pa-a-ṭi* URU.*ki-si-ri a-di ta-mir-ti* NINA.KI KUR-*a ù bi-ru-tú ina ak-kul-la-a-ti ú-šat-tir*]-*ma ú-*[*še-šir* ÍD.*ḫar-ru*]

2′–3′) [To make (these) planted areas luxuriant, I cut with picks a canal] st[raight through mountain and *valley*, from the border of the city Kisiru to the plain of Nineveh. I caused an inexhaustible supply of water to flow there for a distance of one and a half leagues from the Ḫusur River (and) ma]de (it) gush through [feeder canals into those gardens].

3′) [1 1/2 KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru ul-tu qé-reb* ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur ma-a-me da-ru-ú-ti a-šar-šá ú-šar-da-a qé-reb ṣip-pa-a-ti šá-ti-na ú*]-*šaḫ-bi-ba* [*pat-ti-iš*]

4′) [*i-na ṭè-em* DINGIR-*ma qé-reb* GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ GIŠ.GEŠTIN *gi-mir* GURUN GIŠ.*se-er-du ù* ŠIM.ḪI.A *ma-gal iš-mu-ḫu* GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA *nap-ḫar* GIŠ.MEŠ *i*]-⌜*ši*⌝*-ḫu-ma ú-ṣar-*⌜*ri*⌝-[*šú pa-pa-al-lum*]

4′–6′) [By divine will, vines, all kinds of fruit trees, olive trees, and aromatic trees flourished greatly in (those) gardens. Cypress trees, *musukkannu*-trees, (and) all kinds of trees gr]ew tall and sent [out shoots. (5′) I created a marsh to moderate the flow of water for (those) gardens and had a canebrake planted (in it). I let loose] in i[t herons, wild boa]rs (lit. "[pigs of the ree]ds"), (and) *roe deer*. [The marshes thrived

5′) [*a-na šup-šu-uḫ a-lak-ti* A.MEŠ *ša* GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ *a-gam-mu ú-šab-ši-ma ṣu-ṣu-ú ú-šá-as-ti-il* ÍGIRA.MUŠEN.MEŠ ŠAḪ.MEŠ GIŠ].⌜GI⌝ *a-lap qí-ši*

1′ Although this inscription was written on clay cylinders deposited in the structure of Nineveh's wall, this text may have included a similiar introduction to Sennacherib's building program at Nineveh and description of the construction of the "Palace Without a Rival" as text no. 4. Cf. the building reports of text nos. 15–18, all of which record work on the South-West Palace and Nineveh's inner and outer walls.

4′–8′ The restorations are based on K 3752 rev. ii′ 31–36 (Frahm, Sanherib p. 197), text no. 15 viii 2′′–7′′ and 16′′–18′′, and text no. 16 viii 29–49 and 60–63. The arrangement of the text is the same as K 3752. Cf. later prism inscriptions where *a-na šup-šu-uḫ ... ú-maš-šir* "to moderate ... I let loose" (line 5′) was placed before *i-na ṭè-em* DINGIR-*ma ... pa-pa-al-lum* "by divine will ... shoots" (line 4′).

5′ *a-lap qí-ši* "*roe deer*" (lit. "bull of the forest"): Our interpretation follows Jacobsen and Lloyd, OIP 24 p. 35 n. 20; and Frahm, Sanherib pp. 63, 83, and 87. Alternatively, one could tentatively translate *alap qīši* as "*water buffalo*."

i-⌜na lìb⌝-[bi ú-maš-šir]

6′) [*ap-pa-ra-a-ti ma-gal i-ši-ra* MUŠEN AN-*e* ÍGIRA.MUŠEN *ša a-šar-šú ru-ú-qu qin-na iq-nun-ma* ŠAḪ.MEŠ GIŠ.GI *a-lap qí-ši*] ⌜*ú*⌝-*rap-pi-šu* ⌜*ta*⌝-[*lit-tu*]

7′) [GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN *tar-bit ṣip-pa-a-ti* GI AMBAR.MEŠ *ša qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me ak-šiṭ-ma a-na šip-ri ḫi-šiḫ-ti* É.GAL.MEŠ *be*]-⌜*lu*⌝-*ti-ia lu* ⌜DÙ⌝-[*uš*]

8′) [*... i-na taš-ri-it* É.GAL *ša ba-ḫu-la-te* KUR-*ia ú-šá-áš-qa-a muḫ-ḫa-šú-un* GEŠTIN *du*]-⌜*uš*⌝-*šu-pu ṣur-ra-šú-un am-*[*kir*]

9′) [NINA.KI *ša ul-tu* u_4-*mu pa-ni* 9 LIM 3 ME *i-na* 1.KÙŠ *šu-bat li-me-ti-šú* BÀD *ù* BÀD.ŠUL.ḪI *ul ú-še-pi-šu a-li-kut*] ⌜*maḫ*⌝-*ri ma-al-*⌜*ki*⌝

10′) [12 LIM 5 ME 15 *a-šar ta-mir-ti li-mit* URU *ṣe-er me-ši-iḫ-ti maḫ-ri-ti ú-rad-di-ma* 21 LIM 8 ME 15 *i-na* AS_4.LUM GAL]-*ti ú-kin mìn-da-*⌜*tuš*⌝

11′) [*ša* BÀD-*šú* GAL-*i bàd-ní-gal-bi-lú-kúr-ra-šú-šú du-ú-ru ša nam-ri-ru-šú na-ki-ri saḫ-pu ṣe-er* NA_4.*pi-i-li tem-me-en-šú ad-di-ma* 40 SIG_4 *ú-kab-bir i-na* 1 ME 80 *ti*]-⌜*ib*⌝-*ki ul-la-a re-še*$_{20}$-*e-šú*

12′) [*šá šal-ḫi-i bàd-níg-érim-ḫu-luḫ-ḫa mu-gal-lit za-ma-a-ni uš-še-šú ap-te-ma* 45 NINDA *ú-šap-pil-ma ú-šá-ak-šid*] A.MEŠ *nag-bi*

13′) [*qé-reb ma-a-me šap-la-a-nu* NA_4 KUR-*i dan-nu ak-si-ma e-la-niš a-di pa-ás-qí-šú ina* NA_4.*pi-i-li* GAL.MEŠ] *ú-nak-*⌜*kil*⌝ *ši-pir-šú*

14′) [*ša* NINA.KI URU *be-lu-ti-ia šu-bat-su uš-rab-bi re-ba-te-šu ú-šá-an-dil-ma ú-nam-mir* GIM u_4-*mi* BÀD *šal-ḫu-ú*] ⌜*ú*⌝-*še-piš-ma ú-*⌜*zaq*⌝-*qir ḫur-šá-a-niš*

15′) [*áš-šú mu-ṣe-e* ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur qé-reb* URU *ma-lak* A.MEŠ *e-liš ù šap-liš i-na* SIG_4.AL.ÙR.RA KI-*i-ri ma-ši-i*] *ti-tur-ri ab-ta-ni šá-pal-šú*

16′) [*ina mé-eḫ-ret* KÁ.GAL $MURUB_4$ URU *i-na a-gúr-ri* NA_4.*pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e a-na me-ti-iq*

greatly. Birds of the heavens, heron(s) whose home(s) are far away, made nest(s) and wild boars (and) *roe deer*] ga[ve birth] in abundance.

7′) [I cut down *musukkannu*-trees (and) cypress trees grown in the orchards (and) marsh reeds from the swamps and] I us[ed (them) in the work required] (to build) my [lor]dly [palatial halls].

8′) [... At the inauguration of the palace, I had the heads of the subjects of my land drenched] (and) I wa[tered] their insides with [sw]eet [wine].

9′–10′) [Nineveh, the site of whose circumference had been 9,300 cubits since former times (and) for which no earl]ier ruler [had had an inner or outer wall built — (10′) I added 12,515 (cubits) in the plain around the city to (its) previous measurement and] (thus) established its dimensions [as 21,815 lar]ge [cubits].

11′) [I laid the foundation of its great wall, Badnigalbilukurašušu, (which means) "Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies," upon limestone and made (it) 40 bricks thick]. I raised its superstructure [180 cou]rses of brick high.

12′–13′) [I opened up a foundation pit for the outer wall, Badnigerimḫuluḫa, (which means) "Terrorizer of Enemies," then I dug down forty-five *nindanu* and made (it) reach] the water table. [I bound together strong mountain stone in the water below and above] I expertly carried out its construction [with large limestone (blocks) up to its copings].

14′) [I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my capital city. I broadened its squares, making (them) as bright as day]. I had [an inner (and) outer wall] built and I raised (them) as high as mountain(s).

15′) [So that there would be outflow from the Ḫusur River in the city (and) the passage of water upstream and downstream], I built aqueducts beneath it (the city wall) [with baked bricks, ...].

16′) I had a bridge constructed [opposite the Citadel Gate with paving stones of white limestone for the

8′ At the beginning of the line, E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 62) restores Ì.GIŠ GIŠ.*sér-di ù ḫi-bi-iš-ti ú-raq-qa-a a-na ru-uš-ti* "I made fine oil from olives and aromatics."

9′–14′ The restorations are based on text no. 15 vii 14–24 and 24′–31′, and text no. 16 vii 22–33 and 70–80. These lines were either composed anew for this inscription or for an earlier text commemorating the construction of Nineveh's walls. This passage was incorporated without editorial changes into the building reports of later prism inscriptions (beginning in 698). As noted already by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 273), the work on Badnigalbilukurašušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa was probably in the very early stages of construction since this text does not mention any gates.

14′ BÀD *... ḫur-šá-a-niš* "wall ... as mountain(s)": This inscription is the earliest text to include this statement in the building report. It is included in later prism inscriptions commemorating the construction of Nineveh's inner and outer walls; for example, see text no. 16 vii 79–80 and text no. 17 viii 15. See the on-page note to lines 9′–14′.

15′ The restorations are based on text no. 16 vii 81–84. This line was composed anew either for this inscription or for an earlier text commemorating the construction of Nineveh's walls and was incorporated without editorial changes into the building reports of later prism inscriptions (beginning in 698). KI-*i-ri* "...": Read as either *qí-i-ri* or *ki-i-ri*, "bitumen" and "kiln (for lime and bitumen)" respectively. *ma-ši-i* "...": The meaning of this word is unknown and it is not certain from context whether *mašû* is a noun or an adjective. *ti-tur-ri* "aqueducts": Following Frahm (Sanherib pp. 64, 83, and 86) and Bagg (Assyrische Wasserbauten pp. 196–198), *titurru* probably refers to aqueducts, and not to a bridge, in this passage. This word clearly has this meaning in Jerwan Inscription B lines 8b–9 (Jacobsen and Lloyd, OIP 24 pl. 18): *ša* NA_4.*pi-i-li pe-ṣi-i ú-šak-bi-is ti-tur-ru* A.MEŠ *šá-tu-nu ú-še-ti-iq ṣe-ru-uš-šú* "I constructed an aqueduct of white limestone (and) made those waters flow over it."

16′ *ú-še-piš* "I had constructed": Text no. 4 line 90 has *ú-šak-bi-is* "I had constructed (by packing down)."

GIŠ.GIGIR *be-lu-ti-ia*] *ú-še-piš ti-tur-ru*

17′) [MU.SAR-*a ú-še-piš-ma li-i-tú ù da-na-nu ša i-na tukul-ti aš-šur* EN GAL EN-*ia* UGU *kul-lat na-ki-ri áš-tak*]-˹*ka*˺-*nu ù mim-ma e-piš-ti* ŠU.II-*ia ú-šá-áš-ṭir qé-reb-šú*

18′) [*it-ti* MU.SAR-*e ša mal-ki a-li-kut maḫ-ri* AD.MEŠ-*ia ina* BÀD *šá* NINA.KI URU *be-lu-ti-ia a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ DUMU].MEŠ-*ia e-zib aḫ-ra-taš*

19′) [*a-na ar-kàt* u_4-*me i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* DUMU.MEŠ-*ia ša* ^{d}*aš-šur a-na* RE.É.UM-*ut* KUR *ù* UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šu e-nu-ma*] BÀD *u* BÀD.ŠUL.ḪI *šá-tu-nu i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫu*

20′) [*an-ḫu-su-nu lu-ud-diš* MU.SAR-*a ši-ṭir šu-mi-ia li-mur-ma* Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU.SISKUR *liq-qí a-na áš-ri-šú*] ˹*li*˺-*ter* ^{d}*aš-šur ik-ri-bi-šú i-*˹*šem*˺-*me*

passage of my lordly chariot].

17′–18′) [I had an inscribed object made and] had [all the mighty victories that I] achieved [over all of (my) enemies with the support of (the god) Aššur, the great lord, my lord], and all of my (other) achievements inscribed thereon. [With inscribed objects of earlier rulers, my ancestors], I deposited (it) for ever after [in the wall of Nineveh, my capital city, for the kings], my [descendant]s.

19′–20′) [In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, renovate their dilapidated section(s) when] these inner and outer walls become old and dilapidated. (20′) [May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering], (and) return (it) [to its place]. The god Aššur will (then) hear his prayers.

21′) [*x x* (*x x*).TA.ÀM MU.DIDLI MU.SAR-*e … li-mu* ^{md}]EN-LUGAL-*an-ni*

21′) [The line count of the inscription is … (lines). … eponymy of] Bēl-šarrāni (699).

9

A small fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh (or Aššur) preserves the first thirteen lines of a foundation inscription with annalistic narration. The extant text contains parts of the prologue and an account of the first campaign (against Marduk-apla-iddina II and his Chaldean and Elamite allies). The text is either a duplicate of one of the better preserved cylinder inscriptions (text nos. 2–3) or a copy of a hitherto unknown text. Because the prologue and military narration are not separated by a horizontal ruling, this cylinder must have been inscribed in 702, 701, or 700.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
I2b 837	—	Probably Nineveh (or Aššur)	—	n

8 line 17′ The restorations are based on text no. 4 line 91. *mim-ma e-piš-ti* ŠU.II-*ia* "all of my (other) achievements": Text no. 4 line 92 has *mim-ma ep-šet e-tep-pu-šu* "everything (else) that I had been doing." K 2662 line 13′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 198) also has *mimma epišti qātīya* "all of my (other) achievements."

8 line 18′ The restorations are based on K 2662 lines 14′–16′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 198) and text no. 7 line 6′. Cf. text no. 4 lines 92–93.

8 line 20′ *i-*˹*šem*˺-*me* "he will (then) hear": This inscription follows earlier cylinder inscriptions, including text no. 4. Cf. text no. 5 line 2′, which has *i-šem-mu-*˹*u*˺ "they will (then) hear," with Aššur and Ištar as the subjects of the verb; that variation is found also in the concluding formulae of inscriptions written on clay prisms.

8 line 21′ Cf. text no. 5 line 3′, which includes Bēl-šarrāni's title.

COMMENTARY

The fragment is housed in the N.P. Lichatschevs Collection of the Pushkin Museum (Moscow). It was not examined from the original and therefore the edition is based on E. Frahm's published transliteration, which is based on an unpublished copy of V.K. Šilejko. The copy has traces of signs that cannot be clearly identified from better preserved texts. Because there appear to be problems with Šilejko's copy, it is uncertain if this is a unique text or if it is actually a duplicate of one of the better known inscriptions. What is preserved most closely parallels text no. 2 lines 1–12 and 14–15, and text no. 3 lines 1–12 and 14–15; cf. text no. 4 lines 1–10 and 12–13. The restorations in lines 1–8 and 10–13 are are based on text no. 3. The problematic passages in the text are noted in the on-page notes.

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TEXT

1) [^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL GAL LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI LUGAL *la šá-na-an*] RE.É.UM [*mut-nen-nu-ú pa-liḫ* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]

2) [*na-ṣir kit-ti ra-ʾi-im mi-šá-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti*] *a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i* [*sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti*]

3) [*eṭ-lu gít-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du a-šá-red kal ma-al*]-*ki rap-pu la-ʾi-*⌜*iṭ*⌝ *la* [*ma-gi-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni*]

4) [^{d}*aš-šur* KUR-*ú* GAL-*ú* LUGAL-*ut la šá-na-an ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma*] ⌜UGU⌝ *gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki* [*ú-šar-ba-a* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia*]

5) [*i-na* SAG LUGAL-*ti-ia ša* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA LUGAL KUR.*kár-dun-ía-áš a-di* ERIM.ḪI].A ELAM.MA.KI *re-ṣi-šú i-na* [*ta*]-⌜*mir*⌝-[*ti kiš*.KI *áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú*]

6) [GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.*ṣu-um-bi* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM].⌜MAL⌝.MEŠ ⌜*ù*⌝ [ANŠE.*ud-ri ša i-na qit-ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi ú-maš-ši-ru ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a*]

7) [*a-na* É.GAL-*šú ša qé-reb* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ḫa-diš e-ru-um-ma ap-te-e-ma* É *ni*]-⌜*ṣir*⌝-*ti-šú* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR *ú-nu-ut* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR NA_4 [*a-qar-tu mim-ma šum-šu* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA *ni-ṣir-tu ka-bit-tu*]

8) [DAM-*su* MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL-*šú* LÚ.TIRUM.MEŠ LÚ.*man-za-az pa-ni*] *si-ḫir-ti* LÚ.*um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú* [*mut-tab-bi-lu-tu*

1–3) [Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, pious] shepherd [who reveres the great gods, guardian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance], goes to the aid of the weak, (and) [strives after good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rul]ers, the bridle that controls the in[submissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning]:

4) [The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater] than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises.

5–6) [At the beginning of my kingship, I brought about the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), together with the troop]s of (the land) Elam, his ally, in [the p]lai[n of Kish. I seized the chariots, wagons, horses, mules, donkeys, cam]els, and [Bactrian camels that he had abandoned in the thick of battle].

7–8) [I joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then I opened] his [trea]sury [and brought out] gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, [precious] stones, [all kinds of possessions (and) property, a substantial treasure, (together with) his wife, his palace women, courtiers, attendants], all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) [his palace attendants, and I counted (them) as booty].

5–6 E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 64–65) rightly questions whether or not there is a line completely destroyed between lines 5 and 6 since the copy is reported to be very clear at this point. Assuming the modern copyist did not omit a line and that nothing is missing between lines 5 and 6, then this text deviates in the passage reporting on Marduk-apla-iddina II's flight after the battle at Kish either by omitting the mention of the Chaldean hiding in swamps and marshes altogether or by placing it in line 9.

5 *re-ṣi-šú* "his ally": Text no. 2 line 5, text no. 4 line 5, and text no. 8 line 5 all add *re-ṣi-šú* "his ally" after ERIM.ḪI.A ELAM.MA.KI "the troops of (the land) Elam." Text no. 3 line 5 omits this word.

É.GAL *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*]

9) [... *a-na qé*]-˹*reb* ÍD˺.*a-gam-me x x x x x x x* [...]

10) [*i-na e-muq* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia* 89 URU.MEŠ-*ni dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni ša* KUR.*kal-di ù* 8] ˹ME˺ 20 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša* ˹*li*˺-*me-ti-šú-nu al-me* ˹*ak*˺-[*šud*^{ud} *áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*]

11) [LÚ.*úr-bi* LÚ.*a-ra-mu ù* LÚ.*kal-du ša qé-reb* UNUG.KI NIBRU.KI *kiš*.KI *ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*].˹KI$^{?}$ GÚ$^{?}$.DU$_{8}^{?}$.A$^{?}$.KI$^{?}$˺ *a-di* DUMU.MEŠ URU EN *ḫi*-[*iṭ-ṭi ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*]

12) [*i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* LÚ.*tu-ʾu-mu-na* LÚ.*ri-ḫi-ḫu* LÚ.*ia-daq-qu* LÚ.*ú-bu*]-˹*du*˺ LÚ.*gib-re-e* LÚ.*ma-li-ḫu* [LÚ.*gu-ru-mu* LÚ.*ú-bu-lum* LÚ.*da-mu-nu*]

13) [LÚ.*gam-bu-lu* LÚ.*ḫi-in-da-ru* LÚ.*ru-ʾu-u-a* LÚ.*pu-qu-du* LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-a-nu* LÚ.*ḫa-ga-ra-nu* LÚ.*na-ba-tu* LÚ.*li-iʾ*]-˹*ta*$^{?}$-*a*$^{?}$-*ú*$^{?}$ LÚ.*a-ra*$^{?}$˺-[*mu la kan-šú mit-ḫa-riš ak-šud*^{ud}]

Lacuna

9) [... into the mi]dst of swamps ... [...]

10–11) [With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord], I surrounded, conq[uered, (and) plundered 89 fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 8]20 small(er) settlements in their environs. [I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans and Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Ḫursagkalama], (and) *Cutha*, together with the gu[ilty] citizens, [and I counted (them) as booty].

12–13) [On my return march, I defeated all together the Tuʾumuna, Riḫiḫu, Yadaqqu, Ubu]du, Gibrê, Maliḫu (Malaḫu), [Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu, (15) Gambulu, Ḫindaru, Ruʾuʾa, Puqudu, Ḫamrānu, Ḫagarānu, Nabatu, (and) *Liʾ*]*taʾu*, insubmissive] *Ara*[*means*].

Lacuna

10

A small damaged clay cylinder and a fragment of another cylinder, both presumably from Nineveh, are inscribed with a short inscription recording the construction of a shrine for the god Ḫaya, the "god of scribes." The style of the inscription is similar to a text written on stone horizontal prisms recording the construction of the Aššur temple at Aššur. Both texts consist of a prologue, a building report, a petition to the foundation inscription, and advice to future rulers. Because the inscription does not include narration of military events and since the known copies do not include a date line, the year during which the cylinders were inscribed is not known.

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	K 1635	—	Probably Nineveh	11 long; 4.6 dia.	1–29	c
2	A 16931	—	Probably Nineveh	5.1 wide	15?–23	c

9 line 9 The line corresponds to text nos. 2 and 3 line 6 or line 10; see Frahm, Sanherib p. 65 for details.

9 lines 11–12 Based on the copy, this inscription omits text no. 2 line 13 and text no. 3 line 13, the passage recording the appointment of Bēl-ibni as king of Sumer and Akkad. Like later inscriptions written on clay prisms (beginning in 698), this text may omit this event. Cf., for example text no. 15 i 12′–35′ and text no. 22 i 35b–53.

COMMENTARY

A little less than half of ex. 1 is missing from the left-hand side and middle. Physically the cylinder is similar to those with text nos. 12 and 13, but it does not join or come from the same cylinders with text nos. 12 and 13. Only a small portion of the middle of ex. 2 is preserved. Horizontal rulings separate each line of text on both exemplars.

Text nos. 10–13 are foundation inscriptions with no military narration (Grayson, Orientalia NS 49 [1980] p. 153). In the Sennacherib corpus, the text written on VA 8254, a stone horizontal prism from Aššur recording work on the Aššur Temple, best exemplifies this type of text because that inscription is complete; see Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 and Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 144–147 I7. The prologues, the petitions to the foundation inscription, and advice to future rulers of text nos. 10–13 duplicate those same passages (with minor variation) on VA 8254 (lines 1–8a and 30b–39). E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 109–111) regarded these cylinder fragments as inscriptions from Nineveh with "Aššur titulary," but that designation is not entirely accurate. These texts, as well as the text written on VA 8254, should be regarded as foundation inscriptions with demilitarized, cult-focused prologues and building reports commemorating work on temples. Sennacherib's titles and epithets in the prologues of text nos. 10–13 and of VA 8254 are probably representative of those used in foundation inscriptions without military conquests that were written on clay cylinders and stone horizontal prisms deposited in the structure of temples at Aššur and Nineveh. Therefore, there is no need to stress the Aššur aspect of the titulary. For a study of Sennacherib's titulary, see Liverani in Fales, ARIN pp. 225–257.

Due to the poor state of preservation of text nos. 10–13, it is not certain how many inscriptions these fragments represent; there could be as few as two texts or as many as four. Text nos. 10 and 11 clearly represent different inscriptions, but text nos. 12 and 13 could be duplicates of either text nos. 10 or 11 or be parts of unique text(s). K 1635 (ex. 1) and A 16931 (ex. 2) are arbitrarily edited together, as they both refer to Ḫaya, the "god of scribes," but BM 123418 (text no. 11), BM 127888 (text no. 12), and BM 128242 (text no. 13) are each edited on their own.

The master text is ex. 1, with some restorations from ex. 2. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. Restorations are based on VA 8254 lines 1–8a and 30b–39; that inscription will be edited in Part 2 with the other texts from Aššur.

The building report is poorly preserved and it describes work on a shrine of the god Ḫaya (formerly read as Ḫani), which may have been the Ezida temple ("True House") at Nineveh since this deity, who is described in this text as the "god of scribes" (line 19), is often identified with Nabû, the pre-eminent scribal god of the first millennium; see Frahm, Sanherib pp. 110–111 and Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) p. 410. It has also been suggested that the shrine of Ḫaya was located in Aššur because the prologue, the passage requesting that the foundation inscription speak favorably about Sennacherib, and the advice to future rulers duplicate passages on texts from Aššur; see Menzel, Tempel 1 p. 79 and Frahm, Sanherib p. 110.

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TEXT

1) [^{md}]^{r}30^{1}-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN GAL-*u* MAN *dan-nu* MAN *kiš-šá-ti* MAN KUR *aš-šur*.KI
2) [MAN *kib-rat* LÍMMU]-^{r}*tim*^{1} *mut-tar-ru-ú*

1–9) [S]ennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, [king of the fou]r [quarters] (of the world), leader of a widespread population, [the

1 MAN *kiš-šá-ti* "king of the world": Text no. 4, copies of which are dated to 700, is the earliest text of Sennacherib from Nineveh in which this title appears.

2 [MAN *kib-rat* LÍMMU]-^{r}*tim*^{1} "[king of the fou]r [quarters] (of the world)": Text no. 5, which is dated to 699, is the earliest text of Sennacherib from Nineveh in which this title appears. The inclusion of *šar kiššati* "king of the world" and *šar kibrāt erbetti* "king of the four quarters (of the

UN.MEŠ DAGAL.ᶠMEŠᵀ

3) [*e-piš ṣa-lam* AN.ŠÁR ᵈ*a-nim* ᵈ30 ᵈUTU] ᶠᵈᵀIŠKUR ᵈU.GUR ᵈᶠ*iš*ᵀ-[*tar*]

4) [*ša* É-*kid-mu-ri* ...]

5) [...]

6) [...]

7) [...]

8) [(...) *šá* UGU LUGAL.MEŠ *a-šib* BÁRA *nu*]-ᶠ*ʾu-ú*ᵀ-*da-at be-*ᶠ*lut-su*ᵀ

9) [*tukul-ti* KUR-*šú na-aʾ-id* MURUB$_4$ *ù* MÈ *ṣu-lu-lu*] ᶠERIMᵀ.ḪI.A-*šú a-na-ku*

10) [... *ša*]-ᶠ*an*ᵀ-*da-bak-ku ša mi-nu-ut* NÍG.KA$_9$-ᶠ*su*ᵀ-*x*

11) [...] ᶠᵈᵀ*ḫa-ìa* DINGIR-*šú-nu ú-šar-qu-x*

12) [...]-ᶠ*ši*ᵀ-*na* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.ᶠMEŠᵀ

13) [... *ina qí*]-ᶠ*bi*ᵀ-*ti* DINGIR.MEŠ *a-na* ᶠ*te-em-me-en-ni*ᵀ

14) [...]-*x-šú ina maḫ-ri-*ᶠ*ia*ᵀ

15) [...] *x* É$^{?}$ *x rim-me pa me kal x*

16) [...] ᶠ*e*ᵀ-*piš* ᵈ*ḫa-ìa*

17) [*x*] *x lu*$^{?}$ *x* [...] *x* ᶠ*e*$^{?}$-*piš me-e-si*ᵀ

18) ᶠ*ul-tu*ᵀ UŠ$_8$-*šú a-di gaba-dib-bi-*ᶠ*šú ar*ᵀ-[*ṣip*] ᶠ*ú-šak-lil*ᵀ-[*šu-ma*]

19) ᵈ*ḫa-ìa* DINGIR *ša* LÚ.DUB.SAR.MEŠ *ú-šar-ma-*ᶠ*a*ᵀ [*qé-reb-šú*$^{?}$]

20) *te-em-me-en-na at-ta ša* ᵐᵈ30-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN KUR *aš-šur*.KI ᶠ*ra*$^{?}$-*ʾi*$^{?}$ᵀ-[*im ki-na-a-ti*]

21) *e-piš ṣa-lam* AN.ŠÁR *ù* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ba-an* É *da-me-eq-ta-šú a-na* AN.[ŠÁR$^{?}$ *qí-bi*]

22) DUMU.MEŠ-*šú* DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-*šú it-ti ṣal-mat* SAG.DU *li-ku-nu a-na du-ur da-*ᶠ*a*ᵀ-[*ri*]

23) *a-a-um-ma* NUN-*u* EGIR-*ú ša* AN.ŠÁR *a-na* SIPA-*ut* KUR *u* UN.ᶠMEŠᵀ

24) *i-nab-bu-u* MU-*šú ša ina* BALA-*šú* É *šu-a-tú*

one who fashioned image(s) of the deities Aššur, Anu, Sîn, Šamaš], Adad, Nergal, Iš[tar of Bīt-Kidmuri, ... (5) ...] whose dominion [is mo]re praised [than (that of all) kings who sit on (royal) daises, the support of his land, the one who is trustworthy in battle and combat, (and) the protection of] his troops, I:

10–17) [... the admi]nistrator who [knows] how to reckon the accounts [...] ... the god Ḫaya, their god, [...] their [...], the great gods [... by the comm]and of the gods [to lay] the foundation [...] his [...] ... before me (15) [...] ... [...] the one who fashioned (the image of) the god Ḫaya [...] ... [...] ..., the one who performed the rites:

18–19) I bu[ilt] (and) completed [it] from its foundations to its crenellations [and] I settled the god Ḫaya, the god of scribes, [*inside it*].

20–22) O foundation inscription, [speak] favorable things to (the god) *Aš*[*šur*] about Sennacherib, king of Assyria, *the one who lo*[*ves* correct behavior], the one who fashioned image(s) of (the god) Aššur and the great gods, (and) the one who built (this) temple, so that his sons (and) his grandsons may endure forev[er] with the black-headed (people).

23–26) May any future ruler, whom (the god) Aššur names for shepherding the land and people (and) during whose reign that temple becomes dilapidated,

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world)" among Sennacherib's titles suggests that this text was probably not composed prior to 699. *mut-tar-ru-ú* UN.MEŠ DAGAL.ᶠMEŠᵀ "leader of a widespread population": At Nineveh, this epithet also appears in several texts inscribed on bull colossi stationed in gateways of the "Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace) and the so-called "Eastern Building," as well as in an inscription written on a stone tablet. For example, see text no. 34 line 3; Layard, ICC pl. 38 line 2; and King, Notebook p. 1 nos. 1–2 and p. 3 nos. 1–2 line 3. Note that those texts are all written ca. 693–689 and thus the use of *muttarrû nišī rapšāte* "leader of a widespread population" in this text may suggest that the inscription was written around the same time.

4–8a For the missing text, see text no. 11 lines 4–7, text no. 12 lines 4–7, text no. 13 lines 3–7, and Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) lines 3–6.

10 See CAD N/2 p. 228 sub *nikkassu* A 1k.

16 Ex. 2 has [...] *x* ᵈIŠKUR *x* [...] "[...] ... the god Adad ... [...]." As pointed out by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 111), this passage may refer to Sennacherib seeking divine guidance from Šamaš and Adad through divination; cf. Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) lines 13b–15a. ᵈ*ḫa-ìa* "the god Ḫaya": This deity is also mentioned in inscriptions written on stone blocks recording the construction of the *akītu*-house at Aššur; for example, Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 119 line 5.

17 Meissner and Rost's copy (BiS pl. 15) has lines 17-18 wrongly aligned on the two joined fragments. Ex. 2 has [...] *x-uš* É-*su x* [...] "[...] ... his temple ... [...]."

19 Ex. 2 has [...].ᶠDUBᵀ.SAR.MEŠ *ú-*ᶠ*šar*ᵀ-[...] "[...] scribes, I set[tled ...]." The appearance on A 16931 (ex. 2) of the title [*ilu ša*] *ṭupšarrī* "[the god of] scribes" indicates that it Ais probably a duplicate of K 1635 (ex. 1), or at the very least another text recording work on the Ḫaya shrine.

21 AN.ŠÁR *ù* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ "(the god) Aššur and the great gods": Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) line 31 has DINGIR-*šú* "his god." AN.[ŠÁR$^{?}$] "(the god) *Aš*[*šur*]": Or possibly restore ᵈ[*ḫa-ìa*$^{?}$] "the god [*Ḫaya*]."

22 Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) line 32 adds ᶠ*it*ᵀ-*ti bal-til*.KI *u é-šár-ra liš-te-li-pu* "may they flourish together with Baltil and Ešarra" after *qí-bi* "speak." The absence of the mention of Baltil and Ešarra may lend further support to the proposal that the shrine of Ḫaya was located at Nineveh, and not at Aššur. DUMU.MEŠ-*šú* DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-*šú* "his sons (and) his grandsons": Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) line 32 adds NUNUZ.MEŠ-*šú* "his offspring" before DUMU.MEŠ-*šú* "his sons."

23 SIPA-*ut* "shepherding": Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) line 33 also has SIPA-*ut*. The writing of *rēʾût* "shepherdship" in other cylinder inscriptions from Nineveh, however, is always RE.É.UM-*ut*; see, for example, text no. 4 line 93.

in-na-ḫu
25) *an-ḫu-us-su lu-diš* MU.SAR-*ú li-mur-ma* Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš*
26) UDU.SISKUR *liq-qí ina áš-ri-šú liš-kun aš-šur ù* ^{d}*iš-tar ik-ri-bi-šú i-šem-*˹*mu*$^{?}$˺-[*u*$^{?}$]
27) *mu-nak-kìr* MU.SAR-*a-a da-a-a-i-ṣi a-ma-ti-ia* AN.ŠÁR MAN DINGIR.MEŠ *u* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
28) *ša* AN-*e ù* KI-*tim ar-rat la nap-šu-ri ma-ru-uš-tú li-ru-ru-šu-ma*
29) LUGAL-*su lis-ki-pu* TI.LA-*šú li-ki-mu-šú* MU-*šú* NUMUN-*šú* NUNUZ-*šú na-an-nab-šú ina pi-i* UN.MEŠ *li-ḫal-li-qu*

(25) renovate its dilapidated section(s). May he find (this) inscribed object, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) put (it back) in its place. (The god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar will (then) hea[r] his prayers.
27–29) (As for) the one who alters my inscribed object (and) disrespects my words, may (the god) Aššur, king of the gods, and the great gods of heaven and netherworld curse him with a harsh, irreversible curse, and may they overthrow his kingship, deprive him of his life, (and) eradicate his name, his seed, his offspring, (and) his progeny from the mouth of the people.

11

A small fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves the prologue of a foundation inscription (presumably without military narration), as well as part of a passage mentioning lamentation singers (*kalû*). The building report, which is completely missing, may have described construction on a temple at Nineveh. The concluding formulae are also completely missing. The prologue duplicates those of text nos. 10, 12, and 13, and that of a text written on a stone horizontal prism from Aššur (VA 8254). The year during which the cylinder was inscribed is not known.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 123418	1932-12-10,361	Nineveh, CHOL	4.7×4.9	c

COMMENTARY

Physically the cylinder is twenty to twenty-five percent larger than text no. 10 ex. 1 (K 1635). Each line of text is separated by a horizontal ruling.

Text nos. 10 and 11 clearly represent different inscriptions. BM 127888 (text no. 12) and BM 128242 (text no. 13), however, could be duplicates of this text or copies of another inscription. Because all three pieces are not sufficiently preserved to be certain of their contents, the fragments are each edited on their own.

Although only small portions of the first eleven lines of the text are preserved, this inscription may have been similar in format to text no. 10 and the text written on VA 8254, a stone horizontal prism from Aššur recording work on the Aššur Temple; for the latter inscription, see Schroeder, KAH 2

10 line 26 *ina áš-ri-šú liš-kun* "may he put (it back) in its place": The same expression appears in Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) line 35. Other cylinder inscriptions from Nineveh have *a-na áš-ri-šú li-ter* "may he return (it) to its place" (e.g., text no. 4 line 94). *aš-šur ù* ^{d}*iš-tar* "(the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar": The pairing of Aššur and Ištar in the concluding formulae first occurs in text no. 5, an inscription written in 699. The invocation of both of these deities suggests that this text was probably not written prior to 699. Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) line 35 mentions only Aššur.
10 lines 27–29 Apart from text no. 12 (and probably also text nos. 11 and 13), an admonition against the removal of a royal inscription does not appear in cylinder inscriptions from Nineveh. Such advice appears in only one prism inscription from Nineveh: text no. 22 vi 80b–83.

no. 124 and Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 144–147 I7. Therefore, the complete text probably comprised a prologue, a building report, a passage requesting that the foundation inscription speak favorably about Sennacherib, and advice to future rulers. Based on Sennacherib's titulary, the building report may have recorded work on a temple at Nineveh; see the commentary to text no. 10. At Nineveh, Sennacherib is known to have worked on the shrine of the god Ḫaya (text no. 10), the Sîn-Šamaš temple (text no. 36), the temple of the Lady of Nineveh (text no. 36), and the *akītu*-house Ešaḫulezenzagmukam (text no. 37); another temple is mentioned in text no. 36 (line 3′), but the name of the deity to which it belonged is completely missing. Thus it is possible that the building report of this text recorded work on one of those temples.

Lines 1–9a duplicate text no. 10 lines 1–9, text no. 12 lines 1–7, text no. 13 lines 1–6, and VA 8254 lines 1–8a. The restoration of damaged text is generally based on VA 8254. Lines 9b–11 are not duplicated elsewhere in the known Sennacherib corpus.

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TEXT

1) [^{md}30-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN GAL MAN *dan-nu* MAN ŠÚ MAN] KUR *aš-šur*.[KI]
2) [MAN *kib-rat* LÍMMU-*tim mut-tar-ru-ú* UN.MEŠ] ⌜DAGAL⌝.MEŠ
3) [*e-piš ṣa-lam* AN.ŠÁR ^{d}*a-nim* ^{d}30 ^{d}UTU ^{d}IŠKUR ^{d}U.GUR ^{d}15 *ša*] É-*kid-mu-ri*
4) [DINGIR.MAḪ *ù* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *mu-šak-lil pa-ra-aṣ é*]-*šár-ra*
5) [*ù é-maš-maš šá pa-làḫ* DINGIR.MEŠ *šá* AN-*e ù* DINGIR.MEŠ KUR *aš-šur*].⌜KI⌝ *ra-biš mu-du-u*
6) [*e-piš* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *mu-šak-lil ma-ḫa-zi-šú na-si-iḫ*] ⌜*na*⌝-*ki-ri*
7) [*mu-ab-bit da-ád-me-šú-un ma-al-ku pit-qu-du šá* UGU] LUGAL.MEŠ *a-šib* BÁRA
8) [*nu-*ʾ*u-ú-da-at be-lut-su tukul-ti* KUR-*šú na-a*ʾ-*id*] ⌜MURUB$_4$⌝ *u* MÈ
9) [*ṣu-lu-lu* ERIM.ḪI.A-*šú a-na-ku* ...] ⌜LÚ.GALA⌝.MEŠ *mu-ni-iḫ*
10) [...] ⌜LÚ⌝.GALA.MEŠ
11) [... LÚ].GALA

Lacuna

1–9a) [Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of] Assyria, [king of the four quarters (of the world), leader of] a widespread [population, the one who fashioned image(s) of the deities Aššur, Anu, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Nergal, Ištar of] Bīt-Kidmuri, [Bēlet-ilī, and the great gods, the one who carries out to perfection the rites of E]šarra (5) [and Emašmaš], who knows well [how to revere the gods of heaven and the gods of Assyri]a, [the builder of Assyria, the one who brings his cult centers to completion, the one who uproots] enemies (and) [destroys their settlements, circumspect ruler whose dominion is more praised than] (that of all) kings who sit on (royal) daises, [the support of his land, the one who is trustworthy in] battle and combat, (and) [the protection of his troops, I]:

9b–11) [...] lamentation singers (*kalû*) who pacify (10) [...], lamentation singers, [... a] lamentation singer [...]

Lacuna

12

A small fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves parts of the prologue and concluding formulae of a foundation inscription (presumably without military narration). The building report, which may have described construction on a temple at Nineveh, is completely missing. The prologue,

11 lines 1–2 See the on-page notes to text no. 10 lines 1–2.

11 lines 9–11 Lamentation singers (*kalû*) are mentioned in line 27 of the Bavian Inscription (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 81): *a-na pa-te-e* ÍD *šu-a-tu* LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ LÚ.GALA *ú-ma-*ʾ*e-er-ma ú-šat*-[...] "in order to open up that canal, I sent an exorcist (and) a lamentation singer and ... [...]."

which contains a list of cult-focused epithets of the king, duplicates those of text nos. 10, 11, and 13, and that of the Aššur Temple Inscription (VA 8254), a stone horizontal prism from Aššur. The year during which the cylinder was inscribed is not known since no date line was included on the object.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 127888	1929-10-12,544	Nineveh	9×6.5	c

COMMENTARY

Physically the cylinder is similar to text no. 10 ex. 1 (K 1635) and text no. 13 (BM 128242), but it does not join or come from the same original as either of them. Horizontal rulings separate each line of text.

This text could be a duplicate of text nos. 10, 11, or 13, or it could be a unique text. Because BM 127888 does not preserve enough text to be certain of its contents, this inscription is edited on its own.

Although only small portions of the text are preserved, this inscription may have been similar in format to text no. 10 and the text written on VA 8254, a stone horizontal prism from Aššur recording work on the Aššur Temple; for the latter inscription, see Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 and Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 144–147 I7. See the commentary of text no. 10 for further details. The building report, despite the fact that it is completely missing, may have recorded work on a temple at Nineveh, perhaps the shrine of the god Ḫaya (text no. 10), the Sîn-Šamaš temple (text no. 36), the temple of the Lady of Nineveh (text no. 36), or the *akītu*-house Ešaḫulezenzagmukam (text no. 37).

The extant text duplicates text no. 10 lines 1–3 and 27–29, text no. 11 lines 1–7, text no. 13 lines 1–7, and VA 8254 lines 1–6a and 35b–39. Restorations are generally based on VA 8254.

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TEXT

1) [^{md}30-PAP.MEŠ-SU] ⌜LUGAL⌝ GAL LUGAL *dan-nu* MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR *aš-šur*.KI
2) [LUGAL *kib-rat* LÍMMU-*tim mut*]-*tar-ru-ú* UN.MEŠ DAGAL.MEŠ
3) [*e-piš ṣa-lam* AN.ŠÁR ^{d}*a-nim* ^{d}30] ⌜^{d}⌝UTU ^{d}IŠKUR ^{d}U.GUR ^{d}15 *ša* É-*kid-mur-ri*
4) [DINGIR.MAḪ *ù* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ] *mu-šak-lil pa-ra-aṣ é-šár-ra*
5) [*ù é-maš-maš šá pa-làḫ*] ⌜DINGIR⌝.MEŠ *šá* AN-*e ù* DINGIR.MEŠ KUR *aš-šur*.⌜KI⌝
6) [*ra-biš mu-du-u e-piš* KUR] *aš-šur*.KI *mu-šak-lil ma-ḫa-*⌜*zi*⌝-[*šú*]
7) [*na-si-iḫ na-ki-ri mu-ab-bit da*]-⌜*ád*⌝-*me-šú-un ma*-[*al-ku*]

1–7) [Sennacherib], great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, [king of the four quarters (of the world), lea]der of a widespread population, [the one who fashioned image(s) of the deities Aššur, Anu, Sîn], Šamaš, Adad, Nergal, Ištar of Bīt-Kidmuri, [Bēlet-ilī, and the great gods], the one who carries out to perfection the rites of Ešarra (5) [and Emašmaš, who knows well how to revere the go]ds of heaven and the gods of Assyria, [the builder of] Assyria, the one who brings [his] cult centers to completion, [the one who uproots enemies (and) destroys] their [set]tlements, [circumspect] ru[ler],

1–2 See the on-page notes to text no. 10 lines 1–2.
Lacuna after line 7 Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing line 8 would have begun with *pit-qu-du* "circumspect."

Lacuna

1′) [*mu-nak-kìr* MU.SAR-*a-a da-a-a-i-ṣi a-ma-ti-ia* AN.ŠÁR MAN DINGIR.MEŠ *u* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL].MEŠ

2′) [*ša* AN-*e ù* KI-*tim ar-rat la nap-šu-ri ma-ru-uš-tú*] ⌜*li*⌝-*ru-ru-šu-ma*

3′) [LUGAL-*su lis-ki-pu* TI.LA-*šú li-ki-mu-šú* MU-*šú* NUMUN-*šú* NUNUZ-*šú na-an-nab-šú*] ⌜*i*⌝-*na* KA UN.ME *li-ḫal-li-qu*

Lacuna

1′–3′) [(As for) the one who alters my inscribed object (and) disrespects my words], may [(the god) Aššur, king of the gods, and the gre]at [gods of heaven and netherworld] curse him [with a harsh, irreversible curse, and may they overthrow his kingship, deprive him of his life], (and) eradicate [his name, his seed, his offspring, (and) his progeny] from the mouth of the people.

13

A small fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves parts of the first seven lines and the last line of a foundation inscription (presumably without military narration). All of the building report, which may have described construction on a temple at Nineveh, and most of the concluding formulae are missing. The prologue duplicates those of text nos. 10, 11, and 12, and that of the Aššur Temple Inscription (VA 8254), a stone horizontal prism from Aššur. The year during which the cylinder was inscribed is not known since no date line was included on the object.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 128242	1932-12-10,499	Nineveh	9×6	c

COMMENTARY

Physically the cylinder is similar to text no. 10 ex. 1 (K 1635) and text no. 12 (BM 127888), but it does not join or come from the same original as either of them. Each line of text is separated by a horizontal ruling.

This text could be a duplicate of text nos. 10, 11, or 12, or it could be a unique text. Because BM 128242 does not preserve enough text to be certain of its contents, the inscription written on this fragment is edited on its own.

Although only small portions of the text are preserved, this inscription may have been similar in format to text no. 10 and the text written on VA 8254, a stone horizontal prism from Aššur recording work on the Aššur Temple; for the latter inscription, see Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 and Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 144–147 I7. See the commentary of text no. 10 for further details. The building report is completely missing, but it may have recorded work on a temple at Nineveh, perhaps the shrine of the god Ḫaya (text no. 10), the Sîn-Šamaš temple (text no. 36), the temple of the Lady of Nineveh (text no. 36), or the *akītu*-house Ešaḫulezenzagmukam (text no. 37).

The extant text duplicates text no. 10 lines 1–3, text no. 11 lines 1–6, text no. 12 lines 1–6, and VA 8254 lines 1–5a. Restorations are generally based on VA 8254.

12 lines 1′–3′ Apart from text no. 10 (and probably also text nos. 11 and 13), an admonition against the removal of a royal inscription does not appear in cylinder inscriptions from Nineveh.

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TEXT

1) [^{m}]^{d}EN.ZU-PAP.MEŠ-SU ⌜MAN⌝ [GAL MAN *dan-nu* MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR *aš-šur*.KI]
2) MAN *kib-rat* LÍMMU-*tim* ⌜*mut*⌝-[*tar-ru-ú* UN.MEŠ DAGAL.MEŠ]
3) *e-piš ṣa-lam* AN.ŠÁR ^{d}*a-nim* ^{d}30 $^{d⌜}$UTU $^{d⌝}$[IŠKUR ^{d}U.GUR ^{d}15 *šá* É-*kid-mu-ri* DINGIR.MAḪ]
4) ⌜*ù* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ⌝ *mu-šak-lil pa-ra-aṣ* ⌜*é*⌝-[*šár-ra ù é-maš-maš šá pa-làḫ* DINGIR.MEŠ *šá* AN-*e*]
5) *ù* DINGIR.⌜MEŠ KUR *aš-šur*.KI⌝ [*ra-biš mu-du-u*]
6) *e-piš* [KUR] *aš-*⌜*šur*⌝.KI [...]
7) (traces) [...]

Lacuna

1′) (traces) [...]

1–7) Sennacherib, [great] king, [strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria], king of the four quarters (of the world), lea[der of a widespread population], the one who fashioned image(s) of the deities Aššur, Anu, Sîn, Šamaš, [Adad, Nergal, Ištar of Bīt-Kidmuri, Bēlet-ilī], and the great gods, the one who carries out to perfection the rites of E[šarra and Emašmaš, who knows well how to revere the gods of heaven] (5) and the gods of Assyria, the builder of Assyria, [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

1′) ... [...]

14

Beginning in 698, Sennacherib's scribes abandoned clay cylinders in favor of (octagonal and hexagonal) clay prisms as the principal medium upon which this king's *res gestae* was written. J. Reade and A. Millard both report seeing a Sennacherib prism dated to the eponymy of Šulmu-šarri, governor of the city Ḫalzi-atbar (698); neither, however, provides additional information about the object or the text. Because the inscription seen by Reade and Millard is still unpublished (except for its date) and since the object (or a photograph of it) cannot be located, its contents are not known with certainty. Its content, we assume, was probably similiar (or identical) to that of text no. 15 (see the commentary for further details).

CATALOGUE

Source	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
JCS 27 p. 191	Probably Nineveh	—	n

13 lines 1–2 See the on-page notes to text no. 10 lines 1–2.
13 line 1′ This is the last line of the inscription and it probably contains part of Sennacherib's advice against the removal of one of his royal inscriptions.

COMMENTARY

In 1975, J. Reade (JCS 27 p. 191), citing C. Walker as his source, reported that a prism dated to 698 was "in private hands." In 1992, A. Millard (SAAS 2 p. 122) noted that the object was in the Klassiska Institutionen of Göteborgs Universitet. Its present location is not known, but this Sennacherib prism may be in a private collection in Sweden. For additional information, see Frahm, Sanherib p. 65.

According to Millard (SAAS 2 p. 122), the prism was inscribed on the fourteenth day of the month Araḫsamna (VIII), in the eponymy of Šulmu-šarri, governor of the city Ḫalzi-atbar (^{m}*šùl-mu*-LUGAL / LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.*ḫal-zi*-NA$_4$.*at-bar*).

E. Frahm proposes that this unpublished prism was octagonal since Sennacherib's scribes did not begin writing inscriptions on hexagonal prisms until 695. However, this may not be the case. At present, all of the known octagonal prisms (text nos. 15–18) were intended for Nineveh's inner and outer walls (Badnigalbilukurašušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa), while all of the known hexagonal prisms whose building reports are preserved (text nos. 22–23 and 25) were written for the armory. The available source material does not exclude the possibility that Sennacherib's scribes wrote out texts on six-sided prisms as early as 698; such objects may have replaced cylinders as the principal medium of texts deposited in the structure of the "Palace Without a Rival" (and possibly the citadel wall) after 699. Therefore, it is not impossible that this unpublished prism was hexagonal.

With regard to the text itself, we can only speculate on its contents, just as Frahm has already done (Sanherib pp. 65–66). Given the fact that foundation inscriptions written in 699 and 697 contained a prologue, reports of the first four campaigns, a short passage stating that the king formed a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers, a building report, and concluding formulae, this text must have also had those same sections. As for the military narration, the accounts of Sennacherib's third and fourth campaigns either duplicate those of text no. 15 or deviate from those reports in a few places, just like text nos. 16 and 19–21; note that text nos. 19–21, all of which are written on hexagonal prisms, duplicate a text that is inscribed on a fragmentarily preserved bull colossus (Smith Bull 4; 3 R pls. 12–13).

With regard to the building report, its contents depend on whether the prism was six- or eight-sided. Frahm, assuming this prism is octagonal, proposes that the building report could duplicate that of text no. 15 or follow the style of those of text nos. 7 or 8. Cf. text no. 7 lines 1′–8′, text no. 8 lines 1′–20′ (with the on-page note to line 1′), and text no. 15 v 18–viii 18′′; also compare text no. 16 v 41–viii 63, since it is better preserved than text no. 15. Should Frahm's conjectures prove correct, then this inscription would have been written for Nineveh's inner and outer walls (Badnigalbilukurašušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa) or for the citadel wall. However, if the prism was hexagonal, one would expect the building report to have been much shorter than that of text no. 15; this would probably have been the case if the inscription was intended for prisms deposited in the structure of the "Palace Without a Rival" (for which no foundation record written after 700 is known with certainty). Thus, this section may have included: (1) an introduction to Sennacherib's building program at Nineveh; (2) a detailed account of the rebuilding of Egalzagdinutukua, the planting of a botanical garden, and the digging of canals for irrigating fields and orchards; (3) a general statement about enlarging Nineveh and restructuring its streets, alleys, and squares; and possibly (4) a passage recording the construction of a bridge. Reports of the construction of the inner wall (Badnigalbilukurašušu) and its fourteen gates, the building of the outer wall (Badnigerimḫuluḫa), the construction of aqueducts, and the creation of a marsh were probably omitted. In essence, the proposed building report follows the compositional arrangement of text no. 4, but with the expanded descriptions of text no. 15. Compare text no. 4 lines 61–92 to text no. 15 v 18–vii 13, 29′b–viii 1′, and 8′b–18′; cf. also text no. 16 v 41–vii 21, 76b–80, 85–viii 3a, and 12–23. In sum, this inscription could either be a duplicate of text no. 15, a text very similar to that 697 edition of Sennacherib's *res gestae* (an intermediary edition between text nos. 8 and 15), or a unique text. Frahm tentatively proposes that this unpublished prism could be a copy of text no. 15 that was inscribed in the eponymy of Šulmu-šarri (698), one year earlier than the known dated exemplars, which were inscribed in the eponymy of Nabû-dūrī-uṣur, governor of the city Tamnunna (697).

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15

Two fragmentarily preserved octagonal clay prisms and numerous prism fragments from Nineveh and Aššur are inscribed with a text describing Sennacherib's first four campaigns, the large-scale renovations of the "Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace), the construction of Nineveh's inner and outer walls (Badnigalbilukurašušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa), and many other public works at Nineveh. Sennacherib boasts also of forming a military contingent of 20,000 archers and 15,000 shield bearers from prisoners deported from conquered lands. The building report, which utilizes material from earlier inscriptions, includes: (1) an introduction to Sennacherib's building program at Nineveh; (2) a detailed account of the rebuilding of Egalzagdinutukua and the planting of a botanical garden; (3) a passage describing the construction of the great wall Badnigalbilukurašušu, with its fourteen gates, and the outer stone wall Badnigerimḫuluḫa; (4) a general statement about enlarging Nineveh, restructuring its public areas, and building its walls; (5) a brief report recording the building of aqueducts and a bridge; (6) reports of the creation of a game preserve and a marsh; and (7) an account of the digging of canals for irrigating fields and orchards given to the citizens of Nineveh. In connection with the construction of his palace, Sennacherib openly criticizes work sponsored by his predecessors. He states that they had depleted valuable resources, performed certain tasks (namely the transport of stone bull colossi) at the wrong time of year, and exhausted the workforce. Moreover, he notes that the work had been clumsily done and the result was not in good taste. The text concludes with a short passage stating that Sennacherib celebrated the completion of his palace; Aššur and other deities are said to have been invited inside, where they were presented with offerings and given gifts. Four exemplars preserve a date and these were all inscribed in the first half of the eponymy of Nabû-dūrī-uṣur, governor of the city Tamnunna (697). This text is sometimes referred to as "Cylinder C" in older publications.

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	BM 22508	K 1674 + 81-2-4,44 + 83-1-18,598 + 81-2-4,169 + 82-5-22,12	Nineveh	Cols. 5 wide; 25.4 high	i 1–8, 3′–35′, ii 1–10, 1′′–24′′, 28′′–35′′, iii 1–11, 16–19, 1′–35′, iv 1–25, 1′–35′, v 3–66, vi 3–68, vii 1–14, viii 9′′–28′′, date	c

2	BM 121011 (+) BM 127985 + BM 128245 (+) A 16916 + A 16922 + A 16923 + A 16924	1929-10-12,7 (+) 1929-10-12,641 + 1932-12-10,502	Nineveh	BM 121011: Cols. 5 wide; 10 high; BM 127985+: Cols. 5 wide; 8.3 high; A 16916+: Cols. 5.0 wide; 8.9 high	i 23′–ii 4, 15′′–iii 1, 10′–iv 4, 20′–36′, v 1–15, 65–vi 11, 70–79, viii 26′′–28′′, date	c
3	—	Bu 89-4-26,177	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 5 wide; 6 high	i 23′–39′, ii 1–2, 26′′–33′′, vi 64–72, vii 15′–29′, viii 23′′–28′′, date	c
4	BM 127970 (+) 79-7-8,305	1929-10-12,626 (+) 79-7-8,305	Nineveh, Nebi Yunus	BM 127970: Cols. 2.8 and 3 wide; 4.5 high; 79-7-8,305: Cols. 4.5 wide; 11.5 high	i 11′–39′, ii 1, 11′′–30′′, iv 7–18, v 9–22, vii 7′–30′, viii 1′′–28′′, date	c
5	Rm 38	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 2.2 and 4.5 wide; 4.5 high	i 9–22, viii 10′–19′	c
6	VA 8427	Ass 20635	Aššur, city area	Cols. 2.9 and 1.5 wide; 5.8 high	i 1′–12′, viii 4′′–16′′	c
7	BM 127952 + 79-7-8,2	1929-10-12,608 + 79-7-8,2	Nineveh	Cols. 5 wide; 8.3 high	i 22′–36′, vii 14′–31′, viii 3′′–28′′	c
8	A 35257 (formerly PA 17)	—	Probably Nineveh	—	ii 18′′–32′′, iii 10′–26′, iv 19′–25′	c
9	—	Bu 89-4-26,145	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 4.3 and 1 wide; 2.5 high	ii 29′′–37′′, iii 27′–33′	c
10	BM 122612	1930-5-8,1	Nineveh, Asn. Palace, Square C	Cols. 5.5 wide; 3.8 high	iii 6–15, iv 10–18, v 12–17, vi 14–19, vii 3–10	c
11	K 1751	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 4 and 1.5 wide; 3.7 high	iv 23′–35′, v 64–69	c
12	—	80-7-19,101	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 3 and 2.5 wide; 3 high	iv 36′–v 7, vi 1–8	c
13	K 1838	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 6 wide; 11 high	v 28–34, vi 25–39, vii 18–31	c
14	VA 8436	Ass 6643	Aššur, eC6V, north of the Ištar and Nabû temples	Cols. 3.7 and 3.7 wide; 7.6 high	vi 16–25, vii 7–19	c
15	—	83-1-18,766	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 0.6 and 0.7 wide; 1.9 high	vi 34–37, vii 1′–6′	c
16	—	79-7-8,3	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 3.3 and 5.5 wide; 5.5 high	vii 7–20, viii 1′–16′	c
17	VA 8421a + VA 8421b + VA 8421c–g (+) VA 8421h	Ass 14561a + Ass 14561b + Ass 14561c–g (+) Ass 14561h (Ass ph 4052)	Aššur, gA9I	Cols. 5.8–6.2 wide; 21 high	ii 1′–11′, iii 12–16, 9′–20′, iv 5–12, v 12–22, 37–41, 50–59, vi 14–46, vii 8–15, viii 12′′–28′′, date	c

COMMENTARY

This inscription is very similar to text no. 16, but with less military narration and some variation in the building account. The two major features distinguishing this inscription from the following text are: (1) the military narration ends with a report of Sennacherib's fourth campaign; and (2) a passage recording the depositing of inscriptions in the foundation of the citadel terrace and the raising of that terrace by 190 courses of brick is included in this text. There are a few other variants in the building report and these are noted in the on-page notes.

The building report contains material composed anew for this inscription or for text no. 14 (if that prism is inscribed with a unique text), and passages borrowed (with changes) from the building reports of earlier inscriptions, namely text no. 1, text no. 4, and text no. 8. Additional information is provided in the on-page notes.

In some instances, the identification of certain fragments as exemplars of this text, rather than of some other inscription, is difficult and is based on very limited criteria. Ex. 3, although its preserved text does not deviate from text no. 16, is included here since it is dated to 697, and not 696 or 695, when certain exemplars of text no. 16 were inscribed. Ex. 5 is included here arbitrarily since R. Borger has suggested that it could belong to the same prism as ex. 1. Since a non-physical join between Rm 28 (ex. 5) and K 1674+ (ex. 1) is not entirely certain, Rm 28 is edited here as its own exemplar; note that the extant contents of that prism fragment duplicate both this text and text no. 16. The attribution of exs. 6 and 7 to this text is based solely on the fact that the preserved text on those pieces follows ex. 4 by omitting text no. 16 viii 50–51: *iṣ-ṣu na-áš ši-pa-a-ti ib-qu-mu im-ḫa-ṣu ṣu-ba-ti-iš* "they picked cotton (lit. "trees bearing wool") (and) wove it into clothing." The attribution of exs. 8 and 9 to this inscription is very uncertain as the text preserved on these fragments does not contain anything specific to this text or text no. 16. The suggestion that ex. 9 is a duplicate of ex. 1 goes back to J. Reade (JCS 27 [1975] p. 191), presumably based on the column divisions; col. ii′ (= col. iv) begins with iii 27′, which may indicate that the prism from which this fragment came contained accounts of only four campaigns. Both exemplars are arbitrarily included here. The attribution of exs. 10, 11, and 12 is based on the fact that there is insufficient room for the report of the fifth campaign. The attribution of ex. 13 is based on the fact that its contents follow ex. 1 by not omitting Frahm, Sanherib p. 75 Baub. lines 85–94 (= vi 32–41), a passage stating that Sennacherib deposited foundation inscriptions in the citadel terrace and raised that terrace by 190 courses of brick; cf. text no. 16 vi 52–53. The attribution of exs. 14 and 16 is based solely on the fact that they follow ex. 1 and omit text no. 16 vii 20: *a-di iṣ-ṣu na-áš ši-pa-a-ti* "together with cotton (lit. "trees bearing wool")."

Ex. 17 (VA 8421a–h) comprises eight fragments from the lower half of an eight-sided clay prism. Although parts of all eight columns and the bottom of the prism are preserved, most of the surface is very badly eroded. Because portions of the preserved text are completely illegible, only the legible lines are included in the catalogue.

There are twenty-nine other prism fragments that may be duplicates of this inscription, but they are not sufficiently preserved to determine whether they are actually exemplars of this text, rather than of some other inscription written on an octagonal prism. These fragments are edited with text no. 16 because that inscription is better preserved. The relevant pieces are exs. 1*–25*, 28*–29*, and 31*–32*. Moreover, K 4492 (Frahm, Sanherib p. 213 T 177), a fragmentarily preserved clay tablet from Nineveh (Kuyunjik), preserves part of the building report of this inscription. That fragment is not included here since it is from a tablet, not a prism, and is thus edited on its own in Part 2, with other texts inscribed on clay tablets.

BM 127970 and 79-7-8,305 almost certainly come from the same prism: they have a distinctive shape, the script is the same, and the contents do not overlap; and thus the fragments are edited as a single exemplar (ex. 4). K 1751 (ex. 11) and 80-7-19,101 (ex. 12) may belong to the same prism since K 1751 cols. i′ and ii′ end respectively with iv 35′ and v 69 and 80-7-19,101 cols. i′ and ii′ begin respectively with iv 36′ and vi 1. These two fragments, however, are not edited together as a single exemplar because it cannot be proven with certainty that K 1751 and 80-7-19,101 come from the same object. O. Pedersén (Katalog p. 155) suggests Ass 6643 (VA 8436; ex. 14) belongs to the same object as Ass 6673 (VA 8414) and Ass 6724 (Istanbul A 2039). This may be so, but it is best to edit them individually. Because it is unclear if Ass 6673 and Ass 6724 are fragments of a text recording work at Nineveh or at Aššur, those pieces are edited as text no. 16 exs. 29* and 32*. See the commentary of text no. 16 for further information.

The line numbering follows ex. 1 when possible, but the master line is a conflated text because of the fragmentary nature of ex. 1 (as well as of the other certain exemplars). The line count of this edition is

based on the following exemplars: Ex. 1 in i 1–8, 1′–33′, ii 1–10, 1′′–22′′, 28′′–35′′, iii 1–11, 16–19, 1′–33′, iv 1–25, 1′–35′, v 4–66, vi 12–68, vii 1–14, and viii 9′′–28′′; ex. 2 in i 34′–36′, ii 23′′–27′′, 36′′–37′′, iv 36′– v 3, 67–vi 11, and 70–79; ex. 3 in vii 16′–29′; ex. 4 in vii 7′–15′, 30′–31′, and viii 1′′–8′′; ex. 5 in i 9–22 and viii 17′–19′; ex. 10 in iii 12–15; ex. 13 in vii 18–31; ex. 15 in vii 1′–5′; ex. 16 in vii 15–17 and viii 1′–15′; and ex. 17 in ii 1′–11′. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. Restorations are based on text no. 16, text no. 17, and text no. 22; preference is given to text no. 16.

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TEXT

Col. i

1) [^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*] LUGAL GAL-*ú*
2) [LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti*] LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI
3) [LUGAL *kib*]-⌜*rat*⌝ LÍMMU-*ti*
4) [RE.É.UM] *it-pe-šú*
5) [*mi-gir* DINGIR].⌜MEŠ⌝ GAL.MEŠ
6) [*na-ṣir kit-ti*] ⌜*ra*⌝-*'i-im mi-šá-ri*
7) [*e-piš*] *ú-sa-a-te*
8) [*a-lik tap-pu-ut*] *a*-⌜*ki-i*⌝
9) [*sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti*]
10) *eṭ-lum gít-ma-lum* ⌜*zi*⌝-[*ka-ru qar-du*]
11) *a-šá-red* ⌜*kal*⌝ [*mal-ki*]
12) *rap-pu la-'i-iṭ la* ⌜*ma*⌝-[*gi-ri*]
13) *mu-šab-ri-qu za-*⌜*ma*⌝-[*a-ni*]
14) ^{d}*aš-šur* KUR-*ú* GAL-*ú* LUGAL-*ut la šá-*⌜*na*⌝-[*an*]
15) *ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni*-[*ma*]
16) UGU *gim-ri a-šib pa-*⌜*rak*⌝-[*ki*]
17) *ú-šar-ba-a* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-[*ia*]

i 1–13) [Sennacherib], great king, [strong king, king of the world], king of Assyria, [king of the] four [quar]ters (of the world), capable [shepherd, (i 5) favorite of the] great [gods, guardian of truth] who loves justice, [renders] assistance, [goes to the aid of] the weak, (and) [strives after good deeds], (i 10) perfect man, vi[rile warrior], foremost of all [rulers], the bridle that controls the insub[missive], (and) the one who strikes enem[ies] with lightning:

i 14–22) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrival[led] sovereignty [and] made [my] weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) dais[es]. He made [all of the black]-headed (people)

i 2 LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti* "king of the world": This title is first used in Sennacherib's royal inscriptions in text no. 4 line 1.
i 3–5 Sennacherib first uses this titulary in text no. 5 line 1.

18) *ul-ʳtuʾ* A.AB.BA *e-le-ni-*[*ti*]
19) *ša šùl-mu* ^{d}UTU-[*ši*]
20) *a-di tam-tim šap-ʳliʾ-*[*ti*]
21) *ša ṣi-it* ^{d}ʳUTUʾ-[*ši*]
22) [*gim-ri ṣal-mat*] ʳSAG.DU *úʾ-šak-niš še-*[*pu-ú-a*]

from the Upp[er] Sea of the Setting Su[n] (i 20) to the Low[er] Sea of the Rising Su[n] bow down [at my] fe[et].

Lacuna

Lacuna

1′) ʳaʾ-[*na* É.GAL-*šú ša qé-reb* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI]
2′) *ḫa-*[*diš e-ru-um-ma*] ʳ*ap-te*ʾ-[*e-ma*]
3′) ʳÉʾ *ni-*[*ṣir-ti-šú* KÙ.GI] ʳKÙʾ.BABBAR
4′) *ú-nu-ut* KÙ.GI [KÙ.BABBAR] ʳNA$_4$ʾ *a-qar-tu*
5′) *mim-ma šum-šú* NÍG.ʳŠU NÍGʾ.GA *la ni-bi*
6′) *ka-bit-tu* GUN MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL-*šú*
7′) LÚ.TIRUM.MEŠ ʳLÚʾ.*man-za-az pa-ni*
8′) LÚ.NAR.MEŠ ʳMUNUSʾ.NAR.MEŠ
9′) *si-ḫir-ti um-ma-a-ni* ʳ*ma-la*ʾ *ba-šu-ú*
10′) *mut-tab-bi-lu-tu* É.GAL-*uš*
11′) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*

i 1′–11′) [I] joy[fully entered his palace, which is in Babylon], then I opened [his] trea[sury and] brought out [gold], silver, gold (and) [silver] utensils, precious stones, (i 5′) all kinds of possessions (and) property without number, a substantial tribute, (together with) his palace women, courtiers, attendants, male singers, female singers, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, and I counted (them) as booty.

12′) *i-na e-muq* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia* ʳ75ʾ URU.MEŠ-*šú*
13′) *dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni* ʳ*ša*ʾ KUR.*kal-di*
14′) *ù* 4 ME 20 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
15′) *al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*
16′) LÚ.*úr-bi* LÚ.*a-ra-mu* LÚ.*kal-du*
17′) *ša qé-reb* UNUG.KI NIBRU.KI *kiš*.KI
18′) URU.*ḫur-sag-kalam-ma* GÚ.DU$_8$.A.KI ZIMBIR.KI
19′) *a-di* DUMU.MEŠ URU EN *ḫi-iṭ-ṭi*
20′) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*

i 12′–20′) With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 75 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 420 small(er) settlements in their environs. I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Ḫursagkalama, Cutha, (and) Sippar, together with the guilty citizens, and I counted (them) as booty.

21′) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* LÚ.*tu-ʾu-mu-na*
22′) LÚ.*ri-ḫi-ḫu* LÚ.*ia-daq-qu*
23′) LÚ.*ú-bu-du* LÚ.*gib-re-e*
24′) LÚ.*ma-li-ḫu* LÚ.*gu-ru-mu*
25′) LÚ.*ú-bu-lu* LÚ.*da-mu-nu*
26′) LÚ.*gam-bu-lu* LÚ.*ḫi-in-da-ru*
27′) LÚ.*ru-ʾu-ú-a* LÚ.*pu-qu-du*
28′) LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-a-nu* LÚ.*ḫa-ga-ra-nu*
29′) LÚ.*na-ba-tu* LÚ.*li-iʾ-ta-ú*
30′) LÚ.*a-ra-mu la kan-šu-te mit-ḫa-riš* KUR-*ud*

i 21′–35′) On my return march, I defeated all together the Tuʾumuna, Riḫiḫu, Yadaqqu, Ubudu, Gibrê, Maliḫu (Malaḫu), Gurumu, (i 25′) Ubulu, Damunu, Gambulu, Ḫindaru, Ruʾuʾa, Puqudu, Ḫamrānu, Ḫagarānu, Nabatu, (and) Liʾtaʾu, (i 30′) insubmissive Arameans. I carried off into Assyria a substantial booty (consisting of) 208,000 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number.

31′) 2 ME 8 LIM UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS
32′) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ
33′) ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ù* US$_5$.UDU.ḪI.A
34′) *ša la ni-bi šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu*
35′) *áš-lu-la a-na qé-reb* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
36′) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ša* ^{md}AG-EN-MU.MEŠ
37′) LÚ.*qí-pi* URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-te* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR

i 36′–ii 1a) In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audience gift from Nabû-bēl-šumāti, the

i 18–22 It is uncertain if this passage was first introduced in this text or in text no. 14.
i 6′ Earlier accounts of the first campaign include Marduk-apla-iddina II's wife among the booty removed from Babylon. See, for example, text no. 1 line 32 and text no. 4 line 8.
i 8′ Male and female singers are also listed among the booty removed from Babylon in text no. 1 line 32. See text no. 3 line 9 and text no. 4 line 8, where they are not included.
i 12′ ʳ75ʾ URU.MEŠ-*šú* "75 of his cities": The number of cities is eighty-eight in text no. 1 line 50, and eighty-nine in text no. 2 line 11, text no. 3 line 11, and text no. 4 line 9. See also the on-page note to text no. 1 line 50.
i 14′ 4 ME 20 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ "420 small(er) settlements": The number of small cities is 820 in text no. 1 line 50, text no. 2 line 11, and text no. 3 line 11. The number is 620 in text no. 4 line 9.
i 16′ LÚ.*úr-bi* "auxiliary forces": See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 52.
i 20′ Earlier inscriptions include a passage here stating that Sennacherib installed Bēl-ibni as king of Babylon. See, for example, text no. 4 line 11.
i 25′ LÚ.*ú-bu-lu* "the Ubulu": Ex. 1 has LÚ.*ú-bu-ru*.
i 32′–35′ Cf. text no. 4 line 14, where the number of horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats plundered is recorded. The phrase *ša la ni-bi* "which were without number" appears here in lieu of the numbers.

38′) GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni* GAL.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ
39′) GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *ta-mar-ta-šú*

official in charge of the city Ḫararatu: gold, silver, large *musukkannu*-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

Col. ii

1) *ka-bit-tu am-ḫur ba-ḫu-la-te* URU.*ḫi-rim-me*
2) LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣi ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit-ma* ⌜*e*⌝*-du ul e-zib*
3) *pag-ri-šú-nu i-na ga-ši-ši a-lul-ma*
4) *si-ḫir-ti* URU *ú-šal-me*
5) *na-gu-u šu-a-tu*
6) *a-na eš-šu-ti aṣ-bat*
7) [1-*en*] ⌜GU_4⌝.GIŠ 10 UDU.⌜MEŠ⌝ 10 ANŠE ⌜GEŠTIN.MEŠ⌝
8) [20 ANŠE ZÚ.LUM.MA] ⌜*re*⌝*-še-te-šú*
9) [*a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni*] ⌜KUR⌝ *aš-šur*.KI
10) [EN.MEŠ-*ia ú-kin*] ⌜*dà*?*-ri*?*-šam*?⌝

ii 1b–10) I put to the sword the population of the city Ḫirimmu, a dangerous enemy, and I did not spare a single one. I hung their corpses on poles (and) placed (them) around the city. (ii 5) I reorganized that district (and) [imposed] for eternity [one] yoke ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) [twenty homers of dates] as his first-fruits offerings [to the gods of] Assyria, [my lords].

Lacuna

Lacuna

1′) [...].⌜MEŠ⌝
2′) [...] ⌜US_5.UDU.ḪI⌝.[A]
3′) [*ul-tu qer-bi-šú-un ú-še*]-*ṣa-am-ma šal-la-*⌜*tiš*⌝
4′) [*am-nu ù* URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* TUR].⌜MEŠ⌝ *ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú*
5′) [*ap-pul aq-qur ú*]-⌜*še*⌝*-me kar-meš*
6′) [É EDIN *kul*]-⌜*ta*⌝*-ri mu-šá-bi-šú-nu*
7′) [*i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq*]-⌜*mu*⌝*-ma di-tal-liš ú-še-me*
8′) [*ú-ter-ma*] ⌜URU.É⌝-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ šu-a-tu*
9′) ⌜*a-na* URU.*bir-tu-ti aṣ-bat* UGU *ša* u_4*-me pa-ni*⌝
10′) ⌜BÀD.MEŠ-*šú ú-dan-nin-ma*⌝
11′) ⌜UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia*⌝

ii 8′–11′) I made that city Bīt-Kilamzaḫ a fortress [again] (and) I strengthened its walls more than before, then [I settled therein] the people of the lands that I had conquered.

Lacuna

Lacuna

1″) ⌜NA_4⌝.NA.[RÚ.A *ú-še-piš-ma li-i-tum*]
2″) *ki-šit-ti* [ŠU.II *ša* UGU-*šú-un áš-tak-ka-nu*]

ii 1″–3″a) I had a st[ele made], had [all the victorious] conquests [that I achieved over them written] on it, [and I erected (it) in (that) city].

3″) *ṣe-ru-uš-šú ú-šá-*[*áš-ṭir-ma i-na qer-bi* URU *ul-ziz pa-an ni-ri-ia*]
4″) *ú-ter-ma* [*a-na* KUR.*el-li-pi*]
5″) *aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-*[*nu el-la-mu-ú-a*]
6″) ^{m}*is-pa-ba-a-ra* LUGAL-[*šú-un* URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti*]
7″) É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú ú-maš-*⌜*šir*⌝*-*[*ma a-na ru-qé-e-ti in-na-bit*]
8″) *gim-ri* KUR-*šú* ⌜DAGAL-*tim*⌝ [GIM $MURU_9$ *as-ḫu-up*]
9″) URU.*mar-ú-biš-ti* [URU.*ak-ku-ud-du*]
10″) URU.MEŠ-*ni* É LUGAL-⌜*ti*⌝-[*šú*] ⌜*a*⌝-[*di*] ⌜34⌝
11″) URU.MEŠ-*ni* TUR.[MEŠ *ša*] *li-me-ti-šú-nu*
12″) *al-me* KUR-*ud ap-pul* ⌜*aq*⌝-[*qur i-na*] ⌜^{d}⌝GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*

ii 1″–3″b) I turned [around] (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the roa[d to the land Ellipi. (ii 5″) Before my arrival], Ispabāra, [their] king, abandoned [his fortified cities] (and) his treasury [and fled far away. I overwhelmed] all of his wide land [like a fog]. I surrounded, conquered, destroyed, devas[tated], (and) burned [with] fire the cities Marʾubištu (and) [Akkuddu], (ii 10″) cities of [his] royal house, toget[her with] thirty-four small(er) settlements [in] their environs.

13″) UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA [*u* MUNUS] ⌜ANŠE⌝.KUR.RA.MEŠ
14″) ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.[MEŠ] ⌜ANŠE⌝.GAM.MAL.MEŠ

ii 13″–24″a) I carried off people, young (and) old, male [and female], horses, mules, donkey[s], camels, (ii 15″) oxen, and sheep and goat[s] without number, then I brought him (Ispabāra) to nought and made his land

ii 4 *si-ḫir-ti* "around": Ex. 1 has *si-ḫir-*<*ti*>.
ii 7 ⌜GU_4⌝.GIŠ "yoke ox": For the reading, see CAD A/1 p. 368 sub *alpu* 1b-3′.
Lacuna after ii 11′ Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing ii 12′ began with *ina* ŠÀ *ú-še-šib* "I settled therein."

15′′) GU$_4$.MEŠ *ù* ⌜US$_5$⌝.UDU.[ḪI].A *a-na la mi-nam*
16′′) *áš-lu-lam-ma a-di la ba-še$_{20}$-e*
17′′) *ú-šá-lik-šu-⌜ma ú⌝-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-ir* KUR-*su*
18′′) URU.*ṣi-ṣi-ir-tu* ⌜URU⌝.*ku-um-ma-aḫ-lum*
19′′) URU.MEŠ-*ni dan-nu-ti* [*a*]-⌜*di*⌝ URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
20′′) *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu* KUR.É-^{m}*ba-ar-ru-ú*
21′′) *na-gu-ú a-na gi-mir-ti-šú*
22′′) *ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*šú ab-tuq-ma*
23′′) UGU *mi-ṣir* KUR *aš-šur*.⌜KI⌝
24′′) *ú-rad-di* URU.*el-en-za-áš a-⌜na⌝* URU LUGAL-*ú-ti*
25′′) *ù dan-na-at na-ge-e šu-a-tu aṣ-bat-ma*
26′′) MU-*šú maḫ-ra-a ú-na-kir-ma*
27′′) URU.*kar-*^{md}EN.ZU-⌜ŠEŠ⌝.MEŠ-*eri-ba at-ta-bi ni-bit-su*
28′′) UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia*
29′′) *i-na lìb-bi ú-še-šib i-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia*
30′′) LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ḫar-ḫar am-nu-ma*
31′′) *ú-rap-piš ma-⌜a⌝-ti*
32′′) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia*
33′′) *ša* KUR.*ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ti*
34′′) *ša i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia*
35′′) *ma-am-man la iš-mu-ú zi-kir* KUR-*šú-un*
36′′) *man-da-ta-šú-⌜nu⌝ ka-bit-tu am-ḫur*
37′′) *a-na ni-ri be-lu-ti-ia ú-šak-ni-su-nu-ti*

smaller. I detached from his land the cities Ṣi(ṣ)ṣirtu (and) Kummaḫlum, fortified cities, [to]gether with the small(er) settlements (ii 20′′) in their environs (and) the district of the land Bīt-Barrû in its entirety, and I added (this area) to the territory of Assyria.

ii 24′′b–31′′) I took the city Elenzaš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and called it Kār-Sennacherib. I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. (ii 30′′) I placed (it) under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Ḫarḫar, and (thus) enlarged my land.

ii 32′′–37′′) On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down to the yoke of my lordship.

Col. iii

1) *i-na šal-ši ger-ri-ia a-na* ⌜KUR.*ḫa-at-ti*⌝ *lu al-lik*
2) ^{m}*lu-li-i* LUGAL URU.*ṣi-⌜du⌝-un-ni*
3) *pul-ḫi me-lam-me be-lu-ti-ia* ⌜*is*⌝-[*ḫu-pu*]-*šu-ma*
4) *a-na ru-uq-te* [MURUB$_4$] ⌜*tam*⌝-*tim*
5) *in-na-bit*-ma* KUR-⌜*šú e*⌝-*mid*
6) URU.*ṣi-du-un-nu* GAL-*ú*
7) URU.*ṣi-du-un-nu ṣe-eḫ-ru*
8) URU.É-*zi-it-⌜te⌝* URU.*ṣa-⌜ri⌝-ip-tu*
9) URU.*ma-ḫal-li-ba* [URU.*ú-šu-ú*]
10) ⌜URU.*ak*⌝-*zi-bi* URU.*ak-ku-ú*
11) [URU].⌜MEŠ-*šú*⌝ *dan-⌜nu-ti*⌝ É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni*
12) [*a-šar ri-i-ti ù*] ⌜*maš-qí-ti*⌝ É *tuk-la-te-šú*
13) ⌜*ra-šub-bat* GIŠ.TUKUL ^{d}*aš-šur* EN⌝-*ia*
14) ⌜*is-ḫu-pu-šú-nu-ti*⌝-[*ma ik-nu*]-⌜*šú*⌝ *še-pu-ú-a*
15) ⌜^{m}*tu-ba-a'*⌝-[*lu i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL]-⌜*ú-ti*⌝
16) ⌜UGU-*šú-un*⌝ [*ú-še-šib*]-⌜*ma*⌝
17) [GUN *man*]-⌜*da*⌝-*at-tu*
18) [*be-lu-ti-ia šat-ti-šam la ba*]-⌜*aṭ*⌝-*lu*
19) [*ú-kin ṣe-ru*]-⌜*uš*⌝-*šú*

iii 1–14) On my third campaign, I marched to the land Ḫatti. Fear of my lordly brilliance over[whelmed] Lulî, the king of the city Sidon, and (iii 5) he fled afar into [the midst of] the sea and disappeared. The awesome terror of the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed the cities Great Sidon, Lesser Sidon, Bīt-Zitti, Ṣarepta, Maḫalliba, [Ušû], (iii 10) Akzibu, (and) Acco, his fortified [cit]ies (and) fortresses, [an area of pasture(s) and] water-place(s), resources upon which he relied, [and they bowed do]wn at my feet.

iii 15–19) [I placed] Tu-Ba'[lu on the royal throne] over them and [imposed upon] him [tribute (and) pay]ment (in recognition) of [my overlordship (to be delivered) yearly (and) without interrup]tion.

Lacuna

Lacuna

1′) [*na-dan* GUN *kàd-re-e be*]-*lu-ti-ia*
2′) [*e-mid-su-ma i-šá-a-ṭa*] ⌜*ab*⌝-*šá-a-ni*

iii 1′–2′) [I imposed upon him (Šarru-lū-dāri) the payment of tribute (and) gifts (in recognition) of] my [overlor]dship [so that he (now) pulls] my yoke.

3′) [*i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia* URU.É-*da-gan*]-*na* URU.*ia-ap-pu*
4′) [URU.*ba-na-a-a-bar-qa*] URU.*a-zu-ru*

iii 3′–7′) [In the course of my campaign], I surrounded, [conquered, (and) plund]ered the cities [Bīt-Dagan]na, Joppa, [Banayabarqa], (and) Azuru, (iii 5′) [the cities

ii 33′′ KUR.*ma-da-a-a* "the Medes": Ex. 1 has KUR.*<ma-da>-a-a*.
iii 15 [LUGAL]-⌜*ú-ti*⌝ "[royal]": Text no. 4 line 35 has LUGAL-*ti-šú* "his royal (throne)."

5′) [URU.MEŠ-*ni ša* ^{m}*ṣi*]-*id-qa-a*
6′) ⌜*ša*⌝ [*a-na* GÌR.II-*ia ár*]-⌜*ḫiš*⌝ *la ik-nu-šú*
7′) *al-me* [KUR-*ud áš-lu-la*] *šal-la-su-un*
8′) LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.⌜NUN⌝.[MEŠ *ù* UN].⌜MEŠ⌝ URU.*am-qar-ru-na*
9′) *ša* ^{m}*pa-de-*⌜*e*⌝ [LUGAL]-⌜*šú*⌝-*nu* EN *a-de-e*
10′) *ù ma-mit ša* KUR *aš-*⌜*šur*⌝.KI *bi-re-tú* AN.BAR
11′) *id-du-ma a-na* ⌜^{m}⌝*ḫa-za-qi-ia-a-u*
12′) KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a id-*⌜*di-nu*⌝-*šú nak-riš*
13′) *a-na an-zil-li e-pu-šu ip-làḫ* ŠÀ-*šú-un*
14′) LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* KUR.*mu-ṣu-ri* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN
15′) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ša* LUGAL KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫi*
16′) *e-mu-qí la ni-bi ik-te-ru-nim-ma*
17′) *il-li-ku re-ṣu-us-su-un*
18′) *i-na ta-mir-ti* URU.*al-ta-qu-ú*
19′) *el-la-mu-u-a si-id-ru šit-ku-nu*
20′) *ú-šá-*^{ʾ}*a-lu* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú-un*
21′) *i-na tukul-ti* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia it-ti-šú-un*
22′) *am-da-ḫi-iṣ-ma áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú-un*
23′) LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù* DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL KUR.*mu-uṣ-ra-a-a*
24′) *a-di* LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša* LUGAL KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫa*
25′) *bal-ṭu-su-un i-na* $MURUB_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a*
26′) URU.*al-ta-qu-ú* URU.*ta-am-na-a al-me* KUR-*ud*
27′) *áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un a-na* URU.*am-qar-ru-na*
28′) *aq-rib-ma* LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ
29′) *ša ḫi-iṭ-ṭu ú-šab-šu-ú a-duk-ma*
30′) *ina di-ma-a-ti si-ḫir-ti* URU *a-lul pag-ri-šú-un*
31′) DUMU.MEŠ URU *e-piš an-ni ù gíl-la-ti*
32′) *a-na šal-la-te am-nu si-it-tu-te-šú-nu*
33′) *la ba-*⌜*bil*⌝ *ḫi-ṭi-ti*
34′) *ù* ⌜*gul-lul-ti*⌝
35′) *ša a-ra-an-šú-nu la ib-šu-*⌜*ú*⌝

Col. iv

1) *uš-šur-šú-un aq-bi* ⌜^{m}*pa*⌝-*di-i* LUGAL-*šú-nu*
2) *ul-*⌜*tu*⌝ *qé-reb* URU.*ur-sa-li-im-ma*
3) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma* [*i-na*] ⌜GIŠ⌝.GU.ZA *be-lu-*⌜*ti*⌝
4) UGU-*šú-un ú-še-šib-ma* [*man-da*]-⌜*at-tu*⌝
5) *be-lu-*⌜*ti*⌝-[*ia*] ⌜*ú-kin*⌝ *ṣe-ru-uš-šú*
6) ⌜*ù*⌝ ^{m}⌜*ḫa*⌝-[*za*]-⌜*qi*⌝-*a-u* KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a*
7) [*ša la ik*]-⌜*nu-šu*⌝ *a-na ni-ri-ia*
8) ⌜46 URU⌝.[MEŠ-*šú* É] ⌜BÀD⌝.MEŠ-⌜*ni*⌝ *dan-nu-ti*
9) ⌜*ù*⌝ [URU.MEŠ] ⌜TUR.MEŠ⌝ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
10) *ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú ina šuk-bu-us a-ram-me*
11) *ù qit-ru-ub šu-pe-e mit-ḫu-uṣ zu-uk* GÌR.II
12) *pil-ši nik-si ù kal-ban-na-te al-me* KUR-*ud*
13) 2 ME LIM 1 ME 50 UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS
14) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ

of Ṣ]idqâ that had not submitted [to me qu]ickly.

iii 8′–17′) (As for) the governors, the noble[s, and the peopl]e of the city Ekron who had thrown Padî, their [king] who was bound by treaty (iii 10′) and oaths to Assyria, into iron fetters and who had handed him over to Hezekiah of the land Judah in a hostile manner, they became frightened on account of the villainous acts they had committed. They formed a confederation with the kings of Egypt (and) the archers, (iii 15′) chariots, (and) horses of the king of the land Meluḫḫa, forces without number, and they came to their aid.

iii 18′–25′) In the plain of the city Eltekeh, they sharpened their weapons while drawing up in battleline before me. With the support of the god Aššur, my lord, I fought with them and defeated them. In the thick of battle, I captured alive the Egyptian charioteers and princes (lit. "the sons of the king"), together with the charioteers of the king of the land Meluḫḫa.

iii 26′–iv 1a) I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Eltekeh (and) Tamnâ. I approached the city Ekron and I killed the governors (and) nobles who had committed crime(s) and (iii 30′) hung their corpses on towers around the city; I counted the citizens who had committed the criminal acts as booty; (and) I commanded that the rest of them, (those) who were not guilty of crimes or wrongdoing, (to) whom no penalty was due, be allowed to go free.

iv 1b–5) I brought out Padî, their king, from the city Jerusalem and placed (him) on the lordly throne over them, then I imposed upon him [pay]ment (in recognition) of [my] overlordship.

iv 6–17) Moreover, (as for) He[ze]kiah of the land Judah, [who had not] submitted to my yoke, I surrounded (and) conquered forty-six of [his] fortified [wa]lled cit[ies] and small(er) [settlements] in their environs, (iv 10) which were without number, by having ramps trodden down and battering rams brought up, the assault of foot soldiers, sapping, breaching, and siege engines. I brought out of them 200,150 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, (iv 15) camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were

iii 14′ LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* KUR.*mu-ṣu-ri* "the kings of Egypt": See the on-page note to text no. 4 line 43.
iv 7 This statement about Hezekiah is first attested in inscriptions written on cylinders in 699; see the commentary to text no. 6.

15) ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A
16) *ša la ni-bi ul-tu qer-bi-šú-un*
17) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*
18) ⌜*šá*⌝*-a-šú* ⌜GIM MUŠEN *qu-up-pi qé-reb*⌝ URU.*ur-sa-li-im-ma*
19) ⌜URU⌝ LUGAL-*ti-šú* ⌜*e-sír*⌝*-šu* URU.ḪAL.ṢU.MEŠ
20) [UGU]-⌜*šú*⌝ *ú-rak-kis-ma a-*[*ṣe*]*-e* KÁ.GAL URU-*šú*
21) [*ú-ter-ra*] ⌜*ik*⌝*-ki-bu-uš*
22) [URU.MEŠ-*šú ša áš-lu-la ul-tu*] *qé-reb* KUR-*šú*
23) [*ab-tuq-ma a-na* ^{m}*mi-ti-in-ti* LUGAL] ⌜URU⌝.*as-du-di*
24) [^{m}*pa-di-i* LUGAL URU.*am*]-⌜*qar*⌝*-ru-na*
25) [*ù* ^{m}GISSU-EN LUGAL URU.*ḫa*]-⌜*zi*⌝-[*ti*]

without number, and I counted (them) as booty.

iv 18–25) As for him (Hezekiah), I confined him inside the city Jerusalem, his royal city, like a bird in a cage. (iv 20) I set up blockades [against] him and [made] made him dread ex[iti]ng his city gate. [I detached from] his land [the cities of his that I had plundered and I gave (them) to Mitinti, the king of] the city Ashdod, [Padî, the king of the city E]kron, [and Ṣilli-Bēl, the king of the city G]az[a],

Lacuna

Lacuna

1′) [LÚ.*úr-bi ù* LÚ.ERIM].⌜MEŠ-*šú* SIG_5⌝.[MEŠ]
2′) [*ša a-na dun-nu-un*] URU.*ur-sa-li-*⌜*im-mu*⌝
3′) [URU LUGAL-*ti-šú ú*]*-še-ri-bu-ma ir-šú-u*
4′) *til-*⌜*la*⌝-[*a-te it-ti*] 30 GUN ⌜KÙ.GI⌝
5′) 8 ME [GUN KÙ.BABBAR *ni*]-⌜*siq*⌝*-ti gu-uḫ-li*
6′) *ták-kàs-si* ⌜NA_4⌝.[AN.ZA].⌜GUL⌝.ME GAL.MEŠ
7′) GIŠ.NÁ.MEŠ ⌜ZÚ⌝ [GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ] *né-me-di* ZÚ
8′) KUŠ AM.SI ZÚ AM.⌜SI⌝ [GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG]
9′) *mim-ma šum-šú ni-*⌜*ṣir*⌝*-*[*tu ka-bit-tu*]
10′) *ù* DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL-⌜*šú*⌝ [LÚ.NAR.MEŠ MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ]
11′) *a-na qé-reb* NINA.KI URU *be-lu-*[*ti-ia*]
12′) EGIR-*ia ú-še-bi-*⌜*lam*⌝*-*[*ma*]
13′) *a-na na-dan* [*man*]*-da-at-ti*
14′) *ù e-peš* ARAD-*ú-*⌜*ti iš*⌝*-pu-ra rak-bu-šú*

Lacuna
iv 1′–14′) [and], after my (departure), he (Hezekiah) had [the auxiliary forces and] his eli[te troops whom he] had brought inside [to strengthen] the city Jerusalem, [his royal city], and who had provided suppo[rt, along with] 30 talents of gold, (iv 5′) 800 [talents of silver, ch]oice antimony, large blocks of ..., ivory beds, [armch]airs of ivory, elephant hide(s), elephant ivory, [ebony, boxwood], every kind of [valuable] treasu[re], (iv 10′) as well as his daughters, his palace women, [male singers, (and) female singers] brought into Nineveh, [my] capi[tal] city, [and] he sent a mounted messenger of his to me to deliver (this) [pay]ment and to do obeisance.

15′) *i-na* 4-*e ger-ri-*[*ia*] ^{d}*aš-šur be-lí*
16′) *ú-tak-kil-an-*⌜*ni-ma*⌝ *um-ma-na-*⌜*te-ia*⌝
17′) *gap-šá-a-te ad-ke-ma a-na* KUR.⌜É⌝-[^{m}*ia*]-⌜*kin*$_7$⌝
18′) ⌜*a*⌝*-la-ku aq-bi ina me-ti-iq* ⌜*ger*⌝*-*[*ri*]*-*⌜*ia*⌝
19′) ⌜*ša*⌝ ^{m}*šu-zu-bi* LÚ.*kal-dà-a-a a-šib qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me*
20′) *ina* URU.*bi-it-tu-ú-ti áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú*
21′) *šu-ú ḫur-ba-šu ta-*⌜*ḫa*⌝*-zi-ia*
22′) UGU-*šú im-qut-ma it-*⌜*ru-ku*⌝ ŠÀ-*šú*
23′) *ki-ma a-za-ri* ⌜*e-diš ip-par-šid-ma ul in-na-mir a-šar*⌝*-*[*šú*]
24′) *pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-*⌜*ter-ma*⌝
25′) *a-na* KUR.⌜É⌝-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$⌝ *aṣ-ṣa-bat* ⌜*ḫar-ra*⌝*-nu*
26′) *šu-ú* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA
27′) *ša* [*ina a*]-⌜*lak*⌝ *ger-ri-ia maḫ-re-e* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú áš-ku-nu-ma*

iv 15′–23′) On [my] fourth campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me so that I mustered my numerous troops and ordered the march to the land Bīt-[Ya]kīn. In the course of my camp[aign], I defeated Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk), a Chaldean who lives in the marshes, (iv 20′) at the city Bittūtu. As for him, terror of doing battle with me fell upon him and his heart pounded. He fled alone like a lynx and [his] (hiding) place could not be found.

iv 24′–v 2a) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road to the land Bīt-Yakīn. He — Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), whom I had defeated and whose forces I had scattered [during] my first campaign — became frightened by

Lacuna after iv 25 The translation assumes that the now-missing iv 26 began with *ad-din-ma* "I gave and."
iv 9′ The list of payment sent by Hezekiah to Nineveh was first shortened in inscriptions written in 699. The expression *mim-ma šum-šú ni-ṣir-tu ka-bit-tu* "every kind of valuable treasure" replaced *lu-bul-ti bir-me* TÚG.GADA SÍG.*ta-kil-tú* SÍG.*ar-ga-man-nu ú-nu-ut* ZABAR AN.BAR URUDU AN.NA AN.BAR GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ga-ba-bi az-ma-re-e si-ri-ia-am* GÍR.MEŠ AN.BAR *šib-bi til-pa-ni u uṣ-ṣi til-li ú-nu-ut ta-ḫa-zi šá ni-ba la i-šu-ú* "garments with multi-colored trim, linen garments, blue-purple wool, red-purple wool, utensils of bronze, iron, copper, tin, (and) iron, chariots, shields, lances, armor, iron belt-daggers, *bows* and *uṣṣu*-arrows, equipment, (and) implements of war, (all of) which were without number." The full list appears in text no. 4 lines 56b–57.
iv 10′ *ù* "as well as": Text no. 4 line 58 has *it-ti* "together with." DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* "his daughters": See the on-page note to text no. 4 line 58.
iv 15′–18′a Cf. text no. 19 i′ 15′–16′: [*i-na* 4-*e ger-ri-ia a-na* KUR.É-^{m}]⌜*ia*⌝*-kin*$_7$ [*lu al-li-ik*] "[on my fourth campaign, I marched to the land Bīt]-Yakīn." That inscription has the same account of the fourth campaign as Smith Bull 4 (3 R pls. 12–13).

28′) *ú-par-ri-ru el-lat-su*
29′) *ri-gim* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-ti*
30′) *ù* ⌜*ti*⌝*-ib ta-ḫa-zi-ia ez-zi e-dur-ma*
31′) DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-rak* KUR-[*šú i-na* KI.TUŠ-*šú-nu id-ke-ma*]
32′) *qé-reb* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ [*ú-šar-kib-ma*]
33′) *a-na na-gi-ti-ra-aq-qí ša qa-bal tam-tim*
34′) *iṣ-ṣu-riš ip-pa-riš*
35′) ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* NUMUN É AD-*šú ša ú-maš-ši-ru a-ḫi tam-tim*
36′) *a-di si-it-ti* UN.MEŠ KUR-*šú* ⌜*ul-tu*⌝ KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_{7}$

the clangor of my mighty weapons (iv 30′) and my fierce battle array, then [dislodged] the gods of the (full) extent of [his] land [from their abodes, and loaded] (them) onto boats. He flew away like a bird to (the city) Nagīte-raqqi, which is in the midst of the sea. [I] brought his brothers, the seed of his father's house, whom he had abandoned at the shore of the sea, together with the rest of the people of his land, out of the land Bīt-Yakīn, (v 1) which is in the swamps (and) [marshes], and I counted (them) as booty.

Col. v

1) ⌜*qé*⌝*-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me* [*ap-pa-ra-a-ti ú*]*-še-ṣa-am-ma*
2) *šal-la-tiš am-nu* [*ú-ter-ma*] ⌜URU⌝.MEŠ-*šú*
3) *ap-pul aq-qur* [*ú-še-me kar-meš*] UGU ⌜EN⌝ *sa-li-me-šú*
4) LUGAL KUR.ELAM.⌜MA.KI⌝ *na-mur-ra-tum at-bu-*⌜*uk*⌝
5) *i-na ta-a-a-*⌜*ar*⌝*-*[*ti*]*-*⌜*ia*⌝ ^{m}*aš-šur-na-din*-MU
6) DUMU *reš-tu-ú* [*tar*]*-bit bir-ki-ia*
7) ⌜*i-na*⌝ GIŠ.GU.ZA *be-*[*lu*]*-ti-šú ú-še-šib-ma*
8) DAGAL-*tum* KUR EME.GI$_{7}$ *ù* URI.KI
9) *ú-šad-gil pa-nu-uš-šú*
10) *i-na šal-lat* KUR.⌜MEŠ⌝ *šá-ti-na ša áš-lu-la*
11) 20 LIM GIŠ.PAN.⌜MEŠ⌝ 15 LIM GIŠ.*a-ri-tu*
12) *i-na lìb-bi-*⌜*šú-nu*⌝ *ak-ṣur-ma*
13) UGU *ki-ṣir* ⌜LUGAL-*ti*⌝*-ia ú-rad-di*
14) ⌜*si-it-ti šal-la-ti na*⌝*-ki-ri ka-bit-tu*
15) *a-na gi-mir* KARAŠ-⌜*ia*⌝ LÚ.EN.NAM-*ia*
16) UN.MEŠ *ma-ḫa-za-ni-*⌜*ia* GAL⌝.MEŠ
17) *ki-ma ṣe-e-ni lu ú-za-*⌜*ʾi*⌝*-iz*

v 2b–4) [Once again] I destroyed (and) devastated his cities, (and) [turned (them) into ruins]. I poured out awe-inspiring brilliance upon his ally, the king of the land Elam.

v 5–9) On my return ma[rch], I placed Aššur-nādin-šumi, my first-born son (whom I) [rai]sed on my (own) knee, on his lo[rd]ly throne and entrusted him with the wide land of Sumer and Akkad.

v 10–17) From the booty of those lands that I had plundered, I conscripted 20,000 archers (and) 15,000 shield bearers and added (them) to my royal contingent. I divided up the rest of the substantial enemy booty (v 15) like sheep and goats among my entire camp (and) my governors, (and) the people of my great cult centers.

18) *i-na u*$_{4}$*-me-šu-ma* NINA.KI *ma-ḫa-zu*
19) *ṣi-i-ru* URU *na-ram* ^{d}*iš-tar*
20) *ša nap-ḫar ki-du-de-e* DINGIR.MEŠ
21) *ù* ^{d}IŠ.TAR.MEŠ *ba-šu-u qé-reb-šú*
22) *tem-me-en-nu da-ru-u du-ru-uš ṣa-a-te*
23) ⌜*ša ul*⌝*-tu ul-la it-ti ši-ṭir bu-ru-ú-me*
24) [*eṣ-rat*]-⌜*su eṣ*⌝*-ret-ma šu-pu-ú ṣi-in-du-šú*
25) [*áš-ru nak*]-⌜*lu*⌝ *šu-bat pi-riš-te šá mim-ma šum-šú*
26) [*ši-pir ni-kil*]-⌜*te*⌝ *gi-mir pel-lu-de-e*
27) [*ni-ṣir-ti làl-gar*] ⌜*šu*⌝*-ta-bu-lu*$_{4}$ *qé-*⌜*reb-šú*⌝
28) [*ša ul-tu ul-la* LUGAL].⌜MEŠ⌝*-ni a-*⌜*li*⌝*-*[*kut*] *maḫ-ri*
29) [AD.MEŠ-*ia ul-la-nu-ú*]-⌜*a*⌝ *be-lu-tu* KUR

v 18–27) At that time, Nineveh, the exalted cult center, the city loved by the goddess Ištar (v 20) in which all of the rituals for gods and goddesses are present; the enduring foundation (and) eternal base whose [plan] had been designed by the stars (lit. "writing") of the firmament and whose arrangement was made manifest since time immemorial; (v 25) [a sophisti]cated [place] (and) site of secret lore in which every kind of [skil]led [craftsmanship], all of the rituals, (and) [the secret(s) of the *lalgar*] (cosmic subterranean water) are apprehended;
v 28–39a) [in which since time immemorial] ea[rl]ier [king]s, [my ancestors, before] me (v 30) exercised dominion over Assyria and ruled the subjects of the

iv 28′ Cf. text no. 21 ii′ 4′, which omits *ú-par-ri-ru el-lat-su* "whose forces I had scattered."
iv 30′ Cf. text no. 21 ii′ 5′, which omits *ù ti-ib ta-ḫa-zi-ia ez-zi* "and my fierce battle array."
iv 31′–32′ Exs. 2 and 11 omit the reference to the gods being dislodged from their abodes. Text no. 16, text no. 17, and text no. 21 also omit DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-rak* KUR-*šú i-na* KI.TUŠ-*šú-nu id-ke-ma qé-reb* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ú-šar-kib-ma* "he dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of his land from their abodes, and loaded (them) onto boats."
iv 33′ *na-gi-ti-ra-aq-qí* "Nagīte-raqqi": For further information on the city, see Frame, RLA 9/1–2 (1998) p. 80. The name means "Turtle Island."
v 8 Ex. 2 omits DAGAL-*tum* "wide."
v 11 20 LIM "20,000": Text no. 4 line 59 has 10 LIM "10,000," text no. 17 v 16 has 30 LIM "30,000," and text no. 19 ii′ 14′ has 20 LIM 4 ME "20,400." 15 LIM "15,000": Text no. 4 line 59 has 10 LIM "10,000," text no. 17 v 16 has 20 LIM "20,000," and text no. 19 ii′ 14′ has 20 LIM 2 ME "20,200."

*aš-šur.*ᵀKIᵀ

30) *e-*ᵀ*pu-šu-ma ú-ma-*ʾ*e*ᵀ*-ru ba-*ʾ*u-lat* ᵈEN.[LÍL]
31) *a-a-um-ma ina lìb-bi-šú-nu a-na šum-dul*$_6$ *šu-bat* URU
32) *e-peš* BÀD *šu-te-šur su-qa-a-*ᵀ*ni*ᵀ
33) *ù ḫa-re-e* ÍD *za-qa-ap ṣip-pa-a-*ᵀ*ti*ᵀ
34) *ú-zu-un-šú ul ib-*[*ši-ma ul uš-ta-bil*]
35) *ka-ras-su* ᵀ*a-na*ᵀ [É.GAL *qer-bi-šú*]
36) ᵀ*kúm*ᵀ*-mu ri-mit be-lu-ti* ᵀ*ša*ᵀ [*ṣu-uḫ*]-ᵀ*ḫu-ru*ᵀ
37) [*šu-bat*]-ᵀ*su*ᵀ *e-piš-tuš* ᵀ*la nak*ᵀ*-lat-ma*
38) ᵀ*le*ᵀ*-es-su ul id-*<*da*>*-a lib-bu-uš*
39) *ul iḫ-su-us ia-a-ti* ᵐᵈEN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU
40) LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI
41) *e-peš šip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i ṭè-em* DINGIR.MEŠ
42) *i-na uz-ni-ia ib-ši-ma ka-bat-ti ub-lam-ma*
43) *te-ne-šet* KUR.*kal-di* GIŠ.*a-ra-me* KUR.*man-na-a-a*
44) KUR.*qu-e* KUR.*ḫi-lak-ku* KUR.*pi-liš-te*
45) *ù* KUR.*ṣur-ri šá a-na ni-ri-ia la ik-nu-šú as-su-ḫa-am-ma*
46) *tup-šik-ku ú-šá-áš-ši-šú-nu-ti*
47) *il-bi-nu* SIG$_4$ É.GAL *maḫ-ri-tu*
48) *ša* 3 ME 60 *ina* 1.KÙŠ UŠ 80 *ina* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL
49) *i-na tar-ṣi za-mé-e* É *ziq-qur-rat*
50) 1 ME 34 *ina* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL *ina tar-ṣi na-ma-ri* É ᵈ*iš-tar*
51) 95 *ina* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL *ina tar-ṣi na-ma-ri* É-*kid-mu-ri*
52) ᵀ*ša* LUGALᵀ.MEŠ-*ni a-li-kut maḫ-ri* AD.MEŠ-*ia*
53) ᵀ*a-na*ᵀ *ri-mit be-lu-ti-šú-un*
54) [*ú-še*]-ᵀ*pi*ᵀ*-šu-ma la ú-nak-ki-lu ši-pir-šá*
55) ᵀUDU.MEŠ *šad-di*ᵀ ᵈLAMMA *ša* NA$_4$.*pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e*
56) [*i-na* URU.*ta*]-ᵀ*as-ti-a-te*ᵀ *ša e-ber-tan* ÍD.IDIGNA
57) [*ib-tu*]-ᵀ*qu a-na mu-kil*ᵀ KÁ.MEŠ-*ši-in*
58) [*a-na šu-pu*]-ᵀ*uš* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠᵀ *qé-reb* GIŠ.TIR.MEŠ
59) [GIŠ.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ú-qé-ru*] *ina nap-ḫar* KUR-*šú-un*
60) [*i-na* ITI.GU$_4$ *u*$_4$*-mu a-dan-ni e*]-*de-e pa-an šat-te*
61) [*i-na* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ] ᵀ*ṣi*ᵀ*-ra-a-te*

god En[lil]; (but) not one among them had conceived of [and put his mind] towards increasing the site of the city, building wall(s), straightening the streets, or dredging the river (and) planting orchards; nor had any (of them) paid heed to (or) shown (v 35) interest in [the palace inside it], the seat of lordly dwelling whose [site had become too sm]all (and) whose construction was inexpert:

v 39b–47a) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, the performing of this work came to my attention by the will of the gods and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Manneans, the lands Que, Ḫilakku, (and) Philistia, (v 45) and the land (of the city) Tyre, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made them carry baskets (of earth and) they made bricks.

v 47b–54) The former palace, which was 360 cubits long, 80 cubits wide opposite the *zamû*-wall of the ziggurrat, (v 50) 134 cubits wide opposite the tower of the temple of the goddess Ištar, (and) 95 cubits wide opposite the tower of the Bīt-Kidmuri; which earlier kings, my ancestors, [had had] constructed for their lordly dwelling, but whose construction they had carried out inexpertly:

v 55–66a) [They quarri]ed mountain sheep colossi of white limestone [in the city T]astiate, which is across the Tigris River, to be their (the palatial halls') gatekeepers. Throughout their entire land [they depleted] forests [of large trees to have] boats [bu]ilt. (v 60) [In the month Ayyāru (II), the time of] spring [fl]oods, [they brought] (the colossi) across [to this side] (of the river) with difficulty [in] magnificent [boats]. They sank [large bo]ats [at the quay dock (and

v 30 Cf. text no. 4 line 65, which adds *ù šat-ti-šam la na-par-ka-a e-reb nar-ba-a-ti* GUN *mal-ki kib-rat ar-ba-*ʾ*i im-da-na-ḫa-ru qé-reb-šu* "and wherein annually, without interruption, they received an enormous income, the tribute of the rulers of the four quarters (of the world)."
v 31–39a Text no. 4 lines 66–67 have *a-a-um-ma ina lìb-bi-šú-nu a-na* É.GAL *qer-bi-šu kúm-mu ri-mit be-lu-ti ša ṣu-uḫ-ḫu-ru šu-bat-su le-e-su ul id-da-a lib-bu-uš ul iḫ-su-us a-na šu-te-šur* SILA URU *ù šum-dul*$_6$ *re-ba-a-ti ḫa-re-e* ÍD *za-qa-ap ṣip-pa-a-ti ú-zu-un-šú ul ib-ši-ma ul uš-ta-bil ka-ras-su* "(but) not one among them had paid heed to (or) shown interest in the palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling whose site had become too small; nor had anyone (of them) conceived of and put his mind towards the straightening of the city's street(s) and the widening of (its) squares, the dredging of the river, (and) the planting of orchards."
v 40 LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti* "king of the world": This title is not included in text no. 4 line 68.
v 43 GIŠ.*a-ra-me* "Aramean (tribes)": Ex. 1 has GIŠ for LÚ. This passage is not preserved in the other exemplars.
v 47a After *il-bi-nu* SIG$_4$ "they made bricks," text no. 4 line 70 adds *a-pe ku-pe-e ša qé-reb* KUR.*kal-di ak-šiṭ-ma ap-pa-ri-šú-un šam-ḫu-ti i-na ba-ḫu-la-ti na-ki-ri ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia ú-šal-di-da a-na e-peš šip-ri-šá* "I cut down canebrakes in Chaldea and I had their splendid reeds hauled (to Nineveh) for its (the palace's) construction by enemy soldiers whom I had defeated."
v 47b–51 Cf. text no. 4 line 71: É.GAL *maḫ-ri-tu ša* 3 ME 60 *ina* 1.KÙŠ UŠ *tar-ṣi za-me-e* É *ziq-qur-rat* 80 *ina* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL *i-na tar-ṣi* É.*na-ma-ri* É ᵈ*iš-tar* 1 ME 34 *ina* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL *i-na tar-ṣi* É.*na-ma-ri* É-*kid*$_9$*-mu-ri* 95 *ina* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL "the former palace, which was 360 cubits long opposite the *zamû*-wall of the ziggurrat, 80 cubits wide opposite the tower of the temple of the goddess Ištar, 134 cubits wide opposite the tower of the Bīt-Kidmuri, (and) 95 cubits wide (on the other side)."
v 55–66a This inscription is the earliest known text in which this passage appears. It is uncertain if the description of former kings depleting resources, transporting bull colossi at flood time, and exhausting work crews was composed anew for this text or for text no. 14.

62) [*a-na a-ḫa-an-na-a ú-šeb*]-˹*bi*˺-*ru-ni mar-ṣi-iš*
63) [*i-na né-ber ka-a-ri* GIŠ.MÁ.GU].LA.MEŠ *ú-ṭe-eb-bu-u*
64) *ba-ḫu-*˹*la*˺-[*te-šú-un ú-šá-ni*]-*ḫu ú-lam-me-nu ka-ras-si-in*
65) ˹*ina da-na-ni ù šup*˺-[*šu-qí mar*]-˹*ṣi*˺-*iš ú-bi-lu-nim-ma*
66) *ú-šá-*˹*aṣ*˺-[*bi-tu* KÁ.MEŠ-*ši-in*] ÍD.*te-bil-ti a-gu-u* [*šit-mu-ru*]
67) *ša ul-tu* UD.MEŠ SÙ.MEŠ *ṭe-eḫ* É.˹GAL˺
68) *i-ba-ʾu-ú-ma ina* ILLU-*šá gap-*[*ši i-na uš-ši-šá*]
69) *ab-bu ú-šab-šu-ú ú-ri-ib-*˹*bu*˺ [*tem-me-en-šá*]

Col. vi

1) É.GAL.TUR.RA *šá-a-tu a-na si-*˹*ḫir*˺-*ti-*˹*šá*˺ [*aq-qur-ma*]
2) *ša* ÍD.*te-bil-ti* ˹*ma-lak*˺-*šá uš-te-*˹*eš*˺-[*na-a*]
3) *ab-bu uš-ṭib-ma ú-še-šir* ˹*mu*˺-[*ṣu-šá*]
4) *qé-reb ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-ki-šá*
5) *šap-la-a-nu* GI.MEŠ *e-la-niš* ˹NA$_4$ KUR-*i dan*˺-*ni*
6) *it-ti* ESIR.UD.A *ak-si-ma* A.ŠÀ ˹*ul-tu*˺ [*ma-a-me*]
7) *ú-*˹*še-lam*˺-[*ma na-ba-liš ú*]-˹*ter*˺ 2 ME ˹88˺ *ina* 1.KÙŠ
8) SAG.KI *qaq-qa-ru* UGU *me-ši-iḫ-ti tam-le-e*
9) *maḫ-re-e lu ú-rad-di-ma*
10) *nap-ḫar* 7 ME *ina* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* UŠ
11) 1 ME 76 *ina* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI AN.TA IM.SI.SÁ
12) 2 ME 68 ˹*ina*˺ [AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI] MURUB$_4$-*tim*
13) *mé-eḫ-ret* [*za-me-e at-man-ni ku-tal*] ˹^{d}˺*iš-tar*
14) 4 ME 43 *ina* [AS$_4$.LUM] ˹GAL-*ti* SAG.KI MURUB$_4$-*tim*˺
15) *šá-ni-tum mu-uḫ-ḫur-*˹*ti šá-a-ri*˺ *a-mur-ri*
16) *ku-tal* É ˹*ziq*˺-[*qur*]-˹*rat* É ^{d}˺*iš-tar*
17) 3 ME 86 *ina* AS$_4$.˹LUM GAL˺-*ti* ˹SAG.KI KI.TA˺ IM.U$_{18}$.LU
18) ÚS.SA.DU ˹ÍD.IDIGNA˺ *tam-la-a*
19) *ú-mal-li-*˹*ma*˺ *am-šu-uḫ me-ši-iḫ-ta*
20) *áš-šú šip-ri* É.GAL-˹*ia*˺ *šu-te-šu-ri*
21) *ù li-pit* ŠU.II-˹*ia*˺ *šul-*˹*lu-me*˺
22) *i-na u$_4$-mi-šu-ma* [^{d}*aš*]-˹*šur*˺ *u* ^{d}*iš-tar*
23) *ša* NA$_4$.*pi-i-li* [*pe-ṣe-e*]
24) *ina* URU.*ba-la-ṭa-a-a* ˹*ú-šap-tu*˺-[*ú-ni pa*]-˹*ni*˺-*šú*

then) made their] cre[ws strugg]le (and) strain. (v 65) With might and ma[in], they [strug]gled to transport (the colossi) and ins[tall (them) in their gates].

v 66b–69) The Tebilti River, a [tempestuous] flood (of water) which had flowed from distant days by the side of the palace and which had caused erosion [in its foundation] when its flood was in full sp[ate] (and) had shaken [its base]:

vi 1–3) [I tore down] that small palace in its entirety, [then] I chan[ged] the course of the Tebilti River, repaired (the effects of) the erosion, and directed [its] out[flow].

vi 4–19) In the hidden depths of its subterranean waters I bonded together, with bitumen, reeds below (and) strong mountain stone above, then I raised (that) area out of [the water and co]nverted (it) [to dry land]. I added to the dimensions of the former terrace a plot of land that was 288 cubits wide. (vi 10) In total, I filled in and measured a terrace of 700 large *aslu*-cubits along (its) longer side, 176 large *aslu*-cubits along (its) upper, northern shorter side, 268 [large *aslu*-cubits along the] inner, [shorter side], (which is) opposite [the *zamû*-wall of the shrine behind] (the temple of) the goddess Ištar, 443 [lar]ge *aslu*-[cubits] along (vi 15) the other, parallel, inner shorter side, (which is) on the west behind the zig[gur]rat of the temple of the goddess Ištar, (and) 386 large *aslu*-cubits along the lower, southern shorter side, (which is) beside the Tigris River.

vi 20–27) So that the construction of my palace might be carried out correctly and that my handiwork be completed, at that time, [the god Aš]šur and the goddess Ištar revealed [to me the pres]ence of [white] limestone in the city Balāṭāya. (vi 25) Therein, I

v 66b After *šit-mu-ru* "tempestuous," text no. 4 line 73 adds *ša i-na na-ši-šá ge-gu-né-e qa-bal-ti* URU *ú-ab-bi-tu-ma ki-maḫ-ḫi-šú-un pa-az-ru-ti ú-kal-li-mu* ^{d}UTU-*šú* "which when it rose had destroyed sacred buildings inside the city and exposed their hidden tombs to the sun."

vi 6–9 Ex. 2 has 3 ME 40 *ina* 1.KÙŠ ˹UŠ˺ "340 cubits long" in lieu of A.ŠÀ ˹*ul-tu*˺ [*ma-a-me*] *ú-*˹*še-lam*˺-[*ma na-ba-liš ú*]-˹*ter*˺ "I raised (that) area out of [the water and co]nverted (it) [to dry land]." Ex. 12, although poorly preserved, follows ex. 2 rather than ex. 1. Cf. text no. 16 vi 21–25, which has 3 ME 40 *ina* 1.KÙŠ UŠ 2 ME 88 *ina* 1.KÙŠ SAG.˹KI˺ *qaq-qa-ru ul-tu qé-*[*reb* ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur*$^{?}$ *ú-še-lam-ma*] *na-ba-liš ú-ter ṣe-*[*er*] ˹*me-ši-iḫ-ti*˺ *tam-le-e maḫ-re-e* ˹*lu*˺ [*ú-rad-di*]-*ma* "I raised] a plot of land that was 340 cubits long (and) 288 cubits wide out [of the *Ḫusur River* and] converted (it) to dry land. [I added (it) to] the dimensions of the former terrace." Deviation in this passage cannot be used to help identify exemplars belonging to this inscription or text no. 16. UGU ... *ú-rad-di-ma* "I added ... to and": This passage is not included in earlier inscriptions; see, for example, text no. 4 line 76.

vi 10 *nap-ḫar* "in total": This word is not included in earlier inscriptions; see text no. 4 line 77.

vi 14 4 ME 43 "443": Text no. 4 line 78 has 3 ME 83 "383."

vi 19 Cf. text no. 16 vi 38, which has *i-na* 1 ME 90 *ti-ib-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šu* "I raised its superstructure 190 courses of brick" in lieu of *am-šu-uḫ me-ši-iḫ-ta* "I measured (its) dimensions."

vi 20–27 This inscription is the earliest known text in which this passage appears. It is uncertain if the description of Aššur and Ištar revealing limestone in Balāṭāya was composed anew for this text or for text no. 14.

25) UDU.MEŠ *šad-di* $^{d\lceil}$LAMMA$^{\rceil}$.[MEŠ *dan-nu-ti*]
26) MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-te ù* $^{\lceil}$NA$_4^{\rceil}$.[KUN$_4$.MEŠ GAL].$^{\lceil}$MEŠ$^{\rceil}$
27) *ina* KÁ.MEŠ É.GAL *be-lu-ti-ia ina qer-bi-šú* $^{\lceil}$*ab*$^{\rceil}$-[*tu*]-$^{\lceil}$*uq*$^{\rceil}$
28) *la-ba-riš u*$_4$*-mi i-na* ILLU *kiš-*$^{\lceil}$*šá-ti*$^{\rceil}$
29) *tem-me-en tam-le-e la e-né-še*
30) $^{\lceil}$NA$_4^{\rceil}$*.pi-i-li rab-bu-ti* $^{\lceil}$*ki*$^{\rceil}$*-su-ú-šu*
31) *ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra* $^{\lceil}$*ú*$^{\rceil}$*-dan-nin šu-pu-uk-šu*
32) $^{\lceil}$MU$^{\rceil}$.SAR-*e ši-ṭir šu-me-ia*
33) [1 ME 60$^{?}$ *ti*]-$^{\lceil}$*ib*$^{\rceil}$*-ki tam-li-i qé-reb-šú al-ṭu-ur-ma*
34) $^{\lceil}$*šap*$^{\rceil}$*-la-a-*$^{\lceil}$*nu*$^{\rceil}$ [*ina uš-ši-šu e*]-$^{\lceil}$*zib aḫ*$^{\rceil}$*-ra-taš*
35) *ar-ka-a-nu* $^{\lceil}$*šu*$^{\rceil}$-[*uš-qu-ú tam*]-$^{\lceil}$*li*$^{\rceil}$*-i*
36) *ka-bat-ti ub-*[*lam-ma*] $^{\lceil}$30$^{\rceil}$ [*ti*]*-ib-ki*
37) *ṣe-er maḫ-re-*$^{\lceil}$*e*$^{\rceil}$ [*uṣ-ṣip*]*-ma*
38) 1 ME 90 *ti-ib-ki* $^{\lceil}$*ú*$^{\rceil}$-[*šaq-qí e-la*]*-niš*
39) *tar-pa-šu-ú* UGU [*ša u*$_4$*-me pa-ni ú*]-$^{\lceil}$*šar-bi*$^{\rceil}$
40) *ṣe-er me-ši-iḫ-ti* É.[GAL *maḫ-ri-ti*]
41) *ú-rad-di-ma* $^{\lceil}$*ú-šá-an-di-la*$^{\rceil}$ [*ši-kit-taš*]
42) É.GAL NA$_4$.DÚR.$^{\lceil}$MI.NA.BÀN.DA NA$_4^{\rceil}$.[GIŠ.NU$_{11}$.GAL]
43) ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.$^{\lceil}$ESI GIŠ.TÚG$^{\rceil}$ [GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni*]
44) GIŠ.EREN $^{\lceil}$GIŠ.ŠUR$^{\rceil}$.[MÌN ŠIM.LI *ù* GIŠ.*e-lam-ma-ku*]
45) *é-gal-*$^{\lceil}$*zag-di*$^{\rceil}$-[*nu-tuku-a a-na mu-šab* LUGAL-*ti-ia*]
46) *ú-še-pi-*$^{\lceil}$*šá*$^{\rceil}$ [*qé-reb-šú* GIŠ.ÙR.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN]
47) *ša* [*i-ri-su-un ṭa-a-bu bi-nu-ut*]
48) KUR.[*ḫa-ma-nim tar-bit* KUR.*si-ra-ra*]
49) KUR.[MEŠ KÙ.MEŠ *ú-šat-ri-ṣa e-li-šin*]
50) GIŠ.[IG.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN ŠIM.LI]
51) *ṣi-*[*ra-a-ti me-sér* KI.SAG *eb-bi* URUDU *nam-ri*]
52) *ú-*[*rak-kis-ma ú-rat-ta-a ba-bi-šin*]
53) *sik-*$^{\lceil}$*kàt*$^{\rceil}$ [*kar-ri kas-pi ù* URUDU]
54) *qé-*[*reb-ši-in ú-šal-me i-na a-gúr-ri*]
55) NA$_4$.$^{\lceil}$ZÚ$^{\rceil}$ [NA$_4$.ZA.GÌN *us-si-ma si-il-lu*]
56) *né-bé-*$^{\lceil}$*ḫi*$^{\rceil}$ [*ù gi-mir pa-as-qí-ši-in*]
57) É *ap-*$^{\lceil}$*pa*$^{\rceil}$-[*a-te tam-šil* É.GAL KUR.*ḫat-ti*]

qua[rrie]d [mighty] mountain sheep coloss[i], sphinxes, and [large] stone [slabs] for the gates of my lordly palace.

vi 28–31) In order to prevent the foundation of the terrace from being weakened over the passage of time by cresting flood(s), (vi 30) I surrounded its base with large limestone (slabs and thereby) reinforced its base.
vi 32–34) I inscribed objects bearing my name [*160* cour]ses of brick within the terrace and [I] deposited (them) deep down [in its foundation] for ever after.

vi 35–41) Afterwards, I de[cided] to [increase the height of the ter]race, [then I added] 30 [cour]ses of brick to the former (terrace) and (thus) I [raised (it) to a heig]ht of 190 courses of brick. [I] made the area larger than [before], (vi 40) added (it) to the [former] dimensions of the pal[ace], and (thus) enlarged [its structure].
vi 42–46a) I had a palace of breccia, [alabaster], elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, [*musukkannu*-wood], cedar, cyp[ress, juniper, and *elammaku*-wood], (vi 45) (a palace that I named) Egalzagdi[nutukua ("The Palace Without a Rival"), constructed [thereon as my royal residence].

vi 46b–56) [I roofed them (the palatial halls) with beams of cedar (and) cypress], who[se scent is sweet, product(s) of] Mount [Amanus (and) the yield of Mount Sirāra], the [holy] mountain[s]. I [fastened bands of shining silver (and) bright copper on] (vi 50) mag[nificent doors of cedar, cypress, (and) juniper and I installed (them) in their gates. I decorated] th[em (the doors) with silver and copper knobbed] nai[ls. I adorned the arches], friez[es, and all of the copings with baked bricks] (vi 55) (glazed in the color of) obsidian (and) [lapis lazuli].

vi 57–60) [For] my lordly [pleasure, I had] a por[tico, a

vi 27 *ina* KÁ.MEŠ É.GAL *be-lu-ti-ia* "for the gates of my lordly palace": Text no. 16 vi 47 has [*a-na*] *šip-ri* É.GAL *be-lu-ti-ia* "[for] the construction of my lordly palace."
vi 29 *tem-me-en tam-le-e* "the foundation of the terrace": Text no. 4 line 80 has *tem-me-en-šú* "its foundation."
vi 32–41 The passage recording the depositing of foundation documents and the expansion of the terrace is not included in text no. 16 and therefore the restorations are generally based on text no. 4 lines 81–83.
vi 36 30 "30": E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 75 Baub. line 89) correctly points out that 30, not 20, must be read here since the height of the terrace is 190 layers of bricks in this inscription, not 180 as it is in text no. 4 line 82.
vi 38 1 ME 90 "190": Text no. 4 line 82 has 1 ME 80 "180."
vi 42 This inscription adds breccia (NA$_4$.DÚR.MI.NA.BÀN.DA) to the list of materials used in the construction of the palace; cf. text no. 4 line 84.
vi 46b–52 Cf. text no. 1 lines 80–81 and text no. 2 lines 57-58, which served as the model for these lines. In this text, Sennacherib records that he used cedar and cypress (from Mount Amanus and Mount Sirāra) to roof the palace and that he hung doors of cedar, cypress, and juniper in its gates. In earlier texts, he states that cedar from Mount Amanus was used for the roofing and that the palace's doors were made from cypress.
vi 48 KUR.*si-ra-ra* "Mount Sirāra": This mountain in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions not only refers to Mount Hermon, but also to the southern Anti-Lebanon; it is also identical with Sirion, the "Amorite" name of Mount Hermon. See Bagg, SAAB 15 (2006) pp. 190–191.
vi 51 KI.SAG "silver": For the identification of KI.SAG as a type of silver, see Frahm, Sanherib p. 85 (commentary to T 10 and T 11 Baub. line 104) and Borger, MZ p. 412 (with references to previous literature).
vi 53–56 This passage was composed anew for this text or text no. 14.
vi 57–68 Cf. text no. 1 lines 82–84 and text no. 2 lines 59-61, which served as the model for these lines.

58) *ša i-⌜na⌝ [li-šá-a-ni* KUR MAR.TU.KI]
59) É *ḫi-⌜la⌝-[a-ni i-šá-as-su-šú a-na mul-ta-ʾu-ti]*
60) *be-lu-ti-⌜ia⌝ [ú-še-pi-šá qé-reb-ši-in]*
61) 12 UR.MAḪ.[MEŠ URUDU *nam-ri zi-i-me]*
62) *da-aḫ-⌜ru⌝-[ti pe-tan bir-ki šu-ta-tu-ti]*
63) *ša ina ši-pir* ᵈ*[nin-á-gal nak-liš pat-qu-ma]*
64) *ma-lu-ú ⌜nam⌝-[ri-ir]-⌜ri⌝ [ù* 2 GIŠ.*tim-me]*
65) *šu-ta-ḫu-ti ⌜pi⌝-[ti-iq* ZABAR *šu-bu]-⌜ʾu⌝*
66) *a-di* 4 GIŠ.*tim-[me* GIŠ.EREN] ⌜GAL.MEŠ⌝
67) UGU *pirig-gal-⌜le⌝-[e ú]-⌜kin-ma⌝*
68) *dáp-pi ku-[lul* KÁ.MEŠ*-ši-in] ⌜e-mid⌝*

69) [10 MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA*-a-ti pi-ti-iq ú-ru-de]-⌜e nam*[?]*-ri*[?]⌝
70) *za-ḫa-⌜lu⌝-[ú eb-bu ú-šal]-⌜biš-ma⌝*
71) *ù* 10 ÁB.ZA.⌜ZA⌝*-[a-ti* NA_4*]*.⌜GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL⌝
72) 12 ÁB.ZA.ZA*-a-[ti pi-ti-iq]* ⌜GU.AN.NA⌝
73) 2 GIŠ.*tim-me* GIŠ.ESI ⌜*ṣi*⌝*-[ru-ti ša iḫ-zu-šú-nu pa-šal-lum]*
74) *ù* GIŠ.*tim-me* GIŠ.[EREN GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN GIŠ.*dup-ra-ni]*
75) *iḫ-ze-et ⌜eš⌝-[má-re-e ù* ZABAR]
76) *ṣe-ru-uš-⌜šin⌝ [ul-ziz-ma]*
77) *ša* É.GAL.MEŠ *be-lu-[ti-ia e-mid* GIŠ.GAN.DU_7.MEŠ*-ši-in]*
78) *ù* 12 UDU.MEŠ *šad-⌜di⌝ [*ᵈLAMMA *pi-ti-iq ú-ru-de-e nam-ri]*
79) *[ša] ⌜gat⌝-tu [šur-ru-ḫu šuk-lu-lu mi-na-a-ti]*

Col. vii

1) 2 UDU.MEŠ *šad-[di* ᵈLAMMA NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL]
2) 1 UŠ ⌜12⌝ UDU.MEŠ *šad-⌜di⌝ [*ᵈLAMMA *ù* ÁB.ZA.ZA*-a-te]*
3) NA_4*.pi-i-li pe-ṣe-[e]* ⌜SI.GAR *a-ṣe-e*⌝
4) *ù né-re-bi ⌜as⌝-meš [ú-šá-aṣ-bit]*
5) NA_4.KUN_4.MEŠ NA_4.DÚR.MI.NA.BÀN.DA [NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL]
6) *ù* KUN_4.MEŠ ⌜NA_4⌝*.pi-i-⌜li⌝* [GAL.MEŠ]
7) *da-ád-me na-ki-ri ki-šit-⌜ti⌝* [ŠU.II]*-⌜ia⌝*
8) *qé-reb-ši-in es-si-ḫa a-sur-ru-ši-in*
9) *ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra a-na tab-ra-a-ti ú-šá-lik*
10) GIŠ.$KIRI_6$.MAḪ*-ḫu tam-šil* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim*
11) *ša gi-mir* ŠIM.ḪI.A GURUN *ṣip-pa-a-ti*
12) GIŠ.MEŠ *tuk-lat* KUR*-i ù* KUR.*kal-di*

replica of a Hittite palace], which [is called] *bīt-ḫilā*[*ni*] in [the language of the land Amurru, constructed inside them].

vi 61–68) Twelve [striding] lions [of shining copper] (and) *fierce* [demeanor, (which were) standing opposite one another], which [were skillfully cast] through the craftsmanship of the god [Ninagal, and] which were filled with rad[iance] — upon (those) lion colos[si I] installed [two] identical [columns that were] c[ast fro]m [bronze], together with four large [cedar] colu[mns], and I positioned cross-beams (upon them) as a cor[nice for their gates].

vi 69–77) [I cover]ed [ten sphinxes of cast] bright [*urudû*-coppe]r with [shining] *zaḫalû*-silv[er] and (over them), over ten sphin[xes of ala]baster, (and) over twelve sphin[xes of cast] ...-metal [I erected] two mag[nificent] ebony columns, [whose inlays are *pašallu*-gold], and columns of [cedar, cypress, (and) *daprānu*-juniper] (vi 75) with *eš*[*marû*-silver and bronze] inlays, [and I positioned the architraves of my] lord[ly] palatial halls (on those columns).

vi 78–vii 4) Moreover, [I made] twelve mountain sheep [colossi of cast bright *urudû*-copper, which are splendid] in form (and) [perfect in shape], (vii 1) two moun[tain] sheep [colossi of alabaster], (and) seventy-two mountain sheep [colossi and sphinxes of] whit[e] limestone suitable for holding the door bolt(s) for leaving and entering.

vii 5–9) I engraved on slabs of breccia (and) [alabaster], and on [large] limestone slabs (images of) the enemy settlements that [I] had conquered. I surrounded their (the palace rooms') lower courses (with them and) made (them) an object of wonder.

vii 10–13) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, which has all kinds of aromatic plants (and) fruit trees, trees that

vi 61–63 Text no. 1 line 83 and text no. 2 line 60 have 8 UR.MAḪ.MEŠ *pe-tan bir-ki šu-ta-tu-ti ša i-na* ŠÁR ŠÁR ŠÁR GÉŠ.U GUN URUDU *nam-ru pi-ti-iq* ᵈ*nin-á-gal šu-pu-šu* "eight striding lions, standing opposite one another, which were made from 11,400 talents of shining copper, cast by the god Ninagal."

vi 65 Between *šu-ta-ḫu-ti* "identical" and *pi-ti-iq* "cast," text no. 1 line 84 and text no. 2 line 61 add *ša* ŠÁR GÉŠ.U GÉŠ.U GÉŠ.U GÉŠ.U GUN "from 6,000 talents."

vi 66 4 "four": The number is 2 "two" in text no. 1 line 84 and text no. 2 line 61.

vi 69–vii 4 Cf. text no. 1 line 85 and text no. 2 line 62.

vi 72 ⌜GU.AN.NA⌝ "...": Possibly a logographic writing for *ešmarû*, as suggested by W. von Soden (AHw p. 257) and the CAD (E p. 367). B. Meissner and P. Rost (BiS p. 36) suggest that GU.AN.NA is a composite of copper and tin, while A. Heidel (Sumer 9 [1953] p. 185) thinks that it could be decorative cord or thread made of tin.

vii 3 ⌜SI.GAR⌝ "door bolt(s)": See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 85.

vii 5–9 Cf. text no. 1 line 86 and text no. 2 line 63, which served as the model for these lines.

vii 12–13 Cf. text no. 16 vii 20, which adds *a-di iṣ-ṣu na-áš ši-pa-a-ti* "together with cotton trees" between GIŠ.MEŠ *tuk-lat* KUR*-i ù* KUR.*kal-di* "trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea" and *qé-reb-šú ḫur-ru-šú i-ta-a-šá az-qu-up* "I planted alongside it ... were *collected* inside it."

13) *qé-reb-šú ḫur-ru-šú i-ta-a-šá az-qu-up*

are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, *collected* inside it.

14) ⌜NINA⌝.KI *ša ul-tu* u_4*-mu pa-ni*
15) [9] ⌜LIM⌝ 3 ME *i-na* 1.⌜KÙŠ⌝ *šu-*⌜*bat*⌝ *li-me-ti-šu*
16) ⌜BÀD *ù* BÀD⌝.[ŠUL].⌜ḪI *ul*⌝ *ú-še-pi-šu*
17) [*a*]*-li-kut* [*maḫ*]-⌜*ri*⌝ *ma-al-ki*
18) ⌜12? LIM⌝ 5 ME 15 [*a-šar*] *ta-mir-ti li-mit* URU
19) ⌜*ṣe-er me-ši-iḫ-ti*⌝ *maḫ-ri-ti* ⌜*ú-rad-di-ma*⌝
20) ⌜21⌝ LIM ⌜8⌝ [ME 15 *i-na* AS_4.LUM GAL-*ti ú-kin mìn-da-tuš*]

vii 14–20) Nineveh, the site of whose circumference had been [9],300 [cubits] since former times (and) for which no [ea]rlier ruler had had an inner or outer [wa]ll built — I added *12*,515 (cubits) [in] the plain around the city to (its) previous measurement and (thus) [established its dimensions as] 21,8[15 large cubits].

21) ⌜*ša*⌝ BÀD-*šú* [GAL-*i bàd-ní-gal-bi-lú-kúr-ra-šú-šú*]
22) *du-ú-ru* [*ša nam-ri-ru-šú na-ki-ri saḫ-pu*]
23) *ṣe-er pi-i-*[*li tem-me-en-šú ad-di-ma* 40 SIG_4 *ú-kab-bir*]
24) *i-na* 1 ME 80 [*ti-ib-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šú*]
25) *a-na er-bet-*[*ti šá-a-ri* 14 KÁ.GAL.MEŠ]
26) ⌜*pa-nu*⌝ *ù* ⌜*ar*⌝-[*ka i-na ṣi-li ki-lal-la-an*]
27) *a-na e-*[*re-bi ù a-ṣe-e*]
28) *ú-šap-*[*ta-a qé-reb-šú*]

vii 21–24) [I laid the foundation of] its [great] wall, [Badnigalbilukurašušu], (which means) "Wall [Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies]," upon limesto[ne and made (it) 40 bricks thick. I raised its superstructure] 180 [courses of brick high].
vii 25–28) I had [fourteen gates] op[ened up in it] in fou[r directions], in front and be[hind, (and) along both sides], for en[tering and leaving].

29) ^{d}*šár-*⌜ur_4⌝ [*mu-šam-qit a-a-bi* LUGAL]
30) ⌜KÁ.GAL⌝ [*ḫa-an-du-ú-ri*]
31) ⌜*lil*⌝-[*bur* ÉNSI ^{d}*aš-šur*]

vii 29–31) "The God Šarur [Is the One Who Cuts Down the King's Enemy": (this is) the Ḫandūru] Gate. "May [the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure"]:

Lacuna

Lacuna

1′) ⌜KÁ⌝.[GAL ^{d}*šá-maš ša* KUR.*ga-a-gal*]
2′) ^{d}⌜*iš*⌝-[*tar za-nin-ki kur-bi*]
3′) ⌜KÁ⌝.[GAL ^{d}NIN.LÍL *ša* URU.*kar-*^{d}NIN.LÍL]
4′) *mu-*⌜*še*⌝-[*ṣa-at* UZU ÁZAG KÁ.GAL *muš-la-lum*]
5′) ⌜*du*⌝-[*muq áš-na-an ù* ^{d}*laḫar qé-reb-šá*]
6′) ⌜*ka*⌝-[*a-a-an* KÁ.GAL URU.*ši-ba-ni-bi*]
7′) [*ba-bi*]-⌜*lat ḫi-ṣib ḫur-šá-a-ni* KÁ.GAL KUR.*ḫa-láḫ-ḫi*⌝
8′) ŠU.NIGIN 8 KÁ.GAL.MEŠ ^{d}UTU.È
9′) *mé-eḫ-ret* IM.*šu-ú-ti ù* IM.*šá-de-e*
10′) *az-ku-ra ni-bit-si-in*

vii 1′–10′) (this is) [the Šamaš] G[ate, which (leads to) the land Gagal]. "O Iš[tar Bless the One Who Provides for You!": (this is) the Mullissu] Ga[te, which (leads to) the city Kār-Mullissi]. "The One [Who Exorcises the 'Flesh' of the *Asakku*-demon": (this is) the Step Gate]. (vii 5′) "The Choi[cest of Grain and Flocks] Are [Constantly Inside It": (this is) the gate (that leads to) the city Šibaniba. "The Bearer] of the Produce of the Mountains": (this is) the gate (that leads to) the land Ḫalaḫḫu. In total, eight gates (facing) the rising sun, towards the south and east, (vii 10′) (and) I gave them (these) names.

11′) ⌜^{d}⌝IŠKUR *šá-ri-ik* ḪÉ.GÁL *a-na* KUR
12′) ⌜KÁ.GAL⌝ ^{d}IŠKUR *ša am-ba-si*
13′) [^{d}]*èr-ra mu-šam-qit a-a-bi*
14′) ⌜KÁ.GAL⌝ ^{d}U.GUR *ša* URU.*tar-bi-ṣi*
15′) [^{d}IGI].⌜SIG_7⌝.SIG_7 *mu-šam-me-eḫ ṣip-pa-a-ti*
16′) ⌜KÁ.GAL GIŠ.$KIRI_6$.MEŠ⌝
17′) ŠU.NIGIN 3 KÁ.GAL.MEŠ *ša mé-eḫ-ret* IM.*il-ta-a-ni*
18′) ⌜*at*⌝-*ta-bi zi-kir-ši-in*
19′) ⌜^{d}*é*⌝-*a mu-še-šir kùp-pi-ia* KÁ.GAL *ma-as-qé-e*
20′) ⌜*mu-še-ri-bat*⌝ *mi-šìr-ti da-ád-me* KÁ.GAL *ka-a-ri*
21′) *pa-qí-da-at ka-la-ma* ⌜KÁ.GAL É⌝.GAL *ma-šar-ti*
22′) ŠU.NIGIN 3 KÁ.GAL.MEŠ ⌜*ša mé-eḫ*⌝-*ret* IM.*a-mur-ri*

vii 11′–18′) "The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land": (this is) the Adad Gate, which (leads to) the game preserve. "[The God] Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down Enemies": (this is) the Nergal Gate, which (leads to) the city Tarbiṣu. (vii 15′) "[The God Igi]sigsig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish": (this is) the Gate of the Gardens. In total, three gates (facing) towards the north (and) I gave them (these) names.

vii 19′–23′) "The God Ea Is the One Who Properly Directs (Water Flow into) My Cisterns": (this is) the Mašqû Gate. (vii 20′) "The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements": (this is) the Quay Gate. "The One Who Regulates Everything": (this is) the Armory

vii 14–24 Text no. 8 is the earliest known inscription in which this passage is preserved. It was incorporated into the building report of this text without changes. Note that text no. 8 does not list any gates.
vii 25–23′ A list of the gates of Nineveh appears for the first time in inscriptions written on prisms in either 698 or 697; see the commentary of text no. 14. Work on the walls must have still been in the early stages in 699 because text no. 8 records the construction of Nineveh's inner and outer walls, but not its gates. Cf. text no. 17 vii 70–viii 5 and text no. 18 vii 10′–40′ which state that there were fifteen and then eighteen gates. Text no. 16 vii 34–69 also lists fourteen gates. For details, see the chart on p. 18.
vii 15′ [^{d}IGI].⌜SIG_7⌝.SIG_7: Igisigsig (or Amurriqānu, "jaundice") is the chief gardener of Anu.

23′) ⌜*at-tas-qa-ra*⌝ *šu-me-šin*

24′) ⌜*šá šal-ḫi-i bàd*⌝*-níg-*⌜*érim*⌝*-ḫu-luḫ-ḫa*
25′) ⌜*mu-gal-lit za-ma*⌝*-a-ni uš-še-šú ap-*⌜*ti*⌝*-ma*
26′) ⌜45 NINDA *ú-šap*⌝*-pil-ma ú-šá-ak-šid* A.MEŠ *nag-bi*
27′) *qé-reb ma-a-me* ⌜*šap-la*⌝*-a-nu* ⌜NA_4 KUR-*i dan-ni*⌝ *ak-si-ma*
28′) *e-*⌜*la*⌝*-niš* ⌜*a-di pa*⌝*-ás-qí-šu* ⌜*i-na*⌝ NA_4*.pi-i-li* GAL.MEŠ
29′) ⌜*ú-nak-kil ši*⌝*-pir-*⌜*šu*⌝ *ša* NINA.KI URU *be-lu-ti-ia*
30′) ⌜*šu*⌝*-bat-su* [*uš*]*-*⌜*rab*⌝*-bi re-*⌜*ba*⌝*-*[*te-šu*]
31′) [*ú-šá*]*-*⌜*an-dil*⌝*-ma* [*ú-nam-mir* GIM u_4*-mi*]

vii 23′) ⌜*at-tas-qa-ra*⌝ *šu-me-šin*

vii 24′–29′a) I opened up a foundation pit for the outer wall, Badnigerimḫuluḫa, (which means) "Terrorizer of Enemies," then I dug down forty-five *nindanu* and made (it) reach the water table. I bound together strong mountain stone in the water below and above I expertly carried out its construction with large limestone (blocks) up to its copings.

vii 29′b–31′) [I en]larged the site of Nineveh, my capital city. [I broad]ened [its] squar[es, making (them) as bright as day].

Lacuna

Col. viii

Lacuna

1′) ⌜*a-na me-ti-iq*⌝ GIŠ.GIGIR *be-lu-ti-ia ú-še-*⌜*piš*⌝ [*ti-tur-ru*]

2′) [*i-te*]*-e* URU 1 GIŠ.$KIRI_6$.MAḪ*-ḫi* 1 GIŠ.$KIRI_6$ *am-*⌜*ba-si*⌝
3′) *kul-lat* ŠIM.ḪI.A KUR.*ḫat-ti mut-ḫum-mu ma-*⌜*ti*⌝*-*[*tan*]
4′) GIŠ.MEŠ *tuk-lat* KUR-*i ù* KUR.*kal-*[*di*]
5′) *ú-ḫar-ri-šá qé-reb-šú-*⌜*un*⌝
6′) *e-le-en* URU EDIN *šá-ab-bur-*⌜*ti*⌝
7′) GIŠ.GEŠTIN *gi-mir* GURUN *ù* GIŠ.*se-er-*⌜*di*⌝
8′) *az-qup ṣe-ru-uš-šá áš-šú šur-pu-šú ṣip-pa-a-*⌜*ti*⌝
9′) A.ŠÀ *ta-mir-ti e-le-en* ⌜URU⌝
10′) NIGIDAMIN.TA.ÀM *a-na* DUMU.MEŠ ⌜NINA⌝.KI *pil-*⌜*ku*⌝
11′) *ú-pal-lik-ma ú-šad-gi-la pa-nu-uš-šú-un*
12′) *a-*⌜*na miṭ-ra*⌝*-a-ti šum-mu-ḫi*
13′) ⌜*ul*⌝*-tu pa-a-ṭi* URU.*ki-si-ri* [*a-di*]
14′) [*ta*]*-*⌜*mir*⌝*-ti* NINA.KI KUR-*a ù bi-ru-tú*
15′) [*i-na ak*]*-*⌜*kul-la*⌝*-te* AN.BAR
16′) [*ú-šat-tir-ma ú-še-šir* ÍD]*.*⌜*ḫar*⌝*-ru*
17′) [1 1/2 KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru ul-tu qé-reb* ÍD.*ḫu*]*-*⌜*su*⌝*-ur*
18′) [*ma-a-me da-ru-ú-ti a-šar-šá ú-šar*]*-*⌜*da*⌝*-a*
19′) [...] *x*

viii 1′) I had [a bridge] constructed [opposite the Citadel Gate with paving stones of white limestone] for the passage of my lordly chariot.

viii 2′–8′a) [Besi]de the city, in a botanical garden (one) *pānu* (in size and) a garden (one) *pānu* (in size) for a game preserve, I gathered every type of aromatic tree of the land Ḫatti, fruit trees of all la[nds], (and) trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chal[dea]. Upstream of the city, on newly tilled soil, I planted vines, every type of fruit tree, and olive trees.

viii 8′b–19′) For the expansion of orchards, I subdivided the meadowland upstream of the city into plots of two *pānu* each for the citizens of Nineveh and I handed (them) over to them. To make (those) [plan]ted areas luxuriant, (viii 15′) [I cut with] iron [pi]cks [a] canal [straight through] mountain and *valley*, from the border of the city Kisiru [to the] plain of Nineveh. [I caused an inexhaustible supply of water to f]low [there for a distance of one and a half leagues from the Ḫu]sur [River ...] ...

Lacuna

1″) [...] *x* [...]
2″) [...] ŠAḪ.MEŠ GIŠ.[GI]
3″) [*a-lap qí-ši ú-rap*]*-pi-šu ta-*[*lit-tu*]
4″) GIŠ.MES.⌜MÁ.KAN⌝.[NA] ⌜GIŠ⌝.ŠUR.MÌN *tar-bit ṣip-pa-*⌜*a-ti*⌝

viii 1″–3″) [...] ... [...] Wi[ld] boars (and) [*roe deer*] ga[ve birth in abun]dance.

viii 4″–7″) I cut down *musukkan*[*nu*]-trees (and) cypress trees grown in the orchards (and) marsh reeds

vii 24′–29′a Text no. 8 is the earliest known inscription in which this passage is preserved. It was incorporated into the building report of this text without changes.
Lacuna before viii 1′ Based on the building report of text no. 16, the translation assumes that two now-missing lines immediately before viii 1′ contained *i-na mé-eḫ-ret* KÁ.GAL $MURUB_4$ URU *i-na a-gúr-ri* NA_4*.pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e* "opposite the Citadel Gate with paving stones of white limestone."
viii 2′–8′a This inscription is the earliest known text in which this passage appears. It is uncertain if it was composed anew for this text or text no. 14.
viii 8′b *áš-šú šur-pu-šú ṣip-pa-a-*⌜*ti*⌝ "for the expansion of orchards": This passage is not included in earlier inscriptions; see text no. 4 line 86.
viii 14′ *bi-ru-tú* "*valley*": The interpretation follows Frahm, Sanherib p. 45; see also Borger, JCS 18 (1964) pp. 54–55; and A. Westenholz, AfO 23 (1970) pp. 27–31.

5′′) GI AMBAR.MEŠ *ša qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me*
6′′) *ak-šiṭ-ma a-na šip-ri ḫi-šiḫ-ti*
7′′) É.GAL.MEŠ *be-lu-ti-ia lu e-pu-uš*
8′′) *ul-tu šip-ri* É.GAL-*ia ú-qat-tu-ú*
9′′) ^{d}*aš-šur* EN GAL DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* ^{d}IŠ.TAR.MEŠ
10′′) *a-ši-bu-ut* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ina qer-bi-šá*
11′′) *aq-re-ma* UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *taš-ri-iḫ-te*
12′′) *aq-qí-ma ú-šat-lim kàd-ra-a-a*
13′′) Ì.GIŠ GIŠ.*sér-di ù ḫi-bi-iš-ti*
14′′) *ša* GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ EDIN *šá-ab-bur-ti*
15′′) *ú-raq-qa-a a-na ru-uš-ti*
16′′) *i-na taš-ri-it* É.GAL *ša ba-ḫu-la-ti* KUR-*ia*
17′′) *ú-šá-áš-qa-a muḫ-ḫa-šú-un*
18′′) GEŠTIN *du-uš-šu-pu ṣur-ra-šú-un am-kir*
19′′) *a-na ár-kàt u$_4$-me ina* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* DUMU.MEŠ-*ia*
20′′) *ša* ^{d}*aš-šur a-na* RE.É.UM-*ut* KUR
21′′) *ù* UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šú*
22′′) *e-nu-ma* BÀD *šá-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma*
23′′) *en-na-ḫu an-ḫu-us-su lu-ud-diš*
24′′) MU.SAR-*e ši-ṭir šu-me-ia li-mur-ma*
25′′) Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU.SISKUR *liq-qí*
26′′) *a-na áš-ri-šú lu-ter*
27′′) ^{d}*aš-šur ù* ^{d}*iš-tar*
28′′) *ik-ri-bi-šú i-šem-mu-ú*

from the swamps and I used (them) in the work required (to build) my lordly palatial halls.

viii 8′′–18′′) After I had finished the work on my palace, (viii 10′′) I invited inside it the god Aššur, the great lord, (and) the gods and goddesses living in Assyria, then I made splendid offerings and presented my gift(s). (viii 15′′) I made fine oil from olives and aromatics from the orchards (planted) on newly tilled soil. At the inauguration of the palace, I had the heads of the subjects of my land drenched (and) I watered their insides with sweet wine.

viii 19′′–28′′) In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when that wall becomes old and dilapidated. May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, (viii 25′′) anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur and the goddess Ištar will (then) hear his prayers.

Date ex. 1

29A′′) [ITI.*x* (*x x*) UD.*x*]+8.KAM*
30A′′) [*li-mu* ^{md}AG-BÀD]-*ú-ṣur*
31A′′) [LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.*tam*]-*nun-na*

Date ex. 2

29B′′) [ITI.*x* (*x x*)] UD.23.KAM
30B′′) [*li-mu* ^{md}AG]-⌜BÀD⌝-*ú-ṣur*
31B′′) [LÚ.GAR.KUR] ⌜URU⌝.[*tam*]-⌜*nun*⌝-*na*

Date ex. 3

29C′′) ITI.BÁRA UD.27.KÁM *li-mu* ^{md}AG-BÀD-PAP
30C′′) ⌜LÚ⌝.GAR.KUR URU.*tam-nun-na*

Date ex. 4

29D′′) ITI.ŠU UD.⌜12⌝.KAM *li*⌝-[*mu* ^{md}AG-BÀD-PAP]
30D′′) [LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.*tam-nun-na*]

Date ex. 17

29E′′) (traces) [...]
30E′′) (traces) [...]

Date ex. 1

viii 29A′′–31A′′) [The month ..., the ...]-eighth [day, eponymy of Nabû-dūrī]-uṣur, [governor of the city Tam]nunna (697).

Date ex. 2

viii 29B′′–31B′′) [The month ...], the twenty-third day, [eponymy of Nabû]-dūrī-uṣur, [governor of] the city [Tam]nunna (697).

Date ex. 3

viii 29C′′–30C′′) Nisannu (I), the twenty-seventh day, eponymy of Nabû-dūrī-uṣur, governor of the city Tamnunna (697).

Date ex. 4

viii 29D′′–30D′′) Du'ūzu (IV), the twelfth day, epo[nymy of Nabû-dūrī-uṣur, governor of the city Tamnunna] (697).

Date ex. 17

viii 29E′′–30E′′) ... [...] ... [...].

viii 7′′ Cf. text no. 16 viii 50–51, which adds *iṣ-ṣu na-áš ši-pa-a-ti ib-qu-mu im-ḫa-ṣu ṣu-ba-ti-iš* "they picked cotton and wove it into clothing" after *e-pu-uš* "I used." The inclusion or exclusion of this passage has been used to determine whether a prism fragment belongs to this text or text no. 16.
viii 8′′–18′′ Cf. text no. 1 lines 91–92, text no. 2 lines 68–69, and text no. 8 line 8′, all of which are earlier versions of this passage.
viii 19′′ DUMU.MEŠ-*ia* "my descendants": Ex. 1 has AD.MEŠ-*ia* "my ancestors." According to M. Worthington (Textual Criticism p. 108), this is one of several polar errors in the inscriptions of Sennacherib.

16

Two fragmentarily preserved octagonal clay prisms and numerous prism fragments from Nineveh, Aššur, and Kalḫu are inscribed with a text describing Sennacherib's first five campaigns, the formation of a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers, the large-scale renovations of the "Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace), the construction of Badnigalbilukurašušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa (Nineveh's inner and outer walls), and many other public works at Nineveh. Apart from the account of the fifth campaign (to Mount Nipur and against Maniye, king of the city Ukku) and some variation in the building report, this inscription is a near duplicate of text no. 15. With regard to the fifth campaign, Sennacherib had his scribes describe in his *res gestae* the extremely rugged mountain terrain that he and his army had to traverse; he records that in the most difficult places he had to clamber forward on his own two feet, sit down when his legs got tired, and drink cold water to quench his thirst. The Judi Dagh Inscription (to be edited in RINAP 3/2) is proof that Sennacherib campaigned in the region and, furthermore, that he had an inscription carved on rock faces to commemorate his hard-earned victory over the insubmissive inhabitants of the Mount Nipur region (Judi Dagh, in southern Turkey); this inscribing of the rock face at Judi Dagh, however, is not recorded in accounts of the king's fifth campaign. Upon his return to Nineveh, Sennacherib had his sculptors carve on his palace walls a relief depicting the narrow mountain passes through which his army marched and the difficult, steep terrain around the city Ukku. Two exemplars of this inscription preserve a date: one was inscribed in the eponymy of Šulmu-Bēl, governor of the city Talmusu (696), and the other in that of Aššur-bēlu-uṣur, governor of the city Šaḫuppa (695). This text is sometimes referred to as "Cylinder D" in older publications.

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	BM 127837 + BM 127969 + BM 128001 + BM 128010 + BM 128090 + BM 128219 + BM 128223 + BM 128225 + BM 128280 + BM 128290 + BM 128295 + BM 128314 + BM 128316 + BM 128318 + BM 128411 + BM 138188	1929-10-12,493 + 1929-10-12,625 + 1929-10-12,657 + 1929-10-12,666 + 1929-10-12,746 + 1932-12-10,476 + 1932-12-10,480 + 1932-12-10,482 + 1932-12-10,537 + 1932-12-10,547 + 1932-12-10,552 + 1932-12-10,571 + 1932-12-10,573 + 1932-12-10,575 + 1932-12-10,668 + 1932-12-12,915	Nineveh, Area SH	Cols. 6.5 wide; 36 high	i 17–57, 65–84, ii 30–56, 59–iii 1, 15–22, 32–v 30, 41–vi 46, 56–vii 47, 60–85, viii 4–73, date	c

2	BM 103214 + BM 103216 + BM 103217 + BM 103219 + BM 103220 + 1913-4-16,160a	1910-10-8,142 + 1910-10-8,144 + 1910-10-8,145 + 1910-10-8,147 + 1910-10-8,148 + 1913-4-16,160a	Purchased from I. Géjou	Cols. 6.5 wide; 26.2 high	i 51–ii 2, 26–iii 6, 33–iv 6, 39–46, 74–v 9, 29–46, 57–vi 7, 26–vii 3, 27–viii 4, 33–49, 63–73, date	c
3	K 1666	R 105	Acquired by C.J. Rich in Iraq	Cols. 6.5 wide; 9 high	ii 79–iii 5, 63–77, iv 65–84	c
4	Rm 37	—	Probably Nineveh	—	iv 31–42, v 25–40	c
5	K 1675	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 5.8 wide; 9.5 high	v 6–24, vi 3–29, 89–vii 19	c
6	Vatican (unnumbered)	—	Gift to Pope Gregory XVI; probably from Mosul	—	v 24–32, vi 23–35	n
7	—	Bu 89-4-26,41	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 2 and 2.5 wide; 3.5 high	v 26–32, vi 23–28	c
8	Rm 2,91	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 5 wide; 4.8 high	v 28–40, vi 25–43	c
9	BM 134510	1932-12-12,505	Nineveh	Cols. 3.5 wide; 3.8 high	v 29–31, vi 21–28	c
10	BM 127929	1929-10-12,585	Nineveh, Area SH	Cols. 4 and 3.5 wide; 6 high	v 42–48, vi 34–48	c

CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	BM 121022 + BM 127953	1929-10-12,18 + 1929-10-12,609	Nineveh	Cols. 4.5 wide; 6.5 high	i 1–21, 83–ii 15, 78–iii 14, viii 14–23	c
2*	BM 121019 (+) A 16929	1929-10-12,15	Nineveh	BM 121019: Cols. 6.5 wide; 9 high; A 16929: 9.8 high	i 1–20, 83–ii 19, iii 9–13	c
3*	Sm 2083	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 5 and 2.5 wide; 7.7 high	i 1–21, ii 6–23	c
4*	Rm 1003	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 3.4 and 2.7 wide; 3.8 high	i 1–10, ii 2–5	c
5*	A 16921	—	Probably Nineveh	6.6×10.3	i 2–30, viii 7–24	c
6*	BM 123427	1932-12-10,370	Nineveh, Ištar Temple, Square K	Cols. 4.2 and 1 wide; 6.2 high	i 5–18, 71–78	c
7*	BM 134452	1932-12-12,447	Nineveh	Cols. 5.5 wide; 8 high	i 7–26, vii 8–14, viii 4–23	c
8*	Private Possession (New York, Mrs. L.H. Seelye)	—	—	Cols. 2 and 4.5 wide; 10 high	i 26–32, viii 18–32	p
9*	BM 128271	1932-12-10,528	Nineveh	Cols. 2.7 and 3.2 wide; 6.8 high	i 37–59, ii 37–54	c
10*	Böhl Archive no. 3239	—	Purchased from a dealer in Mosul	—	i 55–72, vi 60–71?	n
11*	—	81-7-27,9	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 2.5 and 3.3 wide; 8 high	i 60–ii 2, 54–75	c
12*	Rm 2,56	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 6.2 wide; 5 high	ii 3–10, iii 10–20, iv 15–20	c

13*	BM 122620 (+) A 8153 + A 16919	1930-5-8,9	Nineveh	BM 122620: Cols. 1.5 and 2 wide; 3 high; A 8153+: 6.2×8.9	ii 4–15, iii 7–27, 74–iv 18	c
14*	IM —	ND 5414	Near Tawfiqiyah, in outer town	7×7	ii 20–29, iii 13–27	c
15*	K 1651	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 2.5 and 3 wide; 5 high	ii 34–46, iii 40–48	c
16*	BM 121028	1929-10-12,24	Nineveh	Cols. 2.8 and 3.5 wide; 3.5 high	ii 40–47, iii 43–51	c
17*	BM 127950	1929-10-12,606	Nineveh	Cols. 4 and 2.5 wide; 5 high	iii 19–33, iv 16–26	c
18*	BM 134461	1932-12-12,456	Nineveh	Cols. 1 and 2 wide; 2.5 high	iii 24?–27?, iv 21–27	c
19*	BM 127919	1929-10-12,575	Nineveh	Cols. 2.2 and 5 wide; 6 high	vi 19–27, 86–vii 10	c
20*	BM 134603	1932-12-12,598	Nineveh	Cols. 0.8 and 2.4 wide; 2.6 high	vi 88–vii 5	c
21*	Rm 39	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 3 and 5.5 wide; 7 high	vii 1–15, viii 2–18	c
22*	—	Bu 89-4-26,142	Probably Nineveh	5.4 wide; 5.3 high	vii 35–46	c
23*	VAT 9621	Ass 19923	Aššur, eA7II, in the altar room of the Nabû temple	3.1×3.2	viii 2–10	c
24*	BM 128327	1932-12-10,584	Nineveh	Cols. 1.2 and 2.6 wide; 3.8 high	i 48–56, viii 55–60	c
25*	BM 99080	Ki 1904-10-9,109	Nineveh	Cols. 4.5 and 6 wide; 5 high	i 83–ii 7, iii 4–13	c
26*	A 16920	—	Probably Nineveh	6.6×10.3	iii 1–14, iv 4–19, v 10–18	c
27*	IM —	ND 5416	Kalḫu, Nabû Temple NT 1	8×3.5×1.6	vii 18–33	n
28*	VA 8437	Ass 6694 (Ass ph 875)	Aššur, eD6V	3.9×5.9	i 49–55	c
29*	VA 8414	Ass 6673 (Ass ph 875)	Aššur, eD6V west	Cols. 5.6 and 1.9 wide; 10.5 high	i 62–ii 5, 62–iii 7	c
30*	VA 8442	Ass 15211 (Ass ph 4335)	Aššur, iA11I	Cols. 2.5 and 5.2 wide; 7.3 high	iii 62–73, iv 60–77	c
31*	VA Ass 4720	Ass 22079a (Ass ph S 6848)	Aššur, eB6IV	Cols. 7.1 wide; 11.1 high	iv 31–53	c
32*	A 2039 (Istanbul)	Ass 6724 (Ass ph 875)	Aššur, eB6IV	—	—	c

COMMENTARY

This inscription is very similar to text no. 15, but with more military narration and some variation in the building account. The two major features distinguishing this inscription from the previous text are: (1) the military narration ends with a report of Sennacherib's fifth campaign; and (2) the passage recording the depositing of inscriptions in the foundation of the citadel terrace and the raising of that terrace by 190 courses of brick is omitted. There are a few other variants in the building report and these are noted in the on-page notes.

The evidence for considering exs. 3 and 10 as certain exemplars of this inscription is very limited. Although ex. 3 does not preserve text beyond the

fifth campaign, it is fairly certain that K 1666 is an exemplar of this text, and not of text no. 17, as the line and column arrangement follow ex. 2 very closely; for this opinion, see also Reade, JCS 27 (1975) p. 192 and Frahm, Sanherib p. 69 (ex. c). The attribution of ex. 10 is based solely on the fact that it follows exs. 1 and 2 by having *i-na* 1 ME 90 *ti-ip-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šu* ("I raised its superstructure 190 courses of brick") in vi 38; cf. text no. 15 vi 19, which has *am-šu-uḫ me-ši-iḫ-ta* "I measured (its) dimensions." This is not, however, substantial proof that BM 127929 (ex. 10) preserves a copy of this inscription, rather than that of the previous text, especially since ex. 8 follows text no. 15 in this same passage. Following E. Frahm, ex. 10 is arbitrarily included here as if it were a certain exemplar.

Numerous other prism fragments could be duplicates of this text, but due to their poor state of preservation their attribution cannot be determined with certainty. Fragments that could be duplicates of text no. 15 or this text are edited as exs. 1*–23*, 28*–29*, and 31*–32*. Pieces that could be exemplars of text no. 15, this inscription, or text no. 17 are edited as exs. 24*–25*. Fragments that could be inscribed with copies of this inscription or text no. 17 are edited as exs. 26*–27*. In the case of exs. 1*–25*, they are edited here, rather than with text no. 15, since this inscription is generally the better preserved of the two texts. Moreover, exs. 28*–32* are all fragments of octagonal clay prisms from Aššur. Because the building report is not preserved on these pieces, it is not possible to determine with certainty if VA 8437, VA 8414, VA 8442, VA Ass 4720, and A 2039 (Istanbul) are exemplars of one of the known Nineveh inscriptions or an edition whose building report describes building activities at Aššur (VA 5061 + VA 5632a + VA 5632b + VA 7512 +? A 61 [unpublished] or VA 5634 [Frahm, KAL 3 no. 40]). Since the Aššur editions are badly damaged, these five fragments are tentatively edited here. Exs. 28*–29* and 31*–32* could be duplicates of text no. 15, this inscription, VA 5061+, or VA 5634. Ex. 30* could be a duplicate of this text, VA 5061+, or VA 5634. O. Pedersén (Katalog p. 155) suggests Ass 6643 (VA 8436; text no. 15 ex. 14) belongs to the same object as Ass 6673 (VA 8414; ex. 29*) and Ass 6724 (Istanbul A 2039; ex. 32*). This may be so, but it is best to edit them individually as the joins are not certain. VA 5061+ and VA 5634 will be edited in Part 2, with the inscriptions from Aššur. Ex. 32* is not included in the score as the piece was not examined; although a small portion of one column is visible in Ass ph 875, we are unable to positively identify the contents of ex. 32* col. i′.

Should exs. 1*–23*, 28*–29*, and 31* be exemplars of text no. 15, then those fragments would preserve the following lines of that inscription: ex. 1* is inscribed with i 1–21, ii 2–[...], iii 2–19, and viii 10′–19′; ex. 2* has i 1–20, ii 2–4′, and iii 12–17; ex. 3* preserves i 1–21 and ii [...]–7′; ex. 4* has i 1–9 and ii 5–10 written on it; ex. 5* is inscribed with i 2–[...] and viii 4′–[...]; ex. 6* has i 4–17 and i 32′–38′; ex. 7* preserves i 6–[...], vii 2–7, and viii 2′–[20′]; ex. 8* has viii 15′–2′′ written on it; ex. 9* is inscribed with i [...]–21′ and ii 3′′–18′′; ex. 10* has i 17′–39′ and vi 48–59; ex. 11* preserves i 21′–ii 6 and ii 18′′–37′′; ex. 12* has ii 7–[...], iii 12–[...], and iv 23–[...] written on it; ex. 13* is inscribed with ii 8–[...], iii 10–[20], and iv 6–[26]; ex. 14* has ii 4′–[...] and iii 16–[...]; ex. 15* preserves ii [...]–10′′ and iii 8′–16′; ex. 16* has ii 5′′–11′′ and iii 10′–19′ written on it; ex. 17* is inscribed with iv 24–3′; ex. 18* has iv [...]–4′; ex. 19* preserves vi 3–11 and 72–vii 4; ex. 20* has vi 73–78 written on it; ex. 21* is inscribed with vi 75–vii 8 and viii 1′–15′; ex. 22* has vii 26–2′; ex. 23* preserves viii 1′–7′; ex. 28* has i 12′–17′ written on it; ex. 29* is inscribed with i 24′–ii 10 and ii 26′′–iii 10; and ex. 31* has iv 8′–27′.

With regard to ex. 6*, Frahm (Sanherib p. 70) tentatively suggests that this fragment is more likely a duplicate of text no. 15 based on the line divisions. Ex. 10* is known from F.M.Th. Böhl's transliteration in the "Böhl Archive" in Leiden, which he presumably copied in 1932 in the Iraq Museum and which he reports was purchased from a dealer in Mosul. Böhl's transliteration was unavailable for study and thus its entry in the score appears as ellipses (...) in the relevant passages. According to Frahm (Sanherib p. 71 ex. VV) col. "i" corresponds to text no. 22 i 40–52 (= i 55–72 of this text) and col. "vi" duplicates his Baub. lines 100–112 (= vi 60–71/72 of this text). J. Reade suggests that BM 134452 (ex. 7*) and BM 134461 (ex. 18*) could belong to the same prism; this is based on the script and the color of the clay. Frahm (Sanherib p. 70) suggests that BM 128271 (ex. 9*) and BM 127950 (ex. 17*) could belong to the same prism since they both have a similar black layer and other similar physical characteristics. This may be so, but it is best to edit them individually here.

Should exs. 24*–25* be exemplars of text no. 15 or text no. 17, then those fragments would preserve the following lines of those inscriptions: ex. 24* preserves text no. 15 i 11′–18′and viii 11′′–16′′ or text no. 17 i 40–47 and viii 69–74; and ex. 25* has text no. 15 ii 2–[...] and iii 7–16 or text no. 17 i 71–79 and ii 62–71 written on it.

Should exs. 26*–27* be exemplars of text no. 17, then those two fragments would preserve the following lines of that inscription: ex. 26* preserves text no. 17 ii 60–74, iii 48–63, and iv 38–47; and ex. 27* is inscribed with text no. 17 vii 54–69. Frahm (Sanherib p. 89) suggests that A 16920 (ex. 26*) and ND 5416

(ex. 27*) are probably exemplars of this inscription, rather than copies of text no. 17.

With regard to provenance, most of the exemplars come from Nineveh, but a few were discovered at Aššur (exs. 23* and 28*–32*) and Kalḫu (ex. 27*). The fragments comprising ex. 2 were purchased from the Parisian antiquities dealer I. Géjou; Frahm (Sanherib pp. 40 and 42) proposes that those pieces may have originated from Nineveh Area SH. Ex. 3 was acquired by C.J. Rich and purchased by the British Museum from Mrs. Rich in 1825; for details on the R[ich] collection (also 1825-5-3), see Stolper, Studies Larsen pp. 516–517 and Reade in Searight, Assyrian Stone Vessels p. 108. Ex. 6 was brought to Rome from Mosul by Maximilian Ryllo (1802–1848), a Jesuit Father, and presented to Pope Gregory XVI in 1838. For details on this gift from Ryllo's "expeditio Babylonica," see Peiser, OLZ 7 (1904) cols. 36–46 and Budge, By Nile and Tigris 2 pp. 26–27.

One might prefer to use BM 103214+ (ex. 2) as exemplar 1 and the master text because it is the earliest in date, but BM 127837+ (ex. 1) is used instead since it is better preserved. The line numbering follows ex. 1 when possible, but the master line is a conflated text because of the fragmentary nature of ex. 1 (as well as of the other certain exemplars). The line count of this edition is based on the following exemplars: Ex. 1 in i 17–57, 65–84, ii 30–56, 59–79, iii 15–22, 32–v 30, 41–vi 27, 56–vii 47, 60–85, and viii 4–73; ex. 2 in i 58–64, ii 1–2, 57–58, iii 1–6, v 31–40, vi 28–55, vii 48–59, and viii 1–3; ex. 1* in i 1–16, ii 3–14, and iii 7–13; ex. 2* in ii 15–18; ex. 3* in ii 19–20; ex. 13* in iii 23–28; ex. 14* in ii 21–29; and ex. 26* in iii 14. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. Restorations are based on text no. 15, text no. 17, and text no. 22; preference is generally given to text no. 15.

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TEXT

Col. i

1) [md]EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*
2) ⌜LUGAL⌝ GAL-⌜*ú*⌝ LUGAL *dan-nu*
3) ⌜LUGAL⌝ *kiš-šá-ti* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI

i 1–14) Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), (i 5) capable shepherd, favorite of the great

i 1–iv 69 These lines generally duplicate text no. 15 i 1–v 9 apart from orthographic variants, for which see the on-page notes.

4) ⌜LUGAL⌝ *kib-rat* LÍMMU-*tim*
5) ⌜RE⌝.É.UM *it-pe-šu*
6) ⌜*mi*⌝-*gir* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
7) [*na*]-⌜*ṣir*⌝ *kit-ti ra-ʾi-im mi-šá-ri*
8) ⌜*e*⌝-*piš ú-sa-a-ti*
9) *a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i*
10) *sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti*
11) *eṭ-lum gít-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du*
12) *a-šá-red kal mal-ki*
13) *rap-pu la-ʾi-iṭ la ma-gi-ri*
14) *mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni*
15) ^{d}*aš-šur* KUR-*ú* GAL-*ú* LUGAL-*ut la šá-na-an*
16) *ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma*
17) UGU *gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki*
18) *ú-šar-ba-a* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia*
19) *ul-tu* A.AB.BA *e-le-ni-ti*
20) *ša šùl-mu* ^{d}UTU-*ši a-di tam-tim*
21) *šap-li-ti ša* ⌜*ṣi*⌝-*it* ^{d}UTU-[*ši*]
22) *gim-ri ṣal-mat* SAG.DU *ú-šak*-[*niš še-pu-ú-a*]
23) *ù mal-ki šep-ṣu-ti e-du-*⌜*ru*⌝ [*ta-ḫa-zi*]
24) *da-ád-me-šu-un e-*⌜*zi*⌝-[*bu-ma*]
25) *ki-ma su-tin-ni ni-gi-*[*iṣ-ṣi*]
26) *e-diš ip-par-šú a-šar la* ⌜*ʾa*⌝-[*a-ri*]

gods, [guar]dian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (i 10) (and) strives after good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridle that controls the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning:

i 15–26) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises. He made all of the black-headed (people) from the Upper Sea (i 20) of the Setting Sun to the Lower Sea of the Rising Su[n] bow [down at my feet]. Thus did recalcitrant rulers come to fear [battle with me]. While they were ab[andoning] their settlements, (i 25) they flew away alone like bats (living) in crev[ices] to inac[cessible] place(s).

27) *i-na maḫ-re-e ger-*⌜*ri*⌝-[*ia*]
28) *ša* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-⌜IBILA⌝-[SUM.NA]
29) LUGAL KUR.*kár-*$^{d⌜}$*dun*⌝-[*ía-àš*]
30) *a-di* ERIM.ḪI.A ELAM.MA.⌜KI⌝ [*re-ṣi-šú*]
31) *i-na ta-mir-ti kiš*.KI [*áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú*]
32) *i-na* $MURUB_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri* [*šu-a-tu*]
33) *e-zib* KARAŠ-*su e-*[*diš ip-par-šid-ma*]
34) *na-piš-tuš e-ṭí-ir* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ⌜ANŠE⌝.[KUR.RA.MEŠ]
35) GIŠ.*ṣu-um-bi* ANŠE.[KUNGA.MEŠ]
36) *ša i-na qit-ru-ub ta-*[*ḫa-zi*]
37) *ú-maš-ši-ru ik-šu-da* ⌜ŠU⌝.II-⌜*a-a*⌝
38) *a-na* É.GAL-*šú ša qé-reb* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
39) *ḫa-diš e-ru-um-ma* ⌜*ap*⌝-*te-e-ma*
40) É *ni-ṣir-ti-*⌜*šú*⌝ KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR
41) *ú-nu-ut* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR NA_4 *a-qar-tu*
42) *mim-ma šum-šú* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA *la ni-bi*
43) [*ka-bit-tu*] GUN MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL-*šú*
44) ⌜LÚ⌝.[TIRUM].MEŠ LÚ.*man-za-az pa-ni*
45) LÚ.[NAR.MEŠ] MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ *si-ḫir-ti*
46) *um-ma-a-ni* ⌜*ma*⌝-*la ba-šu-ú*
47) *mut-tab-bi-lu-tú* É.GAL-*uš*
48) *ú-še-ṣa*-[*am-ma*] ⌜*šal*⌝-*la-tiš am-nu*
49) *i-na* ⌜*e*⌝-[*muq* ^{d}]⌜*aš-šur*⌝ EN-*ia*
50) 75 URU.MEŠ-⌜*šú*⌝ *dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni*
51) *ša* KUR.*kal-*⌜*di ù*⌝ 4 ME 20
52) URU.MEŠ-*ni* TUR.MEŠ [*ša*] *li-me-ti-šú-nu*
53) *al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-*⌜*la šal-la*⌝-*su-un*
54) LÚ.*úr-bi* ⌜LÚ⌝.*a-ra-mu* LÚ.*kal-du*
55) *ša qé-reb* ⌜UNUG.KI⌝ NIBRU.KI *kiš*.KI
56) URU.*ḫur*-[*sag-kalam*]-⌜*ma*⌝ GÚ.DU_8.A.KI ZIMBIR.KI

i 27–37) On [my] first campaign, [I brought about the defeat] of Marduk-apla-[iddina] (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Kardun[iaš] (Babylonia), (i 30) together with the troops of (the land) Elam, [his allies], in the plain of Kish. In the midst of [that] battle he abandoned his camp, [fled] a[lone, and] (thereby) saved his life. (i 35) I seized the chariots, ho[rses], wagons, (and) mu[les] that he had abandoned in the thick of ba[ttle].

i 38–48) I joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then (i 40) I opened his treasury and brought [out] gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, precious stones, all kinds of possessions (and) property without number, [a substantial] tribute, (together with) his palace women, c[ourtier]s, attendants, (i 45) male [singers], female singers, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, [and] I counted (them) as booty.

i 49–58) With the [strength of the god] Aššur, my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 75 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 420 small(er) settlements [in] their environs. I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans (i 55) who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Ḫur[sagkala]ma, Cutha, (and) Sippar, [together with the] guilty [cit]izens, and I counted (them) as booty.

57) [*a-di* DUMU.MEŠ] ⌜URU⌝ EN *ḫi-iṭ-ṭi*
58) ⌜*ú-še*⌝*-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*
59) [*i-na ta*]-⌜*a*⌝*-a-ar-ti-ia*
60) [LÚ.*tu-ʾu*]-⌜*mu*⌝*-na* LÚ.*ri-ḫi-ḫu*
61) [LÚ.*ia-daq*]*-qu* LÚ.*ú-bu-du*
62) [LÚ.*gib-re*]*-e* LÚ.*ma-*⌜*la*⌝*-ḫu*
63) [LÚ.*gu-ru*]*-mu* LÚ.*ú-bu-lu*
64) [LÚ.*da-mu*]-⌜*nu*⌝ LÚ.*gam-bu-lu*
65) [LÚ.*ḫi-in*]-⌜*da*⌝*-ru* LÚ.*ru-ʾu-ú-a*
66) LÚ.*pu-qu-du* LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-a-nu*
67) LÚ.*ḫa-ga-ra-nu* LÚ.*na-ba-tu*
68) LÚ.*li-iʾ-ta-a-ú* LÚ.*a-ra-mu*
69) *la kan-šu-ti mit-ḫa-riš ak-šud*^{ud}
70) 2 ME 8 LIM UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS
71) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ
72) ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A
73) *ša la ni-bi šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu*
74) *áš-lu-la a-na qé-reb* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
75) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia*
76) *ša* ^{md}AG-EN-MU.MEŠ
77) LÚ.*qí-pi* URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-ti*
78) KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni* GAL.MEŠ
79) ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A
80) *ta-mar-ta-šú ka-bit-tu am-ḫur*
81) *ba-ḫu-la-te* URU.*ḫi-rim-me* LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣi*
82) *i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit-ma*
83) *e-du ul e-zib pag-ri-šú-un*
84) *i-na ga-ši-ši a-lul-ma*

Col. ii

1) *si-ḫir-ti* URU *ú-šal-me*
2) *na-gu-ú šu-a-tú a-na eš-šu-ti aṣ-bat*
3) 1-*en* GU_4 10 UDU.MEŠ 10 ANŠE GIŠ.GEŠTIN 20 ANŠE ZÚ.LUM.MA
4) *re-še-te-šu a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
5) EN.MEŠ-*ia ú-kin dà-ri-šam*

i 59–74) [On] my [retu]rn march, I defeated all together the [Tuʾu]muna, Riḫiḫu, [Yadaq]qu, Ubudu, [Gibr]ê, Malaḫu, [Guru]mu, Ubulu, [Damu]nu, Gambulu, (i 65) [Ḫin]daru, Ruʾuʾa, Puqudu, Ḫamrānu, Ḫagarānu, Nabatu, (and) Liʾtaʾu, insubmissive Arameans. I carried off into Assyria a substantial booty (i 70) (consisting of) 208,000 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number.

i 75–80) In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audience gift from Nabû-bēl-šumāti, the official in charge of the city Ḫararatu: gold, silver, large *musukkannu*-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

i 81–ii 5) I put to the sword the population of the city Ḫirimmu, a dangerous enemy, and I did not spare a single one. I hung their corpses on poles and (ii 1) placed (them) around the city. I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

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6) *i-na* 2-*e ger-ri-ia* ^{d}*aš-šur be-lí*
7) *ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma a-na* KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i*
8) *ù* KUR LÚ.*ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a*
9) *ša ul-tu ul-la a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni*
10) AD.MEŠ-*ia la kit-nu-šu lu al-lik*
11) *qé-reb ḫur-šá-a-ni zaq-ru-ti* A.ŠÀ *nam-ra-ṣi*
12) *i-na* ANŠE.KUR.RA *ar-kab-ma* GIŠ.GIGIR GÌR.II-*ia*
13) *i-na ti-ik-ka-ti ú-šá-áš-ši*
14) *áš-ru šup-šu-qu i-na* GÌR.II-*ia ri-ma-niš at-tag-giš*
15) URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ* URU.*ḫa-ar-diš-pi* URU.É-[^{m}]⌜*ku*⌝-[*bat-ti*]
16) URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni dan-*⌜*nu*⌝-[*ti al-me* KUR-*ud*]
17) UN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ [ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ] ANŠE.MEŠ
18) ⌜GU_4⌝.MEŠ *ù* ⌜US_5⌝.[UDU.ḪI.A] *ul-tu* [*qer-bi-šú-un ú-še-ṣa-am-ma*]
19) *šal-la-*[*tiš am-nu ù* URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* TUR.MEŠ]

ii 6–14) On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and I marched to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians, who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, (ii 10) my ancestors. In the high mountains, difficult terrain, I rode on horseback and had my personal chariot carried on (men's) necks. In very rugged terrain I roamed about on foot like a wild bull.

ii 15–23) [I surrounded (and) conquered] the cities Bīt-Kilamzaḫ, Ḫardišpu, (and) Bīt-Ku[batti], their fortif[ied] walled cities. [I brought out] of [them] people, horses, [mules], donkeys, oxen, and she[ep and goats, and I counted] (them) as boo[ty. Moreover, I destroyed, devastated, (and) turned] into ruins [their small(er) settlements], (ii 20) which were [with]out num[ber. I burned with fire pavilions (and) tents], their [ab]odes, [and] reduced (them) [to ashes].

20) *ša* ⌜*ni*⌝-[*ba la i*]-⌜*šu-ú*⌝
21) [*ap-pul aq-qur ú-še-me*] ⌜*kar*⌝-*meš*
22) [É EDIN *kul-ta-ri mu*]-⌜*šá-bi-šú*⌝-*nu*
23) [*i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu-ma di-tal-liš ú*]-*še-me*
24) [*ú-ter-ma* URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ šu*]-*a*-⌜*tu*⌝
25) [*a-na* URU.*bir-tu-ti aṣ-bat* UGU *ša* u_4-*me*] ⌜*pa-ni*⌝
26) [BÀD.MEŠ-*šú ú-dan*]-⌜*nin-ma*⌝
27) [UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II]-⌜*ia*⌝ *i-na* ⌜ŠÀ *ú*⌝-*še-šib*
28) [UN.MEŠ KUR] ⌜LÚ⌝.*kaš-ši*-⌜*i*⌝
29) [*ù* KUR LÚ.*ia*]-*su-bi-gal-la*-⌜*a-a*⌝
30) [*ša la-pa-an*] ⌜GIŠ⌝.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ip-par-šid*-⌜*du*⌝
31) ⌜*ul-tu*⌝ *qé-reb* KUR-*i ú-še-ri-dam-ma*
32) *i-na* URU.*ḫar-diš-pi* URU.É-^{m}*ku-bat-ti*
33) *ú-šar-me i-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia*
34) LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ar-rap-ḫa am-nu-šú-nu-ti*
35) NA_4.NA.RÚ.A *ú-še-piš-ma li-i-tum*
36) *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II *ša* UGU-*šu-un*
37) *áš-tak-ka-nu ṣe-ru-uš-šú ú-šá-áš-ṭir-ma*
38) *i-na qer-bi* URU *ul-ziz pa-an ni-ri-ia*
39) *ú-ter-ma a-na* KUR.*el-li-pi*
40) *aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu el-la-mu-ú-a*
41) ^{m}*is-pa-ba-a-ra* LUGAL-*šu-un* URU.MEŠ-*šu*
42) *dan-nu-ti* É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú ú-maš-šir-ma*
43) *a-na ru-qé-e-ti in-na-bit*
44) *gim-ri* KUR-*šú* DAGAL-*tim* GIM $MURU_9$
45) *as-ḫu-up* URU.*mar-ú-biš-ti*
46) URU.*ak-ku-ud-du* URU.MEŠ-*ni* É LUGAL-*ti-šú*
47) *a-di* 34 URU.MEŠ-*ni* TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
48) *al-me* KUR-*ud ap-pul aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*
49) UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
50) ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ
51) GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *a-na la mi-nam*
52) *áš-lu-lam-ma a-di la ba-ši-i*
53) *ú-šá-lik-šu-ma ú-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-ir* KUR-*su*
54) URU.*ṣi-ṣi-ir-tu* URU.*ku-um-ma-aḫ-lum*
55) URU.MEŠ-*ni dan-nu-ti a-di* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
56) *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu* KUR.É-^{m}*ba-ar-ru-ú*
57) *na-gu-ú a-na gi-mir-ti-šú*
58) *ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*šú ab-tuq-ma*
59) UGU *mi-ṣir* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-rad-di*
60) URU.*el-en-za-áš a-na* URU LUGAL-*ú-ti*
61) *ù dan-na-at na-ge-e šu-a-tu*
62) *aṣ-bat-ma* MU-*šú maḫ-ra-a ú-nak-kir-ma*
63) URU.*kar*-^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*
64) *at-ta-bi ni-bit-su* UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR
65) *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia i-na lìb-bi ú-še-šib*
66) *i-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia*
67) LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ḫar-ḫar am-nu-ú-ma*
68) *ú-rap-piš ma-a-ti*
69) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia*
70) *ša* KUR.*ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ti*
71) *ša i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia*

ii 24–38a) [I made th]at [city Bīt-Kilamzaḫ a fortress again (and) I streng]thened [its walls more than be]fore, then I settled therein [the people of the lands that] I [had conquered]. I brought down from the mountains [the people of the land of] the Kassites [and the land of the Ya]subigallians (ii 30) [who] had fled [from] my weapons and I made (them) dwell in the cities Ḫardišpu (and) Bīt-Kubatti. I placed them under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Arrapḫa. (ii 35) I had a stele made, had all the victorious conquests that I achieved over them written on it, and I erected (it) in (that) city.

ii 38b–48) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and (ii 40) took the road to the land Ellipi. Before my arrival, Ispabāra, their king, abandoned his fortified cities (and) his treasury and fled far away. I overwhelmed all of his wide land like a fog. (ii 45) I surrounded, conquered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities Mar'ubištu (and) Akkuddu, cities of his royal house, together with thirty-four small(er) settlements in their environs.

ii 49–59) I carried off people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats without number, then I brought him (Ispabāra) to nought and made his land smaller. I detached from his land the cities Ṣi(ṣ)ṣirtu (and) Kummaḫlum, (ii 55) fortified cities, together with the small(er) settlements in their environs (and) the district of the land Bīt-Barrû in its entirety, and I added (this area) to the territory of Assyria.

ii 60–68) I took the city Elenzaš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and called it Kār-Sennacherib. (ii 65) I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I placed (it) under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Ḫarḫar, and (thus) enlarged my land.

ii 69–75) On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus)

72) *ma-am-man la iš-mu-ú zi-kir* KUR-*šú-un*
73) *man-da-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu am-ḫur*
74) *a-na ni-ri be-lu-ti-ia*
75) *ú-šak-ni-is-su-nu-ti*

I made them bow down to the yoke of my lordship.

76) *i-na šal-ši ger-ri-ia*
77) *a-na* KUR.*ḫa-at-ti lu al-lik*
78) ^{m}*lu-li-i* LUGAL URU.*ṣi-du-un-ni*
79) *pul-ḫi me-lam-me be-lu-ti-ia*

ii 76–iii 11) On my third campaign, I marched to the land Ḫatti. Fear of my lordly brilliance (iii 1) overwhelmed Lulî, the king of the city Sidon, and he fled afar into the midst of the sea and disappeared. The awesome terror of the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed the cities Great Sidon, Lesser Sidon, (iii 5) Bīt-Zitti, Ṣarepta, Maḫalliba, Ušû, Akzibu, (and) Acco, his fortified cities (and) fortresses, an area of pasture(s) and water-place(s), (iii 10) resources upon which he relied, and they bowed down at my feet.

Col. iii

1) *is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma a-na* ⌜*ru*⌝*-uq-qí*
2) MURUB$_4$ *tam-tim in-na-bit-ma* KUR-*šú e-mid*
3) URU.*ṣi-du-un-nu* GAL-*ú*
4) URU.*ṣi-du-un-nu ṣe-eḫ-ru*
5) URU.É-*zi-it-ti* URU.*ṣa-ri-ip-tú*
6) URU.*ma-ḫal-li-ba* URU.*ú-šu-ú*
7) URU.*ak-zi-bi* URU.*ak-ku-ú*
8) URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni*
9) *a-šar ri-i-ti ù maš-qí-ti*
10) É *tuk-la-te-šu ra-šub-bat* GIŠ.TUKUL ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia*

11) *is-ḫu-pu-šu-nu-ti-ma ik-nu-šu še-pu-ú-a*
12) ^{m}*tu-ba-a'-lu i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL-*ú-ti*
13) UGU-*šú-un ú-še-šib-ma* GUN *man-da-at-tu*
14) *be-lu-ti-ia šat-ti-šam la ba-aṭ-lu ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú*

iii 12–14) I placed Tu-Ba'lu on the royal throne over them and imposed upon him tribute (and) payment (in recognition) of my overlordship (to be delivered) yearly (and) without interruption.

15) *ša* ^{m}*mi-in-ḫi-im-mu* URU.*sam-si-mu-ru-na-a-a*
16) ^{m}*tu-ba-a'-lu* URU.*ṣi-du-un-na-a-a*
17) ^{m}*ab-di-li-i'-ti* URU.*a-ru-da-a-a*
18) ^{m}*ú-ru-mil-ki* URU.*gu-ub-la-a-a*
19) ^{m}*mi-ti-in-ti* URU.⌜*as*⌝*-du-da-a-a*
20) ^{m}*bu-du*-DINGIR KUR.É-⌜^{m}*am-ma*⌝*-na-a-a*
21) ^{m}*kam-mu-*⌜*su*⌝*-na-ad-bi* KUR.⌜*ma-'a*⌝*-ba-a-a*
22) ^{md}*a-a-*⌜*ram*⌝*-mu* KUR.*ú-*⌜*du*⌝*-um-ma-a-a*
23) LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* KUR MAR.TU.KI ⌜*ka*⌝*-li-šú-un*
24) IGI.SÁ-*e šad-lu-ti ta-*⌜*mar-ta*⌝*-šú-nu ka-bit-tu*
25) *a-di* 4-*šú* ⌜*a-na maḫ*⌝*-ri-ia* ⌜*iš*⌝*-šu-nim-ma*

iii 15–26a) As for Min(u)ḫimmu of the city Samsimuruna, Tu-Ba'lu of the city Sidon, Abdi-Li'ti of the city Arwad, Ūru-Milki of the city Byblos, Mitinti of the city Ashdod, (iii 20) Būdi-il of the land Bīt-Ammon, Kammūsu-nadbi of the land Moab, Aya-rāmu of the land Edom, all of the kings of the land Amurru, they brought extensive gifts, *four times* (the normal amount), as their substantial audience gift before me and kissed my feet.

26) ⌜*iš*⌝*-ši-*⌜*qu* GÌR.II⌝*-ia ù* ^{m}*ṣi-id-qa-a*
27) [LUGAL URU.*is-qa*]-⌜*al*⌝*-lu-na* ⌜*ša la ik*⌝*-nu-šú*
28) [*a-na ni-ri-ia* DINGIR].⌜MEŠ É AD-*šú šá-a-šu*⌝
29) [DAM-*su* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú* DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* NUMUN É AD-*šú*]
30) ⌜*as-su-ḫa-am-ma*⌝ [*a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-raš-šu*]

iii 26b–30) Moreover, (as for) Ṣidqâ, [the king of the city As]hkelon who had not bowed down [to my yoke], I forcibly removed [the god]s of his father's house, himself, [his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, (and other) offspring of his father's house (iii 30) and took him to Assyria].

31) ⌜^{m}LUGAL-*lu-dà-a-ri*⌝ [DUMU ^{m}*ru-kib-ti* LUGAL-*šú-nu*]
32) *maḫ-*⌜*ru*⌝*-*[*ú* UGU UN.MEŠ URU.*is-qa-al-lu-na*]
33) *áš-kun-ma na-*[*dan*] ⌜GUN⌝ [*kàd*]-⌜*re-e*⌝ *be-*⌜*lu-ti*⌝*-*[*ia*]
34) *e-mid-su-ma i-šá-a-ṭa ab-šá-*[*a-ni*]

iii 31–34) I set Šarru-lū-dāri, [son of Rūkibtu, their] forme[r king, over the people of the city Ashkelon] and imposed upon him the pay[ment of] tribute (and) [gif]ts (in recognition) of [my] overlordship so that he (now) pulls [my] yo[ke].

35) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-*⌜*ri*⌝*-*[*ia*] URU.É-*da-gan-na*
36) URU.*ia-ap-pu-ú* URU.*ba-na-a-a-bar-qa*
37) URU.*a-zu-ru* URU.MEŠ-*ni ša* ^{m}*ṣi-id-qa-a*
38) *ša a-na* GÌR.II-*ia ár-ḫiš la* ⌜*ik*⌝*-nu-šu*
39) *al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*

iii 35–39) In the course of [my] campaign, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Bīt-Daganna, Joppa, Banayabarqa, (and) Azuru, the cities of Ṣidqâ that had not submitted to me quickly.

40) LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ *ù* UN.MEŠ
41) URU.*am-qar-ru-na ša* ^{m}*pa-di-i* ⌜LUGAL-*šú-nu*⌝

iii 40–49) (As for) the governors, the nobles, and the people of the city Ekron who had thrown Padî, their

42) EN *a-de-e ù ma-mit ša* KUR *aš-ʳšurˀ*.[KI]
43) *bi-re-tu* AN.BAR *id-du-ma a-na* [^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú*]
44) KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a id-*[*di-nu-šú nak-riš*]
45) *a-na an-zil-li i-pu-šú* [*ip-làḫ* ŠÀ-*šú-un*]
46) LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* KUR.*mu-uṣ-ʳriˀ* [LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN]
47) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ʳšaˀ [LUGAL KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫi*]
48) *e-mu-qí la ni-bi* ʳikˀ-[*te-ru-nim-ma*]
49) *il-li-ku re-ṣu-*[*us-su-un*]
50) *i-na ta-mir-ti* URU.[*al-ta-qu-ú*]
51) *el-la-mu-ú-a si-ʳidˀ-*[*ru šit-ku-nu*]
52) *ú-šá-ʾa-lu* GIŠ.[TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú-un*]
53) *i-na tukul-ti* ^{d}*aš-šur* ʳENˀ-[*ia*] *it-ti-šú-un*
54) *am-da-ḫi-iṣ-ma áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.[BAD_5-*šú-un*]
55) LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù* [DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL]
56) KUR.*mu-ṣu-ra-ʳa-aˀ a-di* LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ
57) *ša* [LUGAL] KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫa bal-ṭu-su-un*
58) *i-na* $MURUB_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a*
59) URU.*al-ta-qu-ú* URU.*ta-am-na-a*
60) *al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*
61) *a-na* URU.*am-qar-ru-na aq-rib-ma*
62) LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ *ša ḫi-iṭ-ṭu*
63) *ú-šab-šu-ú a-duk-ma i-na di-ma-a-te*
64) *si-ḫir-ti* URU *a-lul pag-ri-šú-un*
65) DUMU.MEŠ URU *e-piš an-ni ù gíl-la-ti*
66) *a-na šal-la-ti am-nu si-it-tu-te-šú-nu*
67) *la ba-bil ḫi-ṭi-ti ù gul-lul-ti*
68) *ša a-ra-an-šú-nu la ib-šu-ú*
69) *uš-šur-šú-un aq-bi* ^{m}*pa-di-i* LUGAL-*šú-nu*
70) *ul-tu qé-reb* URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu*
71) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *be-lu-ti*
72) UGU-*šú-un ú-še-šib-ma man-da-at-tú*
73) *be-lu-ti-ia ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú*
74) *ù* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú* KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a*
75) *ša la ik-nu-šú a-na ni-ri-ia*
76) 46 URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni*
77) *ù* URU.MEŠ-*ni* TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
78) *ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú*
79) *i-na šuk-bu-us a-ram-me*
80) *ù qit-ru-ub šu-pe-e*

Col. iv

1) *mit-ḫu-uṣ zu-uk* GÌR.II *pil-ši nik-si*
2) *ù kal-ban-na-ti al-me* KUR-*ud*
3) 2 ME LIM 1 ME 50 UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS
4) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.ʳKUNGAˀ.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ
5) ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A
6) *ša la ni-bi ul-tu qer-bi-šú-un*
7) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*
8) *šá-ʳaˀ-*[*šú* GIM MUŠEN] *qu-up-pi*
9) *qé-reb* URU.*ur-sa-li-im-ma*
10) [URU LUGAL]-ʳtiˀ-*šú e-sír-šu*
11) URU.ḪAL.ṢU.ʳMEŠ UGUˀ-*šú ú-rak-kis-ma*
12) *a-ṣe-e* KÁ.GAL URU-*šú ú-ter-ra*

king who was bound by treaty and oaths to Assyr[ia], into iron fetters and who had ha[nded him over] to [Hezekiah] of the land Judah [in a hostile manner], (iii 45) [they became frightened] on account of the villainous acts they had committed. They fo[rmed a confederation with] the kings of Egypt (and) [the archers], chariots, (and) horses of [the king of the land Meluḫḫa], forces without number, [and] they came to [their] ai[d].

iii 50–58) In the plain of the city [Eltekeh], they sharpened [their weapons while drawing up in] battle[ine] before me. With the support of the god Aššur, [my] lord, I fought with them and defeat[ed them]. (iii 55) In the thick of battle, I captured alive the Egyptian charioteers and [princes (lit. "the sons of the king")], together with the charioteers of [the king of] the land Meluḫḫa.

iii 59–69a) I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Eltekeh (and) Tamnâ. I approached the city Ekron and I killed the governors (and) nobles who had committed crime(s) and hung their corpses on towers around the city; (iii 65) I counted the citizens who had committed the criminal acts as booty; (and) I commanded that the rest of them, (those) who were not guilty of crimes or wrongdoing, (to) whom no penalty was due, be allowed to go free.

iii 69b–73) I brought out Padî, their king, from the city Jerusalem and placed (him) on the lordly throne over them, then I imposed upon him payment (in recognition) of my overlordship.

iii 74–iv 7) Moreover, (as for) Hezekiah of the land Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke, I surrounded (and) conquered forty-six of his fortified cities, fortresses, and small(er) settlements in their environs, which were without number, by having ramps trodden down and battering rams brought up, (iv 1) the assault of foot soldiers, sapping, breaching, and siege engines. I brought out of them 200,150 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number, and I counted (them) as booty.

iv 8–21) As for hi[m] (Hezekiah), I confined him inside the city Jerusalem, his [roy]al [city, like a bird] in a cage. I set up blockades against him and made him dread exiting his city gate. I detached from his land the cities of his that I had plundered and (iv 15) I

13) <ik>-ki-bu-uš URU.MEŠ-šú ša áš-lu-la
14) ul-tu qé-reb KUR-šú ab-tuq-ma
15) a-na mmi-ti-in-ti LUGAL URU.as-du-di
16) mpa-di-i LUGAL URU.am-qar-ru-na
17) ù mGISSU-EN LUGAL URU.ḫa-zi-ti
18) ad-din-ma ú-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-ir KUR-su
19) e-li GUN maḫ-ri-ti na-dan šat-ti-šú-un
20) man-da-at-tú kàd-re-e be-lu-ti-ia
21) ú-rad-di-ma ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú-un
22) šu-ú mḫa-za-qi-a-ú pul-ḫi me-lam-me
23) be-lu-ti-ia is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma
24) LÚ.úr-bi ù LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ-šú SIG$_5$.MEŠ
25) ša a-na dun-nu-un URU.ur-sa-li-im-mu
26) ⌜URU LUGAL⌝-[ti-šú] ú-še-ri-bu-ma ir-šu-ú
27) [til-la-a-te] it-ti 30 GUN KÙ.GI
28) [8 ME GUN KÙ].⌜BABBAR ni-si⌝-iq-ti gu-uḫ-li
29) [ták-kàs-si] ⌜NA$_4$.AN⌝.ZA.GUL.ME GAL.MEŠ
30) [GIŠ.NÁ.MEŠ ZÚ] GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ né-me-di ZÚ
31) KUŠ AM.SI ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG
32) mim-ma ⌜šum-šú⌝ ni-ṣir-tu ka-bit-tu
33) ⌜ù⌝ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.⌜GAL⌝-šú
34) ⌜LÚ.NAR⌝.MEŠ MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ a-na qé-reb NINA.KI
35) ⌜URU⌝ be-lu-ti-ia EGIR-ia ú-še-bi-lam-ma
36) [a]-na na-dan man-da-at-ti ù e-peš
37) ⌜ARAD-ú⌝-ti iš-pu-ra rak-bu-šú

gave (them) to Mitinti, the king of the city Ashdod, Padî, the king of the city Ekron, and Ṣilli-Bēl, the king of the city Gaza, and (thereby) made his land smaller. To the former tribute, their annual giving, I added the payment (of) gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship and imposed (it) upon them.

iv 22–37) As for him, Hezekiah, fear of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed him and, after my (departure), he had the auxiliary forces and his elite troops (iv 25) whom he had brought inside to strengthen the city Jerusalem, [his] roy[al] city, and who had provided [support], along with 30 talents of gold, [800 talents of si]lver, choice antimony, large [blocks of] ..., (iv 30) [ivory beds], armchairs of ivory, elephant hide(s), elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, every kind of valuable treasure, as well as his daughters, his palace women, [male] singers, (and) female singers brought into Nineveh, my capital city, and he sent a mounted messenger of his to me to deliver (this) payment and to do obeisance.

38) [i]-na ⌜4⌝-e ger-ri-ia daš-šur be-lí
39) ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma um-ma-na-te-ia
40) gap-šá-a-te ad-ke-e-ma a-na KUR.É-mia-kin$_7$
41) a-la-ku aq-bi ina me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia
42) ša mšu-zu-bi LÚ.kal-dà-a-a
43) a-šib qé-reb ÍD.a-gam-me
44) i-na URU.⌜bi⌝-it-tu-ú-tu
45) áš-ta-⌜kan BAD$_5$.BAD$_5$-šú⌝ šu-ú ḫur-ba-šu
46) ⌜ta-ḫa-zi-ia⌝ UGU-šú im-qut-ma
47) ⌜it-ru-ku ŠÀ-šu⌝ ki-ma az-za-ri
48) ⌜e-diš ip-par-šid-ma⌝ [ul] in-na-mir a-šar-šú
49) [pa]-⌜an ni-ri-ia⌝ ú-ter-ma
50) [a-na] ⌜KUR.É-mia-kin$_7$ aṣ⌝-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu
51) [šu]-⌜ú mdAMAR.UTU-IBILA⌝-SUM.NA
52) ⌜ša ina a-lak KASKAL-ia⌝ maḫ-re-e
53) [BAD$_5$.BAD$_5$-šú áš-ku-nu-ma ú-par-ri]-⌜ru⌝ el-lat-su
54) [ri-gim GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia dan]-nu-ti
55) [ù ti-ib ta-ḫa-zi]-⌜ia⌝ ez-zi
56) [e-dur-ma a-na URU.na-gi-ti]-⌜ra-aq⌝-qí
57) [ša qa-bal tam-tim iṣ-ṣu-riš ip]-pa-riš
58) ⌜ŠEŠ.MEŠ⌝-[šú NUMUN É AD-šú] ša ú-maš-ši-ru
59) a-ḫi tam-tim a-di si-it-ti UN.MEŠ KUR-šú
60) ul-tu KUR.É-mia-kin$_7$ qé-reb ÍD.a-gam-me

iv 38–48) [O]n my fourth campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me (iv 40) so that I mustered my numerous troops and ordered the march to the land Bīt-Yakīn. In the course of my campaign, I defeated Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk), a Chaldean who lives in the marshes, at the city Bittūtu. (iv 45) As for him, terror of doing battle with me fell upon him and his heart pounded. He fled alone like a lynx and his (hiding) place could [not] be found.

iv 49–61) I turned [ar]ound (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road [to] the land Bīt-Yakīn. [H]e — Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), [wh]om [I had defeated and] whose forces [I had scatter]ed during my first campaign — (iv 55) [became frightened by the clangor of my mig]hty [weapons and] my fierce [battle array. He] flew away [like a bird to the city Nagīte]-raqqi, [which is in the midst of the sea]. I brought [his] brothers, [the seed of his father's house], whom he had abandoned at the shore of the sea, together with the rest of the people of his land, (iv 60) out of the land Bīt-Yakīn, which is in the swamps (and) marshes, and I counted (them) as booty.

iv 56–57 This edition, as well as text no. 17 and exs. 2 and 11 of text no. 15, omits DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-rak* KUR-*šú i-na* KI.TUŠ-*šú-nu id-ke-ma qé-reb* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ú-šar-kib-ma* "he dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of his land from their abodes, and loaded (them) onto boats." [URU.*na-gi-ti*]-⌜*ra-aq*⌝-*qí* "[the city Nagīte]-raqqi": Or possibly [*na-gi-ti*]-⌜*ra-aq*⌝-*qí* "[(the city) Nagīte]-raqqi" or [KUR.*na-gi-ti*]-⌜*ra-aq*⌝-*qí* "[the land Nagīte]-raqqi."

61) *ap-pa-ra-a-ti ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*
62) *ú-ter-ma* URU.MEŠ-*šú ap-pul aq-qur*
63) *ú-še-me kar-meš* UGU EN *sa-li-me-šú*
64) LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *na-mur-ra-tum at-bu-uk*
65) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* ^{m}*aš-šur-na-din-*MU
66) DUMU *reš-tu-ú tar-bit bir-ki-ia*
67) *i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *be-lu-ti-šú ú-še-šib-ma*
68) DAGAL-*tum* KUR EME.GI$_7$ *ù* URI.KI
69) *ú-šad-gil pa-nu-uš-šu*

iv 62–64) Once again I destroyed (and) devastated his cities, (and) turned (them) into ruins. I poured out awe-inspiring brilliance upon his ally, the king of the land Elam.
iv 65–69) On my return march, I placed Aššur-nādin-šumi, my first-born son (whom I) raised on my (own) knee, on his lordly throne and entrusted him with the wide land of Sumer and Akkad.

70) *i-na* 5 *ger-ri-ia ba-ḫu-la-te*
71) URU.*tu-mur-ri* URU.*šá-ri-im*
72) URU.*e-za-ma* URU.*kib-šú* URU.*ḫal-bu-da*
73) URU.*qu-ú-a* URU.*qa-na*
74) *ša* GIM *qin-ni* TI$_8$.MUŠEN *a-šá-red* MUŠEN.ḪI.A
75) *ṣe-er zuq-ti* KUR.*ni-pur* KUR-*i mar-ṣi*
76) *šu-bat-su-un šit-ku-na-at-ma*
77) *la kit-nu-šu a-na ni-ri*
78) *i-na* GÌR.II KUR.*ni-pur ka-ra-ši ú-šá-áš-kin-ma*
79) *it-ti* LÚ.*qur-bu-te* GÌR.II-*ia*
80) *na-as-qu-ti ù* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ
81) *ta-ḫa-zi-ia la ga-me-lu-ti*
82) *a-na-ku* GIM AM *ek-di pa-nu-uš-šú-un*
83) *aṣ-bat ḫur-ri na-ḫal-li na-at-ba-ki*
84) KUR-*i me-le-e mar-ṣu-ti*

iv 70–78) On my fifth campaign: The population of the cities Tumurrum, Šarum, Ezāma, Kibšu, Ḫalbuda, Qūa, (and) Qana, whose dwellings are situated like the nests of eagles, the foremost of birds, (iv 75) on the peak of Mount Nipur, a rugged mountain, and who had not bowed down to the yoke — I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mount Nipur.

iv 79–v 7) Like a fierce wild bull, with my select bodyguard and my merciless combat troops, I took the lead of them (the soldiers in my camp). (v 1) I proceeded through the gorges of the streams, the outflows of the mountains, (and) rugged slopes in (my) chair. Where it was too difficult for (my) chair, I leapt forward on my (own) two feet like a mountain goat. I ascended the highest peaks against them. (v 5) Where my knees became tired, I sat down upon the mountain rock and drank cold water from a water skin to (quench) my thirst.

Col. v
1) *i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *áš-ta-am-di-iḫ*
2) *a-šar a-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *šup-šu-qu*
3) *i-na* GÌR.II-*ia áš-taḫ-ḫi-ṭa* GIM *ar-me*
4) *a-na zuq-ti šá-qu-ti ṣe-ru-uš-šú-un e-li*
5) *a-šar bir-ka-a-a* ⌜*ma-na*⌝*-aḫ-tu i-šá-a*
6) *ṣe-er* NA$_4$ KUR-*i ú-šib-ma* A.MEŠ KUŠ.*na-a-di*
7) *ka-ṣu-ti a-na ṣu-um-me-ia lu áš-ti*
8) *i-na* ŠU.SI.MEŠ *ḫur-šá-a-ni ar-de-šú-nu-ti-ma*
9) *áš-ta-kan taḫ-ta-šú-un* URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* KUR-*ud-ma*
10) *áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un ap-pu-ul aq-qur*
11) *i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma*
12) *ṣe-er* ^{m}*ma-ni-ia-e* LUGAL URU.*uk-ki šad-da-a-a-e*
13) *la kan-še aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu ur-ḫi la pe-tu-ti*
14) *ṭu-di pa-áš-qu-ti ša la-pa-an* KUR.MEŠ-*<<ia>>*
15) *mar-ṣu-ti ul-la-nu-ú-*⌜*a*⌝ *qé-reb-šú-un*
16) *ma-am-man la il-li-ku* LUGAL.MEŠ *pa-ni maḫ-ru-ti*

v 8–11a) I pursued them on the peaks of the mountains and defeated them. I conquered, (v 10) plundered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire their cities.
v 11b–22) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road against Maniye, the king of the city Ukku (and) an insubmissive mountain-dweller. (v 15) Before my time, none of the former kings of the past had marched through the untrodden paths (and) difficult trails on account of the rugged mountains. I had my camp pitched at the foot of

iv 70–v 32 After defeating the insubmissive inhabitants of the Mount Nipur region, Sennacherib had text(s) written on Mount Nipur (Judi Dagh Inscription); for that inscription, which will be edited in Part 2, see King, PSBA 35 (1913) pp. 66–94 and pls. XII–XXVI; Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 63–66 E3; and Frahm, Sanherib pp. 150–151 T 116–121. The military narration of the Judi Dagh Inscription formed the first part of the account of the fifth campaign (iv 70–v 11a). The second part of the report (v 11b–32), which records the siege and capture of the city Ukku, was composed anew for clay prisms and bull colossi inscribed in 696.
iv 71 URU.*šá-ri-im* "the city Šarum": Ex. 3 has URU.*šá-ar-ma*.
iv 83 *pa-nu-uš-šú-un aṣ-bat* "I took the lead of them": J.N. Postgate (personal communication) suggests reading the signs as *pa-nu-uš-šú-un az-ziz* "I stood before them." However, the interpretation presented here follows the conventional reading of the AZ and BE signs as *aṣ* and *bat*.
v 11 *pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma* "I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke")": This expression is used to introduce the second part of the fifth campaign, which did not take place in the immediate vicinity of Mount Nipur. For a new proposed location of the city Ukku, see Jeffers, Iraq 73 (2011) pp. 87–116; and Radner, Biainili-Urartu pp. 243–264, especially pp. 257–260.
v 14 KUR.MEŠ-*<<ia>>* "mountains": Ex. 1 adds *-ia*; the scribe may have confused *lapān šadê* with the frequently used expression *lapān kakkīya* "before my weapons" (M. Worthington, personal communication).

17) *i-na* GÌR.II KUR.*a-na-ra ù* KUR.*up-pa* KUR.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti*
18) KARAŠ-MU *ú-šá-áš-kin-ma ana-ku i-*⌜*na*⌝ GIŠ.GU.ZA *né-me-di*
19) *it-ti* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *ta-ḫa-zi-ia gít-ma-lu-ti*
20) *i-na ne-re-bi-šú-un pi-qu-ti* ⌜*šu*⌝*-nu-ḫi-iš*
21) *e-ru-um-ma mar-ṣi-iš e-te-el-la-a*
22) ŠU.SI.MEŠ KUR.MEŠ*-e pa-áš-qa-ti*
23) *šu-ú* m*ma-ni-ia-e* ⌜*tur-bu-u*ʾ⌝ GÌR.II ⌜ERIM.ḪI.A⌝*-ia*
24) *e-mur-ma* URU.⌜*uk*⌝*-*[*ku* URU] ⌜LUGAL*-ti-šú*⌝ [*e-zib-ma*]
25) *a-na ru-qé-*⌜*e*⌝*-ti in-na-bit*
26) URU.*uk-ku al-me* KUR*-ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su*
27) *mim-ma šum-šú* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA *ni-ṣir-ti* É.GAL*-šú*
28) *ul-tu qer-bi-šú ú-še-ṣa-am-ma* [*šal-la*]*-tiš am-nu*
29) *ù* 33 URU.MEŠ *ša pa-a-ṭi* [*na-gi*]*-šu ak-šud*^{ud}*-ma*
30) UN.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A
31) [*ul-tu qer-bi-šú*]*-un áš-lu-la*
32) *ap-pu-ul aq-qur i-na* dGIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*

33) *i-na šal-lat* KUR.MEŠ *šá-ti-na ša áš-lu-la*
34) 20 LIM GIŠ.PAN 15 LIM GIŠ.*a-ri-tu*
35) *i-na lìb-bi-šú-nu ak-ṣur-ma*
36) UGU *ki-ṣir* LUGAL*-ti-ia ú-rad-di*
37) *si-it-ti šal-lat na-ki-ri ka-bit-tu*
38) *a-na gi-mir* KARAŠ*-ia ù* LÚ.EN.NAM.MEŠ*-ia*
39) UN.MEŠ *ma-ḫa-za-ni-ia* GAL.MEŠ
40) ⌜*ki*⌝*-ma ṣe-e-ni lu ú-za-*ʾ*i-iz*

41) *i-*⌜*na*⌝ [u_4*-me-šu*]*-*⌜*ma*⌝ NINA.KI *ma-ḫa-zu*
42) *ṣi-*⌜*i*⌝*-*[*ru* URU] ⌜*na*⌝*-ram* d*iš-tar*
43) *ša nap-*⌜*ḫar*⌝ [*ki-du*]*-de-e* DINGIR.MEŠ
44) *ù* d⌜IŠ⌝.[TAR.MEŠ] ⌜*ba*⌝*-šu-ú qé-reb-šú*
45) *tem-me-en-nu* ⌜*da*⌝*-*[*ru-u du*]*-*⌜*ru-uš*⌝ *ṣa-a-te*
46) *ša ul-tu ul-*⌜*la*⌝ [*it-ti*] *ši-ṭir bu-ru-ú-*[*me*]
47) *eṣ-rat-su eṣ-*⌜*ret*⌝*-*[*ma šu-pu*]*-*⌜*ú*⌝ *ṣi-in-*⌜*du*⌝*-*[*šú*]
48) *áš-ru nak-lu šu-bat* ⌜*pi*⌝*-*[*riš-te šá mim-ma šum-šú*]
49) *ši-pir ni-kil-ti gi-*[*mir pel-lu-de-e*]
50) *ni-ṣir-ti làl-*⌜*gar*⌝ [*šu-ta-bu-lu*$_4$ *qé-reb-šú*]
51) *ša ul-tu ul-la* [LUGAL.MEŠ*-ni a-li-kut maḫ-ri*]
52) AD.MEŠ*-ia* ⌜*ul*⌝*-*[*la-nu-ú-a be-lu-tu* KUR *aš-šur*.KI]
53) *e-pu-šu-ma ú-*⌜*ma-*ʾ*e*⌝*-*[*ru ba-*ʾ*u-lat* dEN].⌜LÍL⌝
54) *a-a-um-ma ina lìb-bi-šú-nu a-*⌜*na*⌝ [*šum-dul*$_6$ *šu-bat*] URU
55) *e-peš* BÀD *šu-te-šur* ⌜*su*⌝*-*[*qa*]*-a-ni*
56) *ù ḫa-re-e* ÍD *za-qa-ap* ⌜*ṣip*⌝*-*[*pa*]*-a-ti*
57) *ú-zu-un-šú ul ib-ši-ma ul* ⌜*uš*⌝*-ta-bil*
58) *ka-ras-su a-na* É.GAL *qer-bi-šú kúm-mu*

Mount Anara and Mount Uppa, mighty mountains, and I myself, in an armchair, with my crack combat troops, (v 20) entered their narrow passes with great difficulty and ascended with a struggle the steep mountain peaks.

v 23–28) He, Maniye, saw the dust cloud (stirred up) by the feet of my troops, then [he abandoned] the city Uk[ku], his royal [city, and] (v 25) fled afar. I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the city Ukku. I brought out of it every kind of possession (and) property, the treasures of his palace, and I counted (it) [as boo]ty.

v 29–32) Moreover, I conquered thirty-three cities on the borders of his [district] and (v 30) carried off [from th]em people, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats. (Then) I destroyed (them), devastated (them), (and) burned (them) with fire.

v 33–40) From the booty of those lands that I had plundered, I conscripted 20,000 archers (and) 15,000 shield bearers and added (them) to my royal contingent. I divided up the rest of the substantial enemy booty like sheep and goats among my entire camp and my governors, (and) the people of my great cult centers.

v 41–50) At [that time], Nineveh, the exal[ted] cult center, [the city] loved by the goddess Ištar in which all of [the rit]uals for gods and god[desses] are present; (v 45) the en[during] foundation (and) eternal [ba]se whose plan had been designed [by] the stars (lit. "writing") of the firmam[ent and whose] arrangement [was made manife]st since time immemorial; a sophisticated place (and) site of se[cret lore in which every kind of] skilled craftsmanship, all [of the rituals], (v 50) (and) the secret(s) of the *lalgar* (cosmic subterranean water) [are apprehended];

v 51–61) in which since time immemorial [earlier kings], my ancestors, be[fore me] exercised [dominion over Assyria] and rul[ed the subjects of the god En]lil; (but) not one among them had conceived of and put his mind towards [increasing the site of] the city, (v 55) building wall(s), straightening the st[ree]ts, or dredging the river (and) planting or[ch]ards; nor had any (of them) paid heed to (or) shown interest in the palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling whose site had become too small (and) whose construction was

v 18 GIŠ.GU.ZA *né-me-di* "armchair": The interpretation of *kussī nēmedi* follows CAD N/2 p. 156 sub *nēmedu* 2, "chair with armrest or footstool." Alternatively, following the CDA (p. 249), one could translate "chair with back."
v 41–viii 78 The building report of this inscription is very similar to that of text no. 15, for which see the on-page notes. For some of the differences between the two texts, see the on-page notes below.

59) *ri-mit be-lu-ti ša ṣu-uḫ-ḫu-ru šu-bat-su*
60) *e-piš-tuš la nak-lat-ma le-e-su*
61) *ul id-da-a lib-bu-uš ul iḫ-su-us*
62) *ia-a-ti* ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*
63) LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI
64) *e-peš šip-ri šu-a-tú ki-i ṭè-em* DINGIR.MEŠ
65) *i-na uz-ni-ia ib-ši-ma ka-bat-ti ub-lam-ma*
66) *te-ne-šet* KUR.*kal-di* LÚ.*a-ra-me* KUR.*man-na-a-a*
67) KUR.*qu-e* KUR.*ḫi-lak-ku* KUR.*pi-liš-ti*
68) *ù* URU.*ṣur-ri ša a-na ni-ri-ia*
69) *la ik-nu-šu as-su-ḫa-am-ma tup-šik-ku*
70) *ú-šá-áš-ši-šu-nu-ti-ma il-bi-nu* SIG_4
71) É.GAL *maḫ-ri-tu ša* 3 ME 60 *ina* 1.KÙŠ UŠ
72) 80 *i-na* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL *i-na tar-ṣi za-me-e*
73) É *ziq-qur-rat* 1 ME 34 *i-na* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL
74) *i-na tar-ṣi na-ma-ri* É ^{d}*iš-tar*
75) 95 *i-na* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL *i-na tar-ṣi na-ma-ri*
76) É-*kid*$_9$-*mu-ri ša* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni a-li-kut maḫ-ri*
77) AD.MEŠ-*ia a-na ri-mit be-lu-ti-šú-un*
78) *ú-še-pi-šu-ma la ú-nak-ki-lu ši-pir-šá*
79) UDU.MEŠ *šad-di* ^{d}LAMMA *ša* NA_4.*pi-i-li*
80) *pe-ṣe-e i-na* URU.*ta-as-ti-a-ti*
81) *ša e-ber-tan* ÍD.IDIGNA
82) *ib-tu-qu a-na mu-kil* KÁ.MEŠ-*ši-in*
83) *a-na šu-pu-uš* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *qé-reb* GIŠ.TIR.MEŠ

Col. vi

1) GIŠ.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ú-qé-ru i-na nap-ḫar* KUR-*šú-un*
2) *i-na* ITI.GU_4 u_4-*mu a-dan-ni e-de-e pa-an šat-ti*
3) *i-na* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ṣi-ra-a-ti a-na a-ḫa-an-na-a*
4) *ú-šeb-bi-ru-ni mar-ṣi-iš*
5) *i-na né-ber ka-a-ri* GIŠ.MÁ.GU.LA.MEŠ
6) *ú-ṭe-eb-bu-ú ba-ḫu-la-te-šú-un*
7) *ú-šá-ni-ḫu ú-lam-me-nu ka-ras-si-in*
8) *i-na da-na-a-ni ù šup-šu-qí*
9) *mar-ṣi-iš ú-bi-lu-nim-ma*
10) *ú-šá-aṣ-bi-tu* KÁ.MEŠ-*ši-in*
11) ÍD.*te-bil-ti a-gu-ú šit-mu-ru*
12) *ša ul-tu* UD.MEŠ SÙ.MEŠ *ṭe-eḫ* É.GAL
13) *i-ba-ʾu-ú-ma ina* ILLU-*šá gap-ši*
14) *i-na uš-ši-šá ab-bu ú-šab-šu-ú*
15) *ú-ri-ib-bu tem-me-en-šá*
16) É.GAL.TUR.RA *šá-a-tu a-na si-ḫir-ti-šá*
17) *aq-qur-ma ša* ÍD.*te-bil-ti ma-lak-šá*
18) *uš-te-eš-na-a ab-bu uš-ṭib-ma ú-še-šir*
19) *mu-ṣu-šá qé-reb ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-ki-šá*
20) *šap-la-a-nu* GI.MEŠ *e-la-niš* NA_4 KUR-*i dan-nu*
21) *it-ti* ESIR.UD.A *ak-si-ma* 3 ME 40 *ina* 1.KÙŠ UŠ
22) 2 ME 88 *ina* 1.KÙŠ SAG.⌜KI⌝ *qaq-qa-ru*

inexpert:

v 62–70) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, the performing of this work came to my attention by the will of the gods and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Manneans, the lands Que, Ḫilakku, (and) Philistia, and the city Tyre, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made them carry baskets (of earth) and they made bricks.

v 71–78) The former palace, which was 360 cubits long, 80 cubits wide opposite the *zamû*-wall of the ziggurrat, 134 cubits wide opposite the tower of the temple of the goddess Ištar, (v 75) (and) 95 cubits wide opposite the tower of the Bīt-Kidmuri; which earlier kings, my ancestors, had had constructed for their lordly dwelling, but whose construction they had carried out inexpertly:

v 79–vi 10) They quarried mountain sheep colossi of white limestone in the city Tastiate, which is across the Tigris River, to be their (the palatial halls') gatekeepers. (vi 1) Throughout their entire land they depleted forests of large trees to have boats built. In the month Ayyāru (II), the time of spring floods, they brought (the colossi) across to this side (of the river) with difficulty in magnificent boats. (vi 5) They sank large boats at the quay dock (and then) made their crews struggle (and) strain. With might and main, they struggled to transport (the colossi) and install (them) in their gates.

vi 11–15) The Tebilti River, a tempestuous flood (of water) which had flowed from distant days by the side of the palace and which had caused erosion in its foundation when its flood was in full spate (vi 15) (and) had shaken its base:

vi 16–19a) I tore down that small palace in its entirety, then I changed the course of the Tebilti River, repaired (the effects of) the erosion, and directed its outflow.

vi 19b–38) In the hidden depths of its subterranean waters I bonded together, with bitumen, reeds below (and) strong mountain stone above, then [I raised] a plot of land that was 340 cubits long (and) 288 cubits

v 71 UŠ "length": Ex. 1 has DAGAL "width."
vi 21 UŠ "length": Ex. 1 has DAGAL "width." See the on-page note to v 71.
vi 21b–24 Text no. 15 ex. 1 has A.ŠÀ ⌜*ul-tu*⌝ [*ma-a-me*] *ú-*⌜*še-lam*⌝-[*ma na-ba-liš ú*]-⌜*ter*⌝ 2 ME ⌜88⌝ *ina* 1.KÙŠ SAG.KI *qaq-qa-ru* UGU *me-ši-iḫ-ti tam-le-e maḫ-re-e lu ú-rad-di-ma* "I raised (that) area out of [the water and co]nverted (it) [to dry land]. I added to the dimensions of the former terrace a plot of land that was 288 cubits wide." Exs. 5 and 19* omit *ul-tu qé-*[*reb* ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur*$^{?}$ *ú-še-lam-ma*] *na-ba-liš ú-ter* "[I raised] out [of the *Ḫusur River*] and converted (it) to dry land." Note that text no. 15 exs. 2 and 12 follow this text more closely than ex. 1 of that inscription; see the on-page note to text no. 15 vi 6–9. Deviation in this passage cannot be used to help identify whether an exemplar belongs to this inscription or text no. 15.

23) *ul-tu qé-*[*reb* ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur*$^{?}$ *ú-še-lam-ma*]
na-ba-liš
24) *ú-ter ṣe-*[*er*] ⌜*me-ši-iḫ-ti*⌝ *tam-le-e*
25) *maḫ-re-e* ⌜*lu*⌝ [*ú-rad-di*]*-ma*
26) *a-na* 7 ME *i-na* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* UŠ
27) 1 ME 76 *i-na* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI AN.TA
IM.SI.SÁ
28) 2 ME 68 *i-na* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti*
29) SAG.KI MURUB$_4$-⌜*tum*⌝ *mé-eḫ-ret*
30) *za-me-e at-man-ni ku-tal* [^{d}]⌜*iš*⌝*-tar*
31) 4 ME 43 *ina* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI
MURUB$_4$-*tum*
32) *šá-ni-tum mu-uḫ-ḫur-ti šá-a-ri a-mur-ri*
33) *ku-tal* É *ziq-qur-rat* ⌜É⌝ ^{d}*iš-tar*
34) 3 ME 86 *i-na* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti*
35) SAG.KI KI.TA IM.U$_{18}$.LU
36) ÚS.SA.DU ÍD.IDIGNA
37) *tam-la-a uš-ma-al-li*
38) *i-na* 1 ME 90 *ti-ib-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šu*
39) *áš-šú šip-ri* É.GAL-*ia šu-te-šu-ri*
40) *ù li-pit* ŠU.II-*ia šul-lu-me*
41) *i-na u*$_4$*-me-šu-ma* ^{d}*aš-šur ù* ^{d}*iš-tar*
42) *ša* NA$_4$*.pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e*
43) [*ina*] ⌜URU⌝*.ba-la-ṭa-a-a*
44) [*ú-šap*]*-tu-ú-ni pa-ni-šu*
45) [UDU.MEŠ *šad*]-⌜*di*⌝ ^{d}LAMMA.⌜MEŠ⌝ *dan-nu-ti*
46) [MUNUS.ÁB.ZA].⌜ZA-*a*⌝*-te ù* NA$_4$.KUN$_4$.MEŠ
GAL.MEŠ
47) [*a-na*] *šip-ri* É.GAL *be-lu-ti-ia*
48) *i-na* ⌜*qer-bi*⌝*-šu ab-tu-uq*
49) *la-ba-riš* [*u*$_4$*-mi i*]*-na* ILLU *kiš-šá-ti*
50) *tem-me-en tam-*⌜*le*⌝*-e la e-né-še*
51) NA$_4$*.pi-i-li* ⌜GAL⌝.MEŠ *ki-su-ú-šu*
52) *ú-šá-*⌜*as*⌝*-*[*ḫi*]*-*⌜*ra ú-dan*⌝*-nin šu-pu-uk-šú*
53) É.GAL [NA$_4$.DÚR].⌜MI.NA.BÀN.DA⌝
NA$_4$.GIŠ.NU$_{11}$.GAL
54) ZÚ ⌜AM.SI⌝ GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni*
55) GIŠ.EREN GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN ŠIM.LI *ù*
GIŠ.*e-*[*lam-ma-ku*]
56) *é-gal-zag-di-nu-tuku-a a-na mu-*⌜*šab*⌝
57) LUGAL-*ti-ia ú-še-pi-šá qé-reb-šú*
58) GIŠ.ÙR.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN *ša i-ri-su-un*
59) *ṭa-a-bu bi-nu-ut* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim*
60) *tar-bit* KUR.*si-ra-ra* KUR.MEŠ KÙ.MEŠ
61) *ú-šat-ri-ṣa e-li-šin*
62) GIŠ.IG.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN ŠIM.LI
63) *ṣi-ra-a-ti me-sér* KI.SAG *eb-bi* URUDU *nam-ri*
64) *ú-rak-kis-ma ú-rat-ta-a ba-bi-šin*

wide out [of the *Ḫusur River* and] converted (it) to dry land. (vi 25) [I added (it) to] the dimensions of the former terrace. I filled in a terrace of 700 large *aslu*-cubits along (its) longer side, 176 large *aslu*-cubits along (its) upper, northern shorter side, 268 large *aslu*-cubits along the inner, shorter side, (which is) opposite (vi 30) the *zamû*-wall of the shrine behind (the temple of) [the goddess] Ištar, 443 large *aslu*-cubits along the other, parallel, inner shorter side, (which is) on the west behind the ziggurrat of the temple of the goddess Ištar, (and) 386 large *aslu*-cubits (vi 35) along the lower, southern shorter side, (which is) beside the Tigris River. I raised its superstructure 190 courses of brick high.

vi 39–48) So that the construction of my palace might be carried out correctly and that my handiwork be completed, at that time, the god Aššur and the goddess Ištar [rev]ealed to me the presence of white limestone [in] the city Balāṭāya. (vi 45) Therein, I quarried mighty [moun]tain [sheep] colossi, [sphi]nxes, and large stone slabs [for] the construction of my lordly palace.

vi 49–52) In order to prevent the foundation of the terrace from being weakened over the passage [of time b]y cresting flood(s), I surro[und]ed its base with large limestone (slabs and thereby) reinforced its base.
vi 53–57) I had a palace of [brec]cia, alabaster, elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, *musukkannu*-wood, (vi 55) cedar, cypress, juniper, and *e*[*lammaku*]-wood, (a palace that I named) Egalzagdinutukua ("The Palace Without a Rival"), constructed thereon as my royal residence.

vi 58–68) I roofed them (the palatial halls) with beams of cedar (and) cypress, whose scent is sweet, product(s) of Mount Amanus (vi 60) (and) the yield of Mount Sirāra, the holy mountains. I fastened bands of shining silver (and) bright copper on magnificent doors of cedar, cypress, (and) juniper and I installed (them) in their gates. (vi 65) I decorated them (the doors) with

vi 23 ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur*$^{?}$ "the *Ḫusur River*": Or possibly restore *ma-a-me* "water." The conjectural restoration is based on text no. 17 vi 2.
vi 26 Ex. 8, like text no. 15 vi 10, has *nap-ḫar* "in total" for *a-na* "to." Exs. 2 and 7 both add [...] *ú-*⌜*kin*⌝ [...] "[...] I firmly established [...]" between UŠ "longer side" at the end of vi 26 and 1 ME 76 "176" at the beginning of vi 27.
vi 38 Ex. 8, like text no. 15 vi 19, has *am-šu-uḫ me-ši-iḫ-ta* "I measured (its) dimensions."
vi 47 Text no. 15 vi 27 has *ina* KÁ.MEŠ É.GAL *be-lu-ti-ia* "for the gates of my lordly palace."
vi 52–53 Unlike the previous text, this inscription does not include a passage recording the depositing of foundation documents and the expansion of the terrace; see text no. 15 vi 32–41. The inclusion or omission of this passage can be used to determine whether a fragment belongs to this text or to the previous text.

65) *sik-kàt kar-ri kas-pi ù* URUDU
66) *qé-reb-ši-in ú-šal-me i-na a-gúr-ri*
67) NA_4.ZÚ NA_4.ZA.GÌN *us-si-ma si-il-lu*
68) *né-bé-ḫi ù gi-mir pa-as-qí-ši-in*
69) É *ap-pa-a-te tam-šil* É.GAL KUR.*ḫat-ti*
70) *ša i-na li-šá-a-ni* KUR MAR.TU.KI
71) É *ḫi-la-a-ni i-šá-as-su-šú*
72) *a-na mul-ta-ʾu-ti be-lu-ti-ia*
73) *ú-še-pi-šá qé-reb-ši-in*
74) 12 UR.MAḪ.MEŠ URUDU *nam-ri zi-i-me*
75) *da-aḫ-ru-ti pe-tan bir-ki šu-ta-tu-ti*
76) *ša i-na ši-pir* ^{d}*nin-á-gal*
77) *nak-liš pat-qu-ma ma-lu-ú nam-ri-ir-ri*
78) *ù* 2 GIŠ.*tim-me šu-ta-ḫu-ti*
79) *pi-ti-iq* ZABAR *šu-bu-ʾu*
80) *a-di* 4 GIŠ.*tim-me* GIŠ.EREN GAL.MEŠ
81) UGU *pirig-gal-le-e ú-kin-ma*
82) *dáp-pi ku-lul* KÁ.MEŠ-*ši-in e-mid*
83) 10 MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-ti pi-ti-iq ú-ru-de-e*
84) *nam-ri za-ḫa-lu-ú eb-bu ú-šal-biš-ma*
85) *ù* 10 MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-ti* NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL
86) 12 MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-ti pi-ti-iq* GU.AN.NA
87) 2 GIŠ.*tim-me* GIŠ.ESI *ṣi-ru-ti*
88) *ša iḫ-zu-šú-nu pa-šal-lum*
89) *ù* GIŠ.*tim-me* GIŠ.EREN GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN GIŠ.*dup-ra-ni*
90) *iḫ-ze-et eš-má-re-e*

Col. vii

1) *ù* ZABAR *ṣe-ru-uš-šin ul-ziz-ma*
2) *ša* É.GAL.MEŠ *be-lu-*⌜*ti*⌝*-ia*
3) *e-mid* GIŠ.GAN.DU_7.MEŠ-*ši-in*
4) *ù* 12 UDU.MEŠ ⌜*šad*⌝*-di* ^{d}LAMMA
5) *pi-ti-iq ú-ru-de-e nam-ri*
6) *ša gat-tu šur-ru-ḫu šuk-lu-lu mi-na-a-ti*
7) 2 UDU.MEŠ *šad-di* ^{d}LAMMA NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL
8) 1 UŠ 12 UDU.MEŠ *šad-di* ^{d}LAMMA
9) *ù* ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-te* NA_4.*pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e*
10) SI.GAR *a-ṣe-e ù né-re-bi*
11) *as-meš ú-*[*šá*]*-aṣ-bit*
12) NA_4.KUN_4.MEŠ NA_4.DÚR.MI.NA.[BÀN].⌜DA⌝ NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL
13) *ù* KUN_4.MEŠ NA_4.*pi-i-li* GAL.MEŠ
14) *da-ád-me na-ki-ri ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia*
15) *qé-reb-ši-*⌜*in*⌝ [*es-si*]-⌜*ḫa*⌝ *a-sur-ru-ši-in*
16) *ú-šá-as-*[*ḫi-ra a-na*] ⌜*tab*⌝*-ra-a-ti ú-šá-lik*
17) GIŠ.$KIRI_6$.MAḪ-⌜*ḫu tam-šil*⌝ KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim*
18) *ša gi-*⌜*mir*⌝ ŠIM.ḪI.A GURUN *ṣip-pa-a-ti*
19) GIŠ.⌜MEŠ⌝ *tuk-lat* KUR-*i ù* KUR.*kal-di*
20) ⌜*a-di iṣ*⌝*-ṣu na-áš ši-pa-a-ti*
21) *qé-reb-šú ḫur-ru-šú i-ta-a-šá az-qu-up*
22) NINA.KI *ša ul-tu* u_4*-mu pa-ni*

silver and copper knobbed nails. I adorned the arches, friezes, and all of the copings with baked bricks (glazed in the color of) obsidian (and) lapis lazuli.

vi 69–73) For my lordly pleasure, I had a portico, a replica of a Hittite palace, (vi 70) which is called *bīt-ḫilāni* in the language of the land Amurru, constructed inside them.

vi 74–82) Twelve striding lions of shining copper (and) *fierce* demeanor, (which were) standing opposite one another, which were skillfully cast through the craftsmanship of the god Ninagal, and which were filled with radiance — upon (those) lion colossi I installed two identical columns that were cast from bronze, (vi 80) together with four large cedar columns, and I positioned cross-beams (upon them) as a cornice for their gates.

vi 83–vii 3) I covered ten sphinxes of cast bright *urudû*-copper with shining *zaḫalû*-silver and (over them), over ten sphinxes of alabaster, (and) over twelve sphinxes of cast ...-metal I erected two magnificent ebony columns, whose inlays are *pašallu*-gold, and columns of cedar, cypress, (and) *daprānu*-juniper with *ešmarû*-silver and bronze inlays, and I positioned the architraves of my lordly palatial halls (on those columns).

vii 4–11) Moreover, I [made] twelve mountain sheep colossi of cast bright *urudû*-copper, which are splendid in form (and) perfect in shape, two mountain sheep colossi of alabaster, (and) seventy-two mountain sheep colossi and sphinxes of white limestone suitable for holding the door bolt(s) for leaving and entering.

vii 12–16) [I engrav]ed on slabs of br[ec]cia (and) alabaster, and on large limestone slabs (images of) the enemy settlements that I had conquered. I surro[unded] their (the palace rooms') lower courses (with them and) made (them) an object of wonder.

vii 17–21) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, which has all kinds of aromatic plants (and) fruit trees, trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, together with cotton trees (lit. "trees bearing wool"), *collected* inside it.

vii 22–29a) Nineveh, the site of whose circumference

vi 79 *šu-bu-ʾu* "that were cast": Cf. text no. 1 line 84 and text no. 2 line 61, where the word is written *šu-ub-bu-ʾu*.
vi 81 *pirig-gal-le-e* "lion colossi": Cf. text no. 1 line 84 and text no. 2 line 61, where the word is written *pìrig-gal-le-e*.
vii 20 Cf. text no. 15 vii 12–13, which omit *a-di iṣ-ṣu na-áš ši-pa-a-ti* "together with cotton trees."

23) 9 LIM 3 ME *i-na* 1.KÙŠ *šu-bat li-me-ti-šú*
24) BÀD *ù* BÀD.ŠUL.ḪI *ul ú-še-pi-šu*
25) *a-li-kut maḫ-ri ma-al-ki*
26) 12 LIM 5 ME 15 *a-šar ta-mir-ti li-mit* URU
27) *ṣe-er me-ši-iḫ-ti maḫ-ri-ti ú-rad-di-ma*
28) 21 LIM 8 ME 15 *i-na* AS_4.LUM GAL-*ti ú-kin*
29) *mìn-da-tuš ša* BÀD-*šú* GAL-*i bàd-ní-gal-bi-*
30) *-lú-kúr-ra-šú-šú du-ú-ru ša nam-ri-ru-šú*
31) *na-ki-ri saḫ-pu ṣe-er* NA_4.*pi-i-li*
32) *tem-me-en-šú ad-di-ma* 40 SIG_4 *ú-kab-bir*
33) *i-na* 1 ME 80 *ti-ib-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šú*
34) *a-na er-bet-ti šá-a-ri* 14 KÁ.GAL.MEŠ
35) *pa-nu ù ar-ka i-na ṣi-li ki-lal-la-an*
36) *a-na e-re-bi ù a-ṣe-e*
37) *ú-šap-ta-a qé-reb-šú*
38) ^{d}*šár-ur*$_4$ *mu-šam-qit a-a-bi* LUGAL
39) KÁ.GAL *ḫa-an-du-ú-ri*
40) *lil-bur* ÉNSI ^{d}*aš-šur*
41) KÁ.GAL ^{d}*aš-šur ša* URU.ŠÀ.URU
42) *sa-pi-in gi-mir na-ki-ri*
43) KÁ.GAL ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba ša* KUR.*ḫal-zi*
44) ^{d}EN.LÍL *mu-kin* BALA-$^{\lceil}$*ia*$^{\rceil}$
45) KÁ.GAL ^{d}*šá-maš ša* KUR.*ga-a-gal*
46) ^{d}*iš-tar za-nin-ki kur-bi*
47) KÁ.GAL ^{d}NIN.LÍL *ša* URU.*kar-*^{d}NIN.LÍL
48) *mu-še-ṣa-at* UZU ÁZAG KÁ.GAL *muš-la-lum*
49) *du-muq áš-na-an ù* ^{d}*laḫar qé-reb-šá*
50) *ka-a-a-an* KÁ.GAL URU.*ši-ba-*[*ni*]-$^{\lceil}$*bi*$^{\rceil}$
51) *ba-bi-lat ḫi-ṣib ḫur-šá-a-ni* $^{\lceil}$KÁ.GAL$^{\rceil}$
[KUR.*ḫa-láḫ-ḫi*]
52) [ŠU].$^{\lceil}$NIGIN$^{\rceil}$ 8 $^{\lceil}$KÁ.GAL$^{\rceil}$.[MEŠ] $^{\lceil d}$UTU.È$^{\rceil}$
53) [*mé*]-$^{\lceil}$*eḫ-ret*$^{\rceil}$ [IM.*šu-ú-ti*] $^{\lceil}$*ù*$^{\rceil}$ IM.*šá-de-*$^{\lceil}$*e*$^{\rceil}$
54) *az-ku-ra ni-bit-si-in*

55) ^{d}IŠKUR *šá-ri-ik* ḪÉ.GÁL *a-na* KUR
56) KÁ.GAL ^{d}IŠKUR *ša* KUR.*am-ba-si*
57) ^{d}*èr-ra mu-šam-qit a-a-bi*
58) KÁ.GAL ^{d}U.GUR *ša* URU.*tar-bi-ṣi*
59) ^{d}IGI.SIG_7.SIG_7 *mu-šam-me-eḫ ṣip-pa-a-te*
60) KÁ.GAL GIŠ.$KIRI_6$.MEŠ ŠU.NIGIN 3 KÁ.GAL.$^{\lceil}$MEŠ$^{\rceil}$
61) *ša mé-eḫ-ret* IM.*il-ta-*$^{\lceil}$*a*$^{\rceil}$-[*ni*]
62) *at-ta-bi zi-kir-ši-*$^{\lceil}$*in*$^{\rceil}$
63) ^{d}*é-a mu-še-šir kùp-pi-ia*
64) KÁ.GAL *ma-as-qé-e*
65) *mu-še-ri-bat mi-šìr-ti da-ád-me*
66) KÁ.GAL *ka-a-ri pa-qí-da-at ka-la-ma*
67) KÁ.GAL É.GAL *ma-šar-ti*
68) ŠU.NIGIN 3 KÁ.GAL.MEŠ *ša mé-eḫ-ret*
69) IM.*a-mur-ri at-tas-qa-ra šu-me-šin*
70) *šá šal-ḫi-i bàd-níg-érim-ḫu-luḫ-ḫa*
71) *mu-gal-lit za-ma-a-ni uš-še-šú ap-te-ma*
72) 45 NINDA *ú-šap-pil-ma ú-šá-ak-šid*
73) A.MEŠ *nag-bi qé-reb ma-a-me šap-la-a-nu*
74) NA_4 KUR-*i dan-nu ak-si-ma e-la-niš*
75) *a-di pa-ás-qí-šú ina* NA_4.*pi-i-li* GAL.MEŠ

had been 9,300 cubits since former times (and) for which no earlier ruler had had an inner or outer wall built — I added 12,515 (cubits) in the plain around the city to (its) previous measurement and (thus) established its dimensions as 21,815 large cubits.

vii 29b–33) I laid the foundation of its great wall, Badnigalbilukurašušu, (which means) "Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies," upon limestone and made (it) 40 bricks thick. I raised its superstructure 180 courses of brick high.
vii 34–37) I had fourteen gates opened up in it in four directions, in front and behind, (and) along both sides, for entering and leaving.

vii 38–54) "The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King's Enemy": (this is) the Ḫandūru Gate. (vii 40) "May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure": (this is) the Aššur Gate, which (leads to) the Inner City (Aššur). "The One Who Flattens All Enemies": (this is) the Sennacherib Gate, which (leads to) the land Ḫalzi. "The God Enlil Is the One Who Makes My Reign Firm": (vii 45) (this is) the Šamaš Gate, which (leads to) the land Gagal. "O Ištar Bless the One Who Provides for You!": (this is) the Mullissu Gate, which (leads to) the city Kār-Mullissi. "The One Who Exorcises the 'Flesh' of the *Asakku*-demon": (this is) the Step Gate. "The Choicest of Grain and Flocks (vii 50) Are Constantly Inside It": (this is) the gate (that leads to) the city Šiba[ni]ba. "The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains": (this is) the gate (that leads to) [the land Ḫalaḫḫu. In] total, eight gate[s] (facing) the rising sun, [to]wards [the south] and east, (and) I gave them (these) names.
vii 55–62) "The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land": (this is) the Adad Gate, which (leads to) the game preserve. "The God Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down Enemies": (this is) the Nergal Gate, which (leads to) the city Tarbiṣu. "The God Igisigsig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish": (vii 60) (this is) the Gate of the Gardens. In total, three gates (facing) towards the nor[th] (and) I gave them (these) names.
vii 63–69) "The God Ea Is the One Who Properly Directs (Water Flow into) My Cisterns": (this is) the Mašqû Gate. (vii 65) "The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements": (this is) the Quay Gate. "The One Who Regulates Everything": (this is) the Armory Gate. In total, three gates (facing) towards the west (and) I gave them (these) names.
vii 70–76a) I opened up a foundation pit for the outer wall, Badnigerimḫuluḫa, (which means) "Terrorizer of Enemies," then I dug down forty-five *nindanu* and made (it) reach the water table. I bound together strong mountain stone in the water below and above I expertly carried out its construction with large

76) *ú-nak-kil ši-pir-šú ša* NINA.KI URU *be-lu-ti-ia*
77) *šu-bat-su uš-rab-bi re-ba-te-šu*
78) *ú-šá-an-dil-ma ú-nam-mir* GIM u_4*-mi*
79) ⌜BÀD⌝ *šal-ḫu-ú ú-še-piš-ma*
80) *ú-zaq-qir ḫur-šá-niš*
81) *áš-šú mu-ṣe-e* ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur*
82) *qé-reb* URU *ma-lak* A.MEŠ *e-liš ù šap-liš*
83) *i-na* SIG_4.AL.ÙR.RA KI-*i-ri ma-ši-i*
84) *ti-tur-ri ab-ta-ni šá-pal-šú*
85) *i-na mé-eḫ-ret* KÁ.GAL $MURUB_4$ URU

Col. viii

1) *i-na a-gúr-ri* NA_4.*pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e*
2) *a-na me-ti-iq* GIŠ.GIGIR *be-lu-ti-ia*
3) *ú-še-piš ti-tur-ru i-te-e* URU
4) 1 GIŠ.$KIRI_6$.MAḪ-*ḫi* 1 GIŠ.$KIRI_6$ *am-*⌜*ba*⌝*-si*
5) *kul-lat* ŠIM.ḪI.A KUR.*ḫat-ti*
6) *mut-ḫum-mu* ⌜*ma*?⌝-[*ti-tan*]
7) GIŠ.MEŠ *tuk-lat* KUR-*i ù* KUR.*kal-di*
8) *ú-ḫar-ri-šá qé-reb-šú-un*
9) *e-le-en* URU EDIN *šá-ab-*⌜*bur*⌝-[*ti*]
10) GIŠ.GEŠTIN *gi-mir* GURUN *ù* GIŠ.*se-*⌜*er*⌝-[*di*]
11) *az-qu-up ṣe-ru-uš-*[*šá*]
12) *áš-šú šur-pu-šú ṣip-pa-a-ti* A.ŠÀ *ta-mir-ti*
13) *e-le-en* URU NIGIDAMIN.TA.ÀM *a-na* DUMU.MEŠ NINA.KI
14) *pil-ku ú-pal-lik-ma ú-šad-gi-la*
15) *pa-nu-uš-šú-un a-na miṭ-ra-a-ti šum-mu-ḫi*
16) *ul-tu pa-a-ṭi* URU.*ki-si-ri*
17) *a-di ta-mir-ti* NINA.KI KUR-*a ù bi-ru-tú*
18) *i-na ak-kul-la-te* AN.BAR
19) *ú-šat-tir-*⌜*ma*⌝ *ú-še-šir* ÍD.*ḫar-ru*
20) 1 1/2 KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru ul-tu qé-reb*
21) ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur ma-a-me da-ru-ú-ti*
22) *a-šar-šá ú-šar-da-a qé-reb ṣip-pa-a-ti*
23) *šá-ti-na* ⌜*ú-šaḫ*⌝*-bi-ba pat-ti-iš*
24) *i-na qar-*⌜*ba-a*⌝*-te* NINA.KI *ṣi-ra-a-ti*
25) 5 ME ŠE.⌜NUMUN⌝.[MEŠ] ⌜*ma*⌝*-a-me ú-šá-an-ki-ra*
26) *ṣe-er x* [*x*] (*x*) *x ù ši-ir-*ʾ*i*
27) *šá-qiš* [*ú-šaḫ*]*-ni-ba*
28) ^{d}*nisaba u áš-na-an*
29) *a-na šup-šu-*⌜*uḫ a*⌝*-lak-ti* A.MEŠ
30) *ša* GIŠ.$KIRI_6$.MEŠ [*a*]-⌜*gam*⌝*-mu ú-šab-ši-ma*
31) *ṣu-ṣu-ú* ⌜*ú*⌝*-šá-as-ti-il*
32) ÍGIRA.MUŠEN.MEŠ ⌜ŠAḪ⌝.MEŠ GIŠ.GI
33) *a-lap qí-ši i-*⌜*na lìb*⌝*-bi ú-maš-šir*
34) *i-na ṭè-em* DINGIR-*ma qé-reb* GIŠ.$KIRI_6$.MEŠ

limestone (blocks) up to its copings.
vii 76b–80) I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my capital city. I broadened its squares, making (them) as bright as day. I had an inner (and) outer wall built and I raised (them) as high as mountain(s).

vii 81–84) So that there would be outflow from the Ḫusur River in the city (and) the passage of water upstream and downstream, I built aqueducts beneath it (the city wall) with baked bricks, ...
vii 85–viii 3a) I had a bridge constructed opposite the Citadel Gate with paving stones of white limestone for the passage of my lordly chariot.

viii 3b–11) Beside the city, in a botanical garden (one) *pānu* (in size and) a garden (one) *pānu* (in size) for a game preserve, (viii 5) I gathered every type of aromatic tree of the land Ḫatti, fruit trees of [all lands], (and) trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea. Upstream of the city, on newly tilled so[il], (viii 10) I planted vines, every type of fruit tree, and olive tre[es].

viii 12–23) For the expansion of orchards, I subdivided the meadowland upstream of the city into plots of two *pānu* each for the citizens of Nineveh and I handed (them) over (viii 15) to them. To make (those) planted areas luxuriant, I cut with iron picks a canal straight through mountain and *valley*, from the border of the city Kisiru to the plain of Nineveh. (viii 20) I caused an inexhaustible supply of water to flow there for a distance of one and a half leagues from the Ḫusur River (and) made (it) gush through feeder canals into those gardens.

viii 24–28) I provided irrigation for 500 seeded field[s] in the *high* fields of Nineveh with (that) water (and thereby) [I made] grain and cereals grow high and luxuriantly on ... and in furrows.

viii 29–44) I created [a m]arsh to moderate the flow of water for (those) gardens and had a canebrake planted (in it). I let loose in it herons, wild boars (lit. "pigs of the reeds"), (and) *roe deer*. By divine will, (viii 35) vines, all kinds of fruit trees, olive trees, and aromatic trees flourished greatly in (those)

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vii 83 KI-*i-ri* "...": See the on-page note to text no. 8 line 15′.
vii 84 *ti-tur-ri* "aqueducts": See the on-page note to text no. 8 line 15′.
viii 6 The restoration is based on text no. 17 viii 17.
viii 24–28 This inscription is the earliest text in which this passage is preserved. It is uncertain if it was composed anew for text no. 14, text no. 15, or for this text.
viii 29–44 Cf. text no. 8 lines 4′–6′ (with the on-page note), which is an earlier version of this passage.
viii 33 *a-lap qí-ši* "*roe deer*" (lit. "bull of the forest"): See the on-page note to text no. 8 line 5′.

35) EDIN *šá-ab-bur-ti* GIŠ.GEŠTIN *gi-mir* GURUN
36) GIŠ.*se-er-du ù* ŠIM.ḪI.A *ma-gal*
37) *iš-mu-ḫu* GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA
38) *nap-ḫar* GIŠ.MEŠ *i-ši-ḫu-ma*
39) *ú-ṣar-ri-šú pa-*⌜*pa-al*⌝*-lum*
40) *ap-pa-*⌜*ra-a-ti ma*⌝*-*[*gal*] ⌜*i*⌝*-ši-ra*
41) MUŠEN AN-*e* ⌜ÍGIRA.MUŠEN⌝ [*ša a-šar*]*-šú*
42) *ru-ú-qu qin-*⌜*na*⌝ [*iq-nun*]*-*⌜*ma*⌝
43) ŠAḪ.MEŠ GIŠ.GI [*a-lap qí*]*-*⌜*ši*⌝
44) *ú-rap-pi-šu* ⌜*ta*⌝*-*[*lit-tu*]
45) GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA [GIŠ.ŠUR].MÌN
46) *tar-bit ṣip-pa-a-*⌜*ti*⌝ [GI] ⌜AMBAR⌝.MEŠ
47) *ša qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-*[*me*] ⌜*ak*⌝*-šiṭ-ma*
48) *a-na šip-ri ḫi-šiḫ-*⌜*ti*⌝ É.GAL.MEŠ
49) ⌜*be-lu-ti*⌝*-ia* [*lu*]*-ú e-pu-uš*
50) [*iṣ-ṣu*] ⌜*na*⌝*-áš ši-pa-a-ti*
51) [*ib-qu-mu*] ⌜*im*⌝*-ḫa-ṣu* [*ṣu*]*-ba-ti-iš*
52) [*ul-tu šip-ri*] ⌜É.GAL⌝*-ia ú-*⌜*qat-tu*⌝*-ú*
53) [^{d}*aš-šur* EN] ⌜GAL⌝ DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* ^{d}IŠ.TAR.MEŠ
54) [*a-ši-bu-ut* KUR *aš-šur*].KI *i-na qer-bi-šá*
55) [*aq-re-ma* UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ] ⌜*taš*⌝*-ri-iḫ-ti*
56) [*aq-qí-ma ú-šat-lim*] *kàd-ra-a-a*
57) [Ì.GIŠ GIŠ.*sér-di ù ḫi*]*-bi-iš-ti*
58) [*ša* GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ EDIN *šá*]*-*⌜*ab*⌝*-bur-ti*
59) [*ú-raq-qa-a a-na ru*]*-*⌜*uš*⌝*-ti*
60) *i-na* ⌜*taš-ri*⌝*-*[*it*] ⌜É⌝.[GAL]
61) *ša ba-ḫu-la-*⌜*te*⌝ KUR-⌜*ia*⌝
62) *ú-šá-áš-qa-a muḫ-ḫa-šú-*⌜*un*⌝
63) GEŠTIN *du-uš-šu-pu ṣur-ra-šú-un am-kir*
64) *a-na ár-kàt u*$_4$*-me i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ*-ni*
65) DUMU.MEŠ*-ia ša* ^{d}*aš-šur a-na* RE.É.UM*-ut* KUR
66) *ù* UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-ú zi-kir-šú*
67) *e-nu-ma* BÀD *šá-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma*
68) *en-na-ḫu an-ḫu-us-su lu-ud-diš*
69) MU.SAR*-e ši-ṭir šu-me-ia li-mur-ma*
70) Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU.SISKUR *liq-qí*
71) *a-na áš-ri-šú lu-ter*
72) ^{d}*aš-šur ù* ^{d}⌜*iš*⌝*-tar*
73) *ik-ri-bi-šú i-šem-*⌜*mu*⌝*-ú*

gardens (planted) on newly tilled soil. Cypress trees, *musukkannu*-trees, (and) all kinds of trees grew tall and sent out shoots. (viii 40) The marshes thrived gre[atly]. Birds of the heavens, heron(s) whose [home(s)] are far away, [made] nest(s) and wild boars (and) [*roe de*]*er* ga[ve birth] in abundance.

viii 45–51) I cut down *musukkannu*-trees (and) [cypr]ess trees grown in the orchards (and) marsh [reed]s from the swam[ps] and I used (them) in the work required (to build) my lordly palatial halls. (viii 50) [They picked cot]ton (lit. "[trees] bearing wool") (and) wove (it) into [clot]hing.

viii 52–63) [After] I had finished [the work on] my palace, [I invited] inside it [the god Aššur, the] great [lord], (and) the gods and goddesses [living in Assyria, (viii 55) then I made] splendid [offerings and presented] my gift(s). [I made fine] oil [from olives and ar]omatics [from the orchards (planted) on newly] tilled soil. (viii 60) At the inauguration [of] the pa[lace], I had the heads of the subjects of my land drenched (and) I watered their insides with sweet wine.

viii 64–73) In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when that wall becomes old and dilapidated. May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, (viii 70) anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur and the goddess Ištar will (then) hear his prayers.

Date ex. 1

74A) ITI.NE.NE.GAR UD.3.KAM
75A) *li-mu* ^{md}*aš-šur*-EN-*ú-*⌜*ṣur*⌝
76A) LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.⌜*šá*⌝*-ḫu-*⌜*up-pa*⌝

Date ex. 2

74B) ITI.APIN.DU$_8$.A UD.[*x* (*x*).KAM]
75B) *li-mu* ^{m}*šul-mu-*[EN]
76B) LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.*tal-*⌜*mu*⌝*-*[*si*]

Date Ex. 1

viii 74A–76A) Abu (V), the third day, eponymy of Aššur-bēlu-uṣur, governor of the city Šaḫuppa (695).

Date ex. 2

viii 74B–76B) Araḫsamna (VIII), the [...th] day, eponymy of Šulmu-[Bēl], governor of the city Talmu[su] (696).

viii 34–35 GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ EDIN *šá-ab-bur-ti* "gardens (planted) on newly tilled soil": Text no. 8 line 5′ probably has GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ "gardens."
viii 40–44 The restorations are based on text no. 17 viii 56–59.
viii 50–51 Cf. text no. 15 viii 7′′–8′′ (with the on-page note).

17

Two nearly complete octagonal clay prisms and a few prism fragments from Nineveh are inscribed with a text describing seven military campaigns, the formation of a military contingent of 30,000 archers and 20,000 shield bearers from prisoners deported from conquered lands, the rebuilding and decoration of the "Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace), the construction of Badnigalbilukurašušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa (Nineveh's inner and outer walls) with their fifteen gates, and other public works at Nineveh, including the digging of several canals. The prologue, the reports of the first five campaigns, and numerous passages in the building report duplicate those same passages in earlier versions of Sennacherib's annals, especially text no. 16. The accounts of the events of the king's 9th and 10th regnal years included in this text are presently not known from other extant inscriptions, presumably because Sennacherib remained at home, in Nineveh. In the eponymy of Šulmu-Bēl (696), Sennacherib reports that Kirūa, the city ruler of Illubru, a man who had been a loyal Assyrian vassal, incited rebellion in Ḫilakku (Cilicia) and that the Assyrian army was sent to deal with the hostilities. The city Illubru was captured and plundered, and Kirūa and his supporters were defeated and brought back to Nineveh, where they were flayed alive. Afterwards, Illubru was reorganized as an Assyrian center. In the following year, in the eponymy of Aššur-bēlu-uṣur (695), Sennacherib records that he sent his army to the city Tīl-Garimme, where Gurdî, the king of the city Urdutu (a man who may have been responsible for Sargon II's death on the battlefield in 705), had incited rebellion. Urdutu is reported to have been taken and looted, but nothing is said about Gurdî, perhaps because he managed to escape. As for the building report, it is the longest and most detailed account of construction in and around Nineveh preserved in the Sennacherib corpus. It borrows material from earlier inscriptions and contains material composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 694 (Sennacherib's 11th regnal year). In connection with work on the "Palace Without a Rival," the king notes that the god Aššur and the goddess Ištar revealed to him the existence of cedar at Mount Sirāra, alabaster at Mount Ammanāna (the northern Anti-Lebanon), breccia at Kapridargilâ ("Dargilâ Village"), and limestone at the city Balāṭāya. He also takes credit for making significant advances in metalworking. In contrast to his predecessors, who are said to have ineffectually manufactured metal statues of themselves, Sennacherib boasts that he was able to efficiently and successfully cast tall columns and lion colossi from metal. In connection with supplying the huge number of gardens and orchards around Nineveh with water, Sennacherib reports that he had to look for new sources, as the waters of the Ḫusur River (mod. Khosr) were no longer sufficient. The king had three canals dug from the cities Dūr-Ištar, Šibaniba, and Sulu, all of which are located in the vicinity of Mount Muṣri (mod. Jebel Bašiqā). Two exemplars preserve a date and these were inscribed in the first half of the eponymy of Ilu-issīya, governor of the city Damascus (694). The inscription is commonly referred to as the "King Prism" or "Heidel Prism." Ex. 1 is named after L.W. King, who first published a copy and photographs of it in 1909, and ex. 2 is named after A. Heidel, who published an edition and photographs in 1953.

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	BM 103000	1909-3-13,1	Purchased from I. Géjou	Cols. 6 wide; 36 high	i 1–viii 87, date	c
2	IM 56578	—	Nineveh, western wall	Cols. 6.8 wide; 35.5 high	i 2–viii 87, date	n
3	BM 102996	1909-2-13,1	Purchased from I. Géjou	Cols. 6.5 wide; 7.5 high	v 7–23, vi 9–28, vii 7–23	c
4	Rm 26	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 2.3 and 5 wide; 8 high	v 68–86, vii 30–50	c

CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	I2b 1502	—	—	—	v 53–75	n

COMMENTARY

The inscription written on the "King Prism" (ex. 1) and the "Heidel Prism" (ex. 2) is the longest preserved text of Sennacherib (ca. 740 lines). The following text (text no. 18), written a few years after this inscription (691), may have been one of the longest texts written during his reign (800+ lines), but it is very fragmentarily preserved. Text no. 17 includes a short prologue, accounts of Sennacherib's first five campaigns, reports of campaigns undertaken in the eponymies of Šulmu-Bēl (696) and Aššur-bēlu-uṣur (695), a passage stating that the king formed a large military contingent with prisoners from conquered lands, and a lengthy and detailed account of construction in and around Nineveh. The prologue and most of the military narration (reports of the first five campaigns) duplicate those same passages in text no. 15 and text no. 16. The accounts of the events of the king's 9th and 10th regnal years are known only from this inscription; these passages may have been composed anew for this edition. As for the building report, it also contains material composed anew for this inscription and passages borrowed (with changes) from the building reports of text no. 15 and text no. 16. Additional information is provided in the on-page notes.

Only the certain exemplars of this inscription are edited here. Ex. 1* (I2b 1502), however, is an exception. Although it duplicates (with some omission and variation) a passage of the building account presently known only from this inscription, the fragment is not sufficiently preserved to be certain it is an exemplar of this text. I2b 1502 is provisionally edited here, rather than on its own. The omissions and major variants are cited in the on-page notes. Since we were unable to study this fragment from the original, the transliteration of ex. 1* in the score is based on E. Frahm's transliteration (Sanherib p. 88), which is based on an unpublished copy of V.K. Šilejko sent to him by S. Hodjash.

Of the identified Sennacherib prism fragments in museum collections around the world there are four other fragments that could belong to this inscription rather than to one of the other texts written on octagonal prisms. These are edited with text no. 16 as exs. 24*–27*. See the catalogue and commentary of that inscription for further details.

The provenance of ex. 1 is uncertain. E.A.W. Budge (By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 23) states that BM 103000 "was found in a chamber built in the wall (or perhaps it was sunk in the actual wall), close to one of the human-headed bulls of one of the gates of Nineveh, and the bull near which it was placed must have been removed before it could be extracted from the wall. ... It is probable that cylinder No. 103,000 was

discovered by the natives when they were breaking this bull into pieces, and we must be thankful that they had the sense enough to realize that it would fetch more money complete than when broken into pieces." J. Reade (JCS 27 [1975] p. 192), following Budge's account, tentatively suggests that ex. 1 came from the Nergal Gate. Frahm, drawing attention to a statement made by R.C. Thompson (Iraq 7 [1940] p. 85), points out that BM 103000 could have been discovered in Area SH (or similar provenance). According to records in the British Museum, this prism was purchased from I. Géjou. Thus, it is not impossible that ex. 1 was discovered as Budge describes and then purchased by Géjou, who in turn sold it to the British Museum.

A precise provenance for ex. 2 (IM 56578) is given by N. al Asil *apud* Heidel, Sumer 9 (1953) p. 117: "the prism was found embedded between the sun-dried bricks of the western wall of Nineveh, about three meters below the top of the wall, at a point about thirty meters north of where the present Mosul-Erbil road crosses the western city wall. He adds that there is no indication of a city gate at this point." Frahm (Sanherib pp. 87–88) suggests that Rm 26 (ex. 4) could have come from Area SH since Borger has proposed international joins between Rm 15, Rm 17, and Rm 18 and fragments in the Oriental Institute (Chicago). For the proposed provenance of the Chicago fragments purchased by E. Chiera, see for example Thompson, Iraq 7 (1940) p. 85.

While one might prefer to use IM 56578 (ex. 2) as exemplar 1 because it is the best preserved copy of the inscription, BM 103000 (ex. 1) has been used instead to conform with older editions, all of which follow the line numbering of that prism. The master text is based upon both exs. 1 and 2. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM.

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TEXT

Col. i

1) ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL GAL
2) LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti*
3) LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI LUGAL *kib-rat* LÍMMU-*ti*
4) RE.É.UM *it-pe-šu mi-gir* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
5) *na-ṣir kit-ti ra-ʾi-im mi-šá-ri*
6) *e-piš ú-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ut*
7) *a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti*
8) *eṭ-lum gít-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du*
9) *a-šá-red kal ma-al-ki rap-pu la-ʾi-iṭ*
10) *la ma-gi-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni*
11) ^{d}*aš-šur* KUR-*ú* GAL-*ú* LUGAL-*ut la šá-na-an*
12) *ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma* UGU *gi-mir*
13) *a-šib pa-rak-ki ú-šar-ba-a* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia*
14) *ul-tu* A.AB.BA *e-le-ni-ti*
15) *ša šul-mu* ^{d}UTU-*ši a-di tam-tim šap-li-ti*
16) *ša ṣi-it* ^{d}UTU-*ši*
17) *gim-ri ṣal-mat* SAG.DU *ú-šak-niš še-pu-ú-a*
18) *ù mal-ki šep-ṣu-ti e-du-ru ta-ḫa-zi*
19) *da-ád-me-šú-un iz-zi-bu-ma*
20) *ki-ma su-tin-ni ni-gi-iṣ-ṣi*
21) *e-diš ip-par-šu a-šar la ʾa-a-ri*

i 1–10) Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), capable shepherd, favorite of the great gods, (i 5) guardian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (and) strives after good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridle that controls (i 10) the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning:

i 11–21) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises. He made all of the black-headed (people) from the Upper Sea (i 15) of the Setting Sun to the Lower Sea of the Rising Sun bow down at my feet. Thus did recalcitrant rulers come to fear battle with me. While they were abandoning their settlements, (i 20) they flew away alone like bats (living) in crevices to inaccessible place(s).

22) *i-na maḫ-re-e ger-ri-ia*
23) *ša* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA LUGAL KUR.*kár-*^{d}*dun-ía-àš*
24) *a-di* ERIM.ḪI.A ELAM.MA.KI *re-ṣi-šú*
25) *i-na ta-mir-ti kiš*.KI *áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú*
26) *i-na* $MURUB_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri šu-a-tu*
27) *e-zib* KARAŠ-*su e-diš ip-par-šid-ma*
28) *na-piš-tuš e-ṭí-ir* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
29) GIŠ.*ṣu-um-bi* ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ
30) *ša i-na qit-ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi*
31) *ú-maš-ši-ru ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a*

i 22–31) On my first campaign, I brought about the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), together with the troops of (the land) Elam, his allies, (i 25) in the plain of Kish. In the midst of that battle he abandoned his camp, fled alone, and (thereby) saved his life. I seized the chariots, horses, wagons, (and) mules (i 30) that he had abandoned in the thick of battle.

32) *a-na* É.GAL-*šú ša qé-reb* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
33) *ḫa-diš e-ru-um-ma ap-te-e-ma* É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú*
34) KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR *ú-nu-ut* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR NA_4 *a-qar-tu*
35) *mim-ma šum-šú* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA *la ni-bi ka-bit-tu* GUN
36) MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL-*šú* LÚ.TIRUM.MEŠ LÚ.*man-za-az pa-ni*
37) LÚ.NAR.MEŠ MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ

i 32–40) I joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then I opened his treasury and brought out gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, precious stones, (i 35) all kinds of possessions (and) property without number, a substantial tribute, (together with) his palace women, courtiers, attendants, male singers, female singers, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, (i 40) and I counted (them) as booty.

i 1–iv 17 These lines generally duplicate text no. 15 i 1–v 9 and text no. 16 i 1–iv 69, apart from orthographic variants, for which see the on-page notes.

38) *si-ḫir-ti um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú*
39) *mut-tab-bi-lu-tú* É.GAL-*uš*
40) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*
41) *i-na e-muq* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia* 75 URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti*
42) É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni ša* KUR.*kal-di*
43) *ù* 4 ME 20 URU.MEŠ-*ni* TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
44) *al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*
45) LÚ.*úr-bi* LÚ.*a-ra-mu* LÚ.*kal-du*
46) *ša qé-reb* UNUG.KI NIBRU.KI *kiš*.KI
47) URU.*ḫur-sag-kalam-ma* GÚ.DU$_8$.A.KI ZIMBIR.KI
48) *a-di* DUMU.MEŠ URU EN *ḫi-iṭ-ṭi ú-še-ṣa-am-ma*
49) *šal-la-tiš am-nu*

i 41–49) With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 75 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 420 small(er) settlements in their environs. (i 45) I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Ḫursagkalama, Cutha, (and) Sippar, together with the guilty citizens, and I counted (them) as booty.

50) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia*
51) LÚ.*tu-ʾu-mu-na* LÚ.*ri-ḫi-ḫu*
52) LÚ.*ia-daq-qu* LÚ.*ú-bu-du*
53) LÚ.*gib-re-e* LÚ.*ma-la-ḫu*
54) LÚ.*gu-ru-mu* LÚ.*ú-bu-lu*
55) LÚ.*da-mu-nu* LÚ.*gam-bu-lum*
56) LÚ.*ḫi-in-da-ru* LÚ.*ru-ʾu-u-a*
57) LÚ.*pu-qu-du* LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-a-nu*
58) LÚ.*ḫa-ga-ra-nu* LÚ.*na-ba-tu*
59) LÚ.*li-iʾ-ta-a-ú* LÚ.*a-ra-mu*
60) *la kan-šu-ti mit-ḫa-riš ak-šud*^{ud}
61) 2 ME 8 LIM UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
62) ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ
63) *ù* US$_5$.UDU.ḪI.A *ša la ni-bi šal-la-tu*
64) *ka-bit-tu áš-lu-la a-na qé-reb* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
65) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ša* ^{md}MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ
66) LÚ.*qí-pi* URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-te*
67) KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni* GAL.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ
68) ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ù* US$_5$.UDU.ḪI.A
69) *ta-mar-ta-šú ka-bit-tu am-ḫur*

i 50–64) On my return march, I defeated all together the Tuʾumuna, Riḫiḫu, Yadaqqu, Ubudu, Gibrê, Malaḫu, Gurumu, Ubulu, (i 55) Damunu, Gambulu, Ḫindaru, Ruʾuʾa, Puqudu, Ḫamrānu, Ḫagarānu, Nabatu, (and) Liʾtaʾu, (i 60) insubmissive Arameans. I carried off into Assyria a substantial booty (consisting of) 208,000 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number.

70) *ba-ḫu-la-te* URU.*ḫi-rim-me* LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣi*
71) *i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit-ma e-du ul e-zib*
72) *pag-ri-šú-un i-na ga-ši-ši a-lul-ma*
73) *si-ḫir-ti* URU *ú-šal-me*
74) *na-gu-ú šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aṣ-bat*
75) 1-*en* GU$_4$ 10 UDU.MEŠ 10 ANŠE GEŠTIN 20 ANŠE ZÚ.LUM.MA
76) *re-še-te-šú a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
77) EN.MEŠ-*ia ú-kin dà-ri-šam*

i 65–69) In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audience gift from Nabû-bēl-šumāti, the official in charge of the city Ḫararatu: gold, silver, large *musukkannu*-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

i 70–77) I put to the sword the population of the city Ḫirimmu, a dangerous enemy, and I did not spare a single one. I hung their corpses on poles and placed (them) around the city. I reorganized that district (i 75) (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

78) *i-na* 2-*e ger-ri-ia* ^{d}*aš-šur be-lí ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma*
79) *a-na* KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i ù* KUR LÚ.*ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a*
80) *ša ul-tu ul-la a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia*
81) *la kit-nu-šu lu al-lik*
82) *qé-reb ḫur-šá-a-ni zaq-ru-ti* A.ŠÀ *nam-ra-ṣi*
83) *i-na* ANŠE.KUR.RA *ar-kab-ma* GIŠ.GIGIR GÌR.II-*ia*
84) *i-na ti-ik-ka-a-te ú-šá-áš-ši*

i 78–85) On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and I marched to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians, (i 80) who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, my ancestors. In the high mountains, difficult terrain, I rode on horseback and had my personal chariot carried on (men's) necks. (i 85) In very rugged terrain I roamed about on foot like a wild bull.

85) *áš-ru šup-šu-qu i-na* GÌR.II-*ia ri-ma-niš at-tag-giš*
86) URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ* URU.*ḫa-ar-diš-pi*
87) URU.É-^{m}*ku-bat-ti* URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu*
88) É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni dan-nu-ti al-me* KUR-*ud*
89) UN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ
90) ANŠE.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A

Col. ii

1) *ul-tu qer-bi-šú-un ú-še-ṣa-*⌜*am*⌝*-ma šal-la-tiš* ⌜*am*⌝*-nu*
2) *ù* URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* TUR.MEŠ *ša ni-ba la* ⌜*i*⌝*-*[*šu*]*-*⌜*ú*⌝
3) *ap-pul aq-qur ú-še-me* ⌜*kar-meš*⌝
4) É EDIN *kul-ta-ri mu-šá-bi-*[*šú*]*-*⌜*nu*⌝
5) *ina* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu-ma di-tal-liš ú-*[*še*]*-*⌜*mi*⌝
6) *ú-ter-ma* URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ šu-*⌜*a-tu*⌝
7) *a-na bir-tu-ti aṣ-bat* UGU *ša* u_4*-me* ⌜*pa-ni*⌝
8) BÀD.MEŠ-*šú ú-dan-nin-ma*
9) UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia*
10) *i-na lìb-bi ú-še-šib*
11) UN.MEŠ KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i*
12) *ù* KUR LÚ.*ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a*
13) *ša la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ip-par-šid-du*
14) *ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*i ú-še-ri-dam-ma*
15) *i-na* URU.*ḫar-diš-pi* URU.É-^{m}*ku-bat-ti ú-šar-me*
16) *i-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia*
17) LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ar-rap-ḫa am-nu-šú-nu-ti*
18) NA_4.NA.RÚ.A *ú-še-piš-ma*
19) *li-i-tum ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II *ša* UGU-*šú-un áš-tak-ka-nu*
20) *ṣe-ru-uš-šú ú-šá-áš-ṭir-ma i-na qer-bi* URU *ul-ziz*
21) *pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma*
22) *a-na* KUR.*el-li-pi aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu*
23) *el-la-mu-ú-a* ^{m}*is-pa-ba-a-ra* LUGAL-*šú-un*
24) URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú*
25) *ú-maš-šir-ma a-na ru-qé-e-te in-na-bit*
26) *gim-ri* KUR-*šú* DAGAL-*tim* GIM $MURU_9$ *as-ḫu-up*
27) URU.*mar-ú-biš-ti* URU.*ak-ku-ud-du*
28) URU.MEŠ-*ni* É LUGAL-*ti-šú a-di* 34 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
29) *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu al-me* KUR-*ud*
30) *ap-pul aq-qur ina* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*
31) UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
32) ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ
33) *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *a-na la mi-nam áš-lu-lam-ma*
34) *a-di la ba-ši-i ú-šá-lik-šu-ma*
35) *ú-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-ir* KUR-*su*
36) URU.*ṣi-ṣi-ir-tu* URU.*ku-um-ma-aḫ-lum*
37) URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti a-di* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
38) *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu* KUR.É-^{m}*ba-ar-ru-u*
39) *na-gu-ú a-na gi-mir-ti-šú*
40) *ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*šú ab-tuq-ma*
41) UGU *mi-ṣir* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-rad-di*

i 86–ii 5) I surrounded (and) conquered the cities Bīt-Kilamzaḫ, Ḫardišpu, (and) Bīt-Kubatti, their fortified walled cities. I brought out of them people, horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats, (ii 1) and I counted (them) as booty. Moreover, I destroyed, devastated, (and) turned into ruins their small(er) settlements, which w[er]e without number. I burned with fire pavilions (and) tents, [the]ir abodes, and re[duc]ed (them) to ashes.

ii 6–20) I made that city Bīt-Kilamzaḫ a fortress again (and) I strengthened its walls more than before, then (ii 10) I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I brought down from the mountains the people of the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians who had fled from my weapons and (ii 15) I made (them) dwell in the cities Ḫardišpu (and) Bīt-Kubatti. I placed them under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Arrapḫa. I had a stele made, had all the victorious conquests that I achieved over them (ii 20) written on it, and I erected (it) in (that) city.

ii 21–30) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road to the land Ellipi. Before my arrival, Ispabāra, their king, (ii 25) abandoned his fortified cities (and) his treasury and fled far away. I overwhelmed all of his wide land like a fog. I surrounded, conquered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities Mar'ubištu (and) Akkuddu, cities of his royal house, together with thirty-four small(er) settlements in their environs.

ii 31–41) I carried off people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats without number, then I brought him (Ispabāra) to nought and (ii 35) made his land smaller. I detached from his land the cities Ṣi(ṣ)ṣirtu (and) Kummaḫlum, fortified cities, together with the small(er) settlements in their environs (and) the district of the land Bīt-Barrû in its entirety, and I added (this area) to the territory of Assyria.

42) URU.*el-en-za-áš a-na* URU LUGAL-*ú-ti*
43) *ù dan-na-at na-ge-e šu-a-tu aṣ-bat-ma*
44) MU-*šú maḫ-ra-a ú-nak-kir-ma*
45) URU.*kar-*^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*
46) *at-ta-bi ni-bit-su*
47) UN.MEŠ KUR.MEŠ *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia i-na lìb-bi ú-še-šib*
48) *i-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia*
49) LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ḫar-ḫar am-nu-ma*
50) *ú-rap-piš ma-a-ti*

ii 42–50) I took the city Elenzaš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and (ii 45) called it Kār-Sennacherib. I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I placed (it) under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Ḫarḫar, and (thus) enlarged my land.

51) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia*
52) *ša* KUR.*ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ú-te*
53) *ša i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia*
54) *ma-am-man la iš-mu-ú zi-kir* KUR-*šú-un*
55) *man-da-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu am-ḫur*
56) *a-na ni-ri be-lu-ti-ia*
57) *ú-šak-ni-su-nu-ti*

ii 51–57) On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down to the yoke of my lordship.

58) *i-na šal-ši ger-ri-ia a-na* KUR.*ḫat-ti lu al-lik*
59) ^{m}*lu-li-i* LUGAL URU.*ṣi-du-un-ni*
60) *pul-ḫi me-lam-me be-lu-ti-ia is-ḫu-pu-šú-ma*
61) *a-na ru-uq-qí* MURUB$_4$ *tam-tim in-na-bit-ma* KUR-*šú e-mid*
62) URU.*ṣi-du-un-nu* GAL-*ú* URU.*ṣi-du-un-nu ṣe-eḫ-ru*
63) URU.É-*zi-it-te* URU.*ṣa-ri-ip-tu*
64) URU.*ma-ḫal-li-ba* URU.*ú-šu-ú*
65) URU.*ak-zi-bi* URU.*ak-ku-ú*
66) URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ *a-šar ri-i-ti*
67) *ù maš-qí-ti* É *tuk-la-ti-šú*
68) *ra-šub-bat* GIŠ.TUKUL ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia*
69) *is-ḫu-pu-šú-nu-ti-ma ik-nu-šu še-pu-ú-a*

ii 58–69) On my third campaign, I marched to the land Ḫatti. (ii 60) Fear of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed Lulî, the king of the city Sidon, and he fled afar into the midst of the sea and disappeared. The awesome terror of the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed the cities Great Sidon, Lesser Sidon, Bīt-Zitti, Ṣarepta, Maḫalliba, Ušû, (ii 65) Akzibu, (and) Acco, his fortified cities (and) fortresses, an area of pasture(s) and water-place(s), resources upon which he relied, and they bowed down at my feet.

70) ^{m}*tu-ba-a'-lu ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL-*ú-ti*
71) UGU-*šú-un ú-še-šib-ma*
72) GUN *man-da-at-tu be-lu-ti-ia*
73) *šat-ti-šam la ba-aṭ-lu*
74) *ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú*

ii 70–74) I placed Tu-Ba'lu on the royal throne over them and imposed upon him tribute (and) payment (in recognition) of my overlordship (to be delivered) yearly (and) without interruption.

75) *ša* ^{m}*mi-in-ḫi-im-mu* URU.*sam-si-mu-ru-na-a-a*
76) ^{m}*tu-ba-a'-lu* URU.*ṣi-du-un-na-a-a*
77) ^{m}*ab-di-li-i'-ti* URU.*a-ru-da-a-a*
78) ^{m}*ú-ru-mil-ki* URU.*gu-ub-la-a-a*
79) ^{m}*mi-ti-in-ti* URU.*as-du-da-a-a*
80) ^{m}*bu-du*-DINGIR URU.KUR.É-^{m}*am-ma-na-a-a*
81) ^{m}*kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi* KUR.*ma-'a-ba-a-a*
82) ^{md}*a-a-ram-mu* KUR.*ú-du-um-ma-a-a*
83) LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* KUR MAR.TU.KI *ka-li-šú-un*
84) IGI.SÁ-*e šad-lu-ti ta-mar-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu*
85) *a-di* 4-*šú a-na maḫ-ri-ia iš-šu-nim-ma*
86) *iš-ši-qu* GÌR.II-*ia*

ii 75–86) As for Min(u)ḫimmu of the city Samsimuruna, Tu-Ba'lu of the city Sidon, Abdi-Li'ti of the city Arwad, Ūru-Milki of the city Byblos, Mitinti of the city Ashdod, (ii 80) Būdi-il of the city Bīt-Ammon, Kammūsu-nadbi of the land Moab, Aya-rāmu of the land Edom, all of the kings of the land Amurru, they brought extensive gifts, *four times* (the normal amount), as their substantial audience gift before me and kissed my feet.

87) *ù* ^{m}*ṣi-id-qa-a* LUGAL URU.*is-qa-al-lu-na*
88) *ša la ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ia*
89) DINGIR.MEŠ É AD-*šu šá-a-šu* DAM-*su* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú*
90) DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* NUMUN É

ii 87–91) Moreover, (as for) Ṣidqâ, the king of the city Ashkelon who had not bowed down to my yoke, I forcibly removed the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, his sons, (ii 90) his daughters, his brothers, (and other) offspring of his father's house

ii 81 KUR.*ma-'a-ba-a-a* "of the land Moab": Ex. 2 has URU.*ma-'a-ba-a-a* "of the city Moab."

AD-*šú*
91) *as-su-ḫa-am-ma a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-raš-šu*
92) ^{m}LUGAL-*lu-dà-a-ri* DUMU ^{m}*ru-kib-ti* LUGAL-*šú-nu maḫ-ru-u*
93) UGU UN.MEŠ URU.*is-qa-al-lu-na áš-kun-ma*
94) *na-dan* GUN *kàd-re-e be-lu-ti-ia*
95) *e-mid-su-ma i-šá-a-ṭa ab-šá-a-ni*
96) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia* URU.É-*da-gan-na*

Col. iii
1) URU.*ia-ap-pu-ú* URU.*ba-*^{r}*na*$^{\neg}$*-a-a-bar-qa*
2) URU.*a-zu-ru* URU.MEŠ *ša* ^{m}*ṣi-id-qa-*^{r}*a*$^{\neg}$
3) *ša a-na* GÌR.II-*ia ár-ḫiš la ik-nu-*^{r}*šu*$^{\neg}$
4) *al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-*^{r}*un*$^{\neg}$
5) LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ *ù* UN.^{r}MEŠ$^{\neg}$
6) URU.*am-qar-ru-na ša* ^{m}*pa-di-i* LUGAL-*šú-nu*
7) EN *a-de-e ù ma-mit ša* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
8) *bi-re-tú* AN.BAR *id-du-*^{r}*ma*$^{\neg}$ *a-na* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú*
9) KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a id-di-nu-šú nak-riš*
10) *a-na an-zil-li i-pu-šú ip-làḫ* ŠÀ-*šú-un*
11) LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* KUR.*mu-uṣ-ri* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ
12) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ša* LUGAL KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫa e-mu-qí la ni-bi*
13) *ik-te-ru-nim-ma il-li-ku re-ṣu-us-su-un*
14) *i-na ta-mir-ti* URU.*al-ta-qu-ú el-la-mu-u-a*
15) *si-id-ru šit-ku-nu ú-šá-'a-lu* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú-un*
16) *i-na tukul-ti* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia*
17) *it-ti-šú-un am-da-ḫi-iṣ-ma áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú-un*
18) LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù* DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL KUR.*mu-*^{r}*ṣu*$^{\neg}$*-ra-a-a*
19) *a-di* LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša* LUGAL KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫa*
20) *bal-ṭu-su-un i-na* $MURUB_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri*
21) *ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a* URU.*al-ta-qu-u* URU.*ta-am-na-a*
22) *al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*
23) *a-na* URU.*am-qar-ru-na aq-rib-ma*
24) LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ *ša ḫi-iṭ-ṭu ú-šab-šu-u*
25) *a-duk-ma i-na di-ma-a-ti*
26) *si-ḫir-ti* URU *a-lul pag-ri-šú-un*
27) DUMU.MEŠ URU *e-piš an-ni ù gíl-la-ti*
28) *a-na šal-la-ti am-nu*
29) *si-it-tu-te-šú-nu la ba-bil ḫi-ṭi-ti*
30) *ù gul-lul-ti*
31) *ša a-ra-an-šú-nu la ib-šu-ú*
32) *uš-šur-šú-un aq-bi*
33) ^{m}*pa-di-i* LUGAL-*šú-nu*
34) *ul-tu qé-reb* URU.*ur-sa-li-im-ma*
35) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA *be-lu-ti*
36) UGU-*šú-un ú-še-šib-ma man-da-at-tu*
37) *be-lu-ti-ia ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú*
38) *ù* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú* KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a*

and took him to Assyria.

ii 92–95) I set Šarru-lū-dāri, son of Rūkibtu, their former king, over the people of the city Ashkelon and imposed upon him the payment of tribute (and) gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship so that he (now) pulls my yoke.

ii 96–iii 4) In the course of my campaign, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Bīt-Daganna, (iii 1) Joppa, Banayabarqa, (and) Azuru, the cities of Ṣidqâ that had not submitted to me quickly.

iii 5–13) (As for) the governors, the nobles, and the people of the city Ekron who had thrown Padî, their king who was bound by treaty and oaths to Assyria, into iron fetters and who had handed him over to Hezekiah of the land Judah in a hostile manner, (iii 10) they became frightened on account of the villainous acts they had committed. They formed a confederation with the kings of Egypt (and) the archers, chariots, (and) horses of the king of the land Meluḫḫa, forces without number, and they came to their aid.

iii 14–21a) In the plain of the city Eltekeh, they sharpened their weapons while drawing up in battleline before me. With the support of the god Aššur, my lord, I fought with them and defeated them. In the thick of battle, I captured alive the Egyptian charioteers and princes (lit. "the sons of the king"), together with the charioteers of the king of the land Meluḫḫa.

iii 21b–32) I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Eltekeh (and) Tamnâ. I approached the city Ekron and I killed the governors (and) nobles who had committed crime(s) (iii 25) and hung their corpses on towers around the city; I counted the citizens who had committed the criminal acts as booty; (and) I commanded that the rest of them, (those) who were not guilty of crimes or wrongdoing, (iii 30) (to) whom no penalty was due, be allowed to go free.

iii 33–37) I brought out Padî, their king, from the city Jerusalem and placed (him) on the lordly throne over them, then I imposed upon him payment (in recognition) of my overlordship.

iii 38–51) Moreover, (as for) Hezekiah of the land Ju-

39) *ša la ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ia*
40) 46 URU.MEŠ-*šú* É BÀD.MEŠ-⌜*ni*⌝ *dan-nu-ti*
41) *ù* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
42) *ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú*
43) *i-na šuk-bu-us a-ram-me*
44) *ù qit-ru-ub šu-pe-e*
45) *mit-ḫu-uṣ zu-uk* GÌR.II *pil-ši nik-si*
46) *ù kal-ban-na-te al-me* KUR-*ud*
47) 2 ME LIM 1 ME 50 UN.MEŠ TUR GAL
48) NITA *u* MUNUS ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ
49) ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ
50) *ù* US_5.UDU.ḪI.A *ša la ni-bi ul-tu qer-bi-šú-un*
51) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*
52) *šá-a-šú* GIM MUŠEN *qu-up-pi qé-reb*
53) URU.*ur-sa-li-im-ma* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú e-sír-šu*
54) URU.ḪAL.ṢU.MEŠ UGU-*šú ú-rak-kis-ma*
55) *a-ṣe-e* KÁ.GAL URU-*šú*
56) *ú-ter-ra ik-ki-bu-uš*
57) URU.MEŠ-*šú ša áš-lu-la*
58) *ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*šú ab-tuq-ma*
59) *a-na* ^{m}*mi-ti-in-ti* LUGAL URU.*as-du-di*
60) ^{m}*pa-di-i* LUGAL URU.*am-qar-ru-na*
61) *ù* ^{m}GISSU-EN LUGAL URU.*ḫa-zi-ti*
62) *ad-din-ma ú-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-ir* KUR-*su*
63) *e-li* GUN *maḫ-ri-ti na-da-an šat-ti-šú-un*
64) *man-da-at-tu kàd-re-e be-lu-ti-ia*
65) *ú-rad-di-ma ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú-un*
66) *šu-ú* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú pul-ḫi me-lam-me*
67) *be-lu-ti-ia is-ḫu-pu-šú-ma*
68) LÚ.*úr-bi ù* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ-*šú* SIG_5.MEŠ
69) *ša a-na dun-nu-un* URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu*
70) URU LUGAL-*ti-šú ú-še-ri-bu-ma ir-šú-ú til-la-a-te*
71) *it-ti* 30 GUN KÙ.GI 8 ME GUN KÙ.BABBAR
72) *ni-siq-ti gu-uḫ-li ták-kàs-si* NA_4.AN.ZA.GUL.ME GAL.MEŠ
73) GIŠ.NÁ.MEŠ ZÚ GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ *né-me-di* ZÚ
74) KUŠ AM.SI ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG
75) *mim-ma šum-šú ni-ṣir-tu ka-bit-tu*
76) *ù* DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL-*šú*
77) LÚ.NAR.MEŠ MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ
78) *a-na qé-reb* NINA.KI URU *be-lu-ti-ia*
79) EGIR-*ia ú-še-bi-lam-ma*
80) *a-na na-dan man-da-at-ti*
81) *ù e-peš* ARAD-*ú-ti iš-pu-ra rak-bu-šú*

dah, who had not submitted to my yoke, (iii 40) I surrounded (and) conquered forty-six of his fortified walled cities and small(er) settlements in their environs, which were without number, by having ramps trodden down and battering rams brought up, (iii 45) the assault of foot soldiers, sapping, breaching, and siege engines. I brought out of them 200,150 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number, and I counted (them) as booty.

iii 52–65) As for him (Hezekiah), I confined him inside the city Jerusalem, his royal city, like a bird in a cage. I set up blockades against him and (iii 55) made him dread exiting his city gate. I detached from his land the cities of his that I had plundered and I gave (them) to Mitinti, the king of the city Ashdod, (iii 60) Padî, the king of the city Ekron, and Ṣilli-Bēl, the king of the city Gaza, and (thereby) made his land smaller. To the former tribute, their annual giving, I added the payment (of) gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship and imposed (it) upon them.

iii 66–81) As for him, Hezekiah, fear of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed him and, after my (departure), he had the auxiliary forces and his elite troops whom he had brought inside to strengthen the city Jerusalem, (iii 70) his royal city, and who had provided support, along with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, choice antimony, large blocks of ..., ivory beds, armchairs of ivory, elephant hide(s), elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, (iii 75) every kind of valuable treasure, as well as his daughters, his palace women, male singers, (and) female singers brought into Nineveh, my capital city, and he sent a mounted messenger of his to me to deliver (this) payment and to do obeisance.

82) *i-na* 4-*e ger-ri-ia* ^{d}*aš-šur be-lí ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma*
83) *um-ma-na-te-ia gap-šá-a-te ad-ke-ma*
84) *a-na* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$ *a-la-ku aq-bi*
85) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia*
86) *ša* ^{m}*šu-zu-bi* LÚ.*kal-dà-a-a*
87) *a-šib qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me*
88) *ina* URU.*bi-it-tu-ú-tu áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú*

iii 82–91) On my fourth campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me so that I mustered my numerous troops and ordered the march to the land Bīt-Yakīn. (iii 85) In the course of my campaign, I defeated Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk), a Chaldean who lives in the marshes, at the city Bittūtu. As for him, terror of doing battle with me fell upon him and (iii 90) his heart pounded. He fled alone like a lynx and his (hiding)

89) *šu-ú ḫur-ba-šu ta-ḫa-zi-ia* UGU-*šú im-qut-ma*
90) *it-ru-ku* ŠÀ-*šú ki-ma az-za-ri e-diš ip-par-šid-ma*
91) *ul in-na-mir a-šar-šu*
92) *pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma*
93) *a-na* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_{7}$ *aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu*
94) *šu-ú* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA
95) *ša ina a-lak* KASKAL-*ia maḫ-re-e*

Col. iv

1) BAD$_{5}$.BAD$_{5}$-*šú áš-ku-nu ú-par-ri-ru el-lat-su*
2) *ri-gim* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-*⌜*ti*⌝
3) *ù ti-ib ta-ḫa-zi-*⌜*ia*⌝ *ez-zi e-dur-ma*
4) *a-na* KUR.*na-gi-a-te-ra-aq-qí*
5) *ša qa-bal tam-*⌜*ti*⌝ *iṣ-ṣu-riš ip-pa-*⌜*riš*⌝
6) ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* ⌜NUMUN É AD⌝-*šú* ⌜*ša ú-maš-ši*⌝-*ru a-ḫi tam-tim*
7) *a-di si-it-ti* ⌜UN⌝.MEŠ KUR-*šú*
8) *ul-tu* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_{7}$ ⌜*qé*⌝-*reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me*
9) *ap-pa-ra-a-te ú-še-ṣa-*⌜*am*⌝-*ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*
10) *ú-ter-ma* URU.MEŠ-*šú ap-pul* ⌜*aq*⌝-*qur ú-še-me kar-meš*
11) UGU EN *sa-li-me-šú* ⌜LUGAL⌝ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
12) *na-mur-ra-*⌜*tu*⌝ *at-bu-uk*
13) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-*⌜*ia*⌝ ^{m}*aš-šur-na-din*-MU
14) DUMU *reš-tu-ú tar-bit bir-ki-ia*
15) *i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *be-lu-ti-šú ú-še-šib-ma*
16) DAGAL-*tum* KUR EME.GI$_{7}$ ⌜*ù*⌝ URI.KI
17) *ú-šad-gil pa-nu-uš-šú*

18) *i-na* 5 *ger-ri-ia ba-ḫu-la-te* URU.*tu-mur-ri*
19) URU.*šá-a-ru-um* URU.*e-za-a-*⌜*ma*⌝ URU.*kib-šú*
20) URU.*ḫal-bu-da* URU.*qu-ú-a* URU.*qa-na*
21) *ša* GIM *qin-ni* TI$_{8}$.MUŠEN *a-šá-red* MUŠEN.ḪI.A
22) *ṣe-er zuq-ti* KUR.*ni-*⌜*pur*⌝ KUR-*i mar-ṣi*
23) *šu-bat-su-un šit-ku-na-at-*⌜*ma la*⌝ *kit-nu-šu*
24) *a-na ni-i-ri i-na* GÌR.II KUR.*ni-pur ka-ra-ši ú-šá-áš-kin-ma*
25) *it-ti* LÚ.*qur-bu-ti* GÌR.II-⌜*ia*⌝ *na-ás-qu-ti*
26) *ù* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *ta-ḫa-zi-*⌜*ia la*⌝ *ga-me-lu-ti*
27) *a-na-ku* GIM AM *ek-di pa-*⌜*nu-uš*⌝-*šú-un aṣ-bat*
28) *ḫur-ri na-ḫal-li na-at-ba-*⌜*ki*⌝ KUR-*i me-le-e*
29) *mar-ṣu-ti i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *áš-ta-am-di-iḫ*
30) *a-šar a-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *šup-šu-qu*
31) *i-na* GÌR.II-*ia áš-taḫ-ḫi-ṭam* GIM *ar-me*
32) *a-na zuq-ti šá-qu-ú-ti ṣe-ru-uš-šú-*⌜*un e*⌝-*li*
33) *a-šar bir-ka-a-a ma-na-aḫ-tu i-šá-a*
34) *ṣe-er* NA$_{4}$ KUR-*i ú-šib-ma* A.MEŠ ⌜KUŠ⌝.*na-a-di*
35) *ka-ṣu-ti a-na ṣu-me-ia lu áš-ti*
36) *i-na* ŠU.SI.MEŠ *ḫur-šá-a-ni ar-de-šu-nu-ti-ma*
37) *áš-ta-kan taḫ-ta-šú-un* URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu*

place could not be found.

iii 92–iv 9) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road to the land Bīt-Yakīn. He — Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), whom (iv 1) I had defeated (and) whose forces I had scattered during my first campaign — became frightened by the clangor of my mighty weapons and my fierce battle array. He flew away like a bird to the city Nagīte-raqqi, (iv 5) which is in the midst of the sea. I brought his brothers, the seed of his father's house, whom he had abandoned at the shore of the sea, together with the rest of the people of his land, out of the land Bīt-Yakīn, which is in the swamps (and) marshes, and I counted (them) as booty.

iv 10–12) Once again I destroyed (and) devastated his cities, (and) turned (them) into ruins. I poured out awe-inspiring brilliance upon his ally, the king of the land Elam.

iv 13–17) On my return march, I placed Aššur-nādin-šumi, my first-born son (whom I) raised on my (own) knee, on his lordly throne and entrusted him with the wide land of Sumer and Akkad.

iv 18–24) On my fifth campaign: The population of the cities Tumurrum, Šarum, Ezāma, Kibšu, (iv 20) Ḫalbuda, Qūa, (and) Qana, whose dwellings are situated like the nests of eagles, the foremost of birds, on the peak of Mount Nipur, a rugged mountain, and who had not bowed down to the yoke — I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mount Nipur.

iv 25–35) Like a fierce wild bull, with my select bodyguard and my merciless combat troops, I took the lead of them (the soldiers in my camp). I proceeded through the gorges of the streams, the outflows of the mountains, (and) rugged slopes in (my) chair. (iv 30) Where it was too difficult for (my) chair, I leapt forward on my (own) two feet like a mountain goat. I ascended the highest peaks against them. Where my knees became tired, I sat down upon the mountain rock and drank cold water from a water skin to (quench) my thirst.

iv 36–38) I pursued them on the peaks of the mountains and defeated them. I conquered, plundered, de-

iv 3–4 This edition, as well as text no. 16 and exs. 2 and 11 of text no. 15, omits DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-rak* KUR-*šú i-na* KI.TUŠ-*šú-nu id-ke-ma qé-reb* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ú-šar-kib-ma* "he dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of his land from their abodes, and loaded (them) onto boats."
iv 4 Cf. text no. 15 iv 33′ and text no. 22 iii 64, which have *na-gi-ti-ra-aq-qí* "(the city) Nagīte-raqqi" and URU.*na-gi-te-raq-qí* "the city Nagīte-raqqi" respectively.
iv 18–60 These lines generally duplicate text no. 16 iv 70–v 32, apart from orthographic variants, for which see the on-page notes.
iv 18 5 "fifth": Heidel's transliteration of ex. 2 (Sumer 9 [1953] p. 144) has 4 "fourth." This must be a mistake in the modern transliteration or else Heidel would have had a footnote about it.

KUR-*ud-ma*
38) *áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un ap-pu-ul aq-qur ina* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*
39) *pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma ṣe-er* ^{m}*ma-ni-ia-e*
40) LUGAL URU.*uk-ki šad-da-a-a-e la kan-še aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu*
41) *ur-ḫi la pe-tu-ti ṭu-di pa-áš-qu-ti*
42) *ša la-pa-an* KUR.MEŠ *mar-ṣu-ti*
43) *ul-la-nu-ú-a qé-reb-šú-un ma-am-man*
44) *la il-li-ku* LUGAL.MEŠ *pa-ni maḫ-ru-ti*
45) *i-na* GÌR.II KUR.*a-na-ra ù* KUR.*up-pa* KUR.MEŠ
46) *dan-nu-ti ka-ra-ši ú-šá-áš-kin-ma*
47) *a-na-ku i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *né-me-di it-ti* ERIM.MEŠ
48) *ta-ḫa-zi-ia gít-ma-lu-ti*
49) *i-na ne-re-bi-šú-un pi-qu-ti*
50) *šu-nu-ḫi-iš e-ru-um-ma mar-ṣi-iš e-te-el-la-a*
51) ŠU.SI.MEŠ KUR.MEŠ *pa-áš-qa-a-ti*
52) *šu-ú* ^{m}*ma-ni-ia-e tur-bu-uʾ*
53) GÌR.II ERIM.ḪI.A-*ia e-mur-ma* URU.*uk-ku* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú*
54) *e-zib-ma a-na ru-qé-e-ti in-na-bit*
55) URU.*uk-ku al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su*
56) *mim-ma šum-šú* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA *ni-ṣir-ti* É.GAL-*šú*
57) *ul-tu qer-bi-šu ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*
58) *ù* 35 URU.MEŠ *ša pa-a-ṭi li-me-ti-šú*
59) *ak-šud*^{ud}*-ma* UN.MEŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ù ṣe-e-ni*
60) ANŠE.MEŠ *áš-lu-la ap-pu-ul aq-qur ina* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*

stroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire their cities.

iv 39–51) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road against Maniye, the king of the city Ukku (and) an insubmissive mountain-dweller. Before my time, none of the former kings of the past had marched through the untrodden paths (and) difficult trails on account of the rugged mountains. (iv 45) I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mount Anara and Mount Uppa, mighty mountains, and I myself, in an armchair, with my crack combat troops, entered their narrow passes with great difficulty and ascended with a struggle the steep mountain peaks.

iv 52–57) He, Maniye, saw the dust cloud (stirred up) by the feet of my troops, then he abandoned the city Ukku, his royal city, and fled afar. (iv 55) I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the city Ukku. I brought out of it every kind of possession (and) property, the treasures of his palace, and I counted (it) as booty.

iv 58–60) Moreover, I conquered thirty-five cities on the borders of its outskirts and carried off people, oxen, and sheep and goats, (and) donkeys. (Then) I destroyed (them), devastated (them), (and) burned (them) with fire.

61) *i-na li-mu* ^{m}*šùl-mu*-EN LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.*tal-mu-si*
62) ^{m}*ki-ru-a* LÚ.EN.URU *ša* URU.*il-lu-ub-ri*
63) LÚ.ARAD *da-gíl pa-ni-ia ša iz-zi-bu-šu* DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú*
64) *ba-ḫu-la-te* URU.*ḫi-lak-ki*
65) *uš-bal-kit-ma ik-ṣu-ra ta-ḫa-zu*
66) UN.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ut* URU.*in-gi-ra-a u* URU.*tar-zi*
67) *i-da-a-šú is-ḫu-ru-ma ger-ri* KUR.*qu-e*
68) *iṣ-ba-tu ip-ru-su a-lak-tu*
69) LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN *na-ši tuk-ši ù az-ma-re-e*
70) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ki-ṣir* LUGAL-*ti-ia*
71) *ú-ma-ʾe-er ṣe-ru-uš-šú-un*
72) *ša ba-ḫu-la-te* URU.*ḫi-lak-ki*
73) *ša i-da-a-šú is-ḫu-ru*
74) *i-na qé-reb* KUR-*i mar-ṣi iš-ku-nu taḫ-ta-šú-un*

iv 61–68) In the eponymy of Šulmu-Bēl, governor of the city Talmusu (696), Kirūa — the city ruler of Illubru, a servant who belonged to me, whom his gods had abandoned — (iv 65) incited the population of Ḫilakku to rebel and prepare for battle. The people living in the cities Ingirâ and Tarzu aligned themselves with him, then seized the road through the land Que (and) blocked (its) passage.

iv 69–76) I sent against them archers, shield and lance bearers, chariots, (and) horses of my royal contingent. In rugged mountain terrain, they defeated the population of Ḫilakku, who had aligned themselves with him. (iv 75) They conquered and plundered the cities Ingirâ (and) Tarzu.

iv 58 35 "thirty-five": Text no. 16 v 29 and text no. 22 iv 28 have 33 "thirty-three." *li-me-ti-šú* "its outskirts": Text no. 22 iv 29 has *na-gi-šú* "its district."
iv 59 Text no. 16 v 30 and text no. 22 iv 29 add ANŠE.MEŠ "donkeys" after UN.MEŠ "people."
iv 61–91 This military report is known only from this inscription; it was not incorporated into the military narration of later editions of Sennacherib's *res gestae*. It is, however, mentioned in several later texts; for example, see text no. 26 i 18′ and text no. 34 lines 17b–18.
iv 62 URU.*il-lu-ub-ri*: The city Illubru has been identified as modern Namrun (Byzantine Lampron). See Houwink ten Cate, Luwian Population Groups p. 25.
iv 64, 72, and 83 URU.*ḫi-lak-ki* "the city Ḫilakku": Note that the scribe has used the city determinative (URU), rather than the expected land determinative (KUR), before Ḫilakku.

75) URU.*in-gi-ra-a* URU.*ta-ar-zu ik-šu-du-ma*
76) *iš-lu-lu šal-la-su-un*
77) *šá-a-šú qé-reb* URU.*il-lu-ub-ri* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú*
78) *ni-tum il-mu-šu-ma iṣ-ba-tu mu-ṣu-šu*
79) *i-na qur-ru-ub šu-pe-e nim-gal-li* BÀD
80) *ù kal-ban-na-te mit-ḫu-ṣu zu-uk* GÌR.II
81) *dab-da-a-šú iš-ku-nu-ma iṣ-ba-tu* URU

82) ^{m}*ki-ru-a* LÚ.EN.URU *a-di šal-lat* URU.MEŠ-*šú*
83) *ù* UN.MEŠ URU.*ḫi-lak-ki ša i-da-a-šú*
84) *is-ḫu-ru a-di* ANŠE.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ù ṣe-e-ni*
85) *a-na* URU.*ni-na-a a-di maḫ-ri-ia ub-lu-ni*
86) *ša* ^{m}*ki-ru-a ma-šak-šú a-ku-uṣ*
87) *ú-ter-ma* URU.*il-lu-ub-ru a-na eš-šu-te aṣ-bat*
88) UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia i-na lìb-bi ú-še-šib*
89) GIŠ.TUKUL ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia qé-reb-šú ú-šar-me*
90) NA_4.NA.RÚ.A-*a ša* NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL *ú-še-piš-ma*
91) *ma-ḫar-šu ul-zi-iz*

iv 77–81) As for him (Kirūa), they besieged him in the city Illubru, his fortified city, and cut off his escape route. They defeated him by means of bringing up battering rams, siege machines (lit. "*nimgallu*s of the wall"), (iv 80) and siege engines, (and) the assault of foot soldiers, and they took possession of the city.
iv 82–86) They brought Kirūa, the city ruler, together with booty from his cities and the inhabitants of Ḫilakku who had aligned themselves with him, as well as donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats to Nineveh, before me. I flayed Kirūa.
iv 87–91) Once again, I reorganized the city Illubru (and) settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I installed the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, inside it. (iv 90) I had a stele of alabaster made and I erected (it) in front of it.

Col. v

1) *i-na li-mu* ^{m}*aš-šur*-EN-PAP LÚ.GAR.KUR KUR.*kat-mu-ḫi*
2) ⌜*a*⌝*-na* URU.DU_6*-ga-ri-im-me*
3) *a-lum ša pa-a-ṭi* KUR.*ta-ba-li*
4) *ša* ^{m}*gúr-di-i* LUGAL URU.*ur-du-ti*
5) *ir-ku-su* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú*
6) *as-su-uk-ma* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN *na-ši tuk-ši*
7) *ù az-ma-re-e* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
8) *ki-ṣir* LUGAL-*ti-ia ú-ma-ʾe-er ṣe-ru-uš-šú*
9) URU *šu-a-*⌜*tum*⌝ *ni-i-tum il-mu-ma*
10) *i-na ši-pik e-pe-ri ù qur-ru-ub šu-pi-i*
11) *mit-ḫu-uṣ zu-uk* GÌR.II *iṣ-ba-tu* URU
12) UN.MEŠ *a-di* DINGIR.MEŠ *a-šib lìb-bi-šú im-nu-ú šal-la-ti-iš*
13) URU *šu-a-tu ip-pu-lu iq-qu-ru*
14) *a-na* DU_6 *ù kar-me ú-ter-ru*
15) *i-na šal-lat* KUR.MEŠ *ša-ti-na ša áš-lu-la*
16) 30 LIM GIŠ.PAN 20 LIM GIŠ.*a-ri-tu*
17) *i-na lìb-bi-šú-nu ak-ṣur-ma*
18) UGU *ki-ṣir* LUGAL-*ti-ia ú-rad-di*

v 1–8) In the eponymy of Aššur-bēlu-uṣur, governor of the land Katmuḫu (695), I ... against the city Tīl-Garimme, a city on the border of the land Tabal where Gurdî, king of the city Urdutu, (v 5) had mobilized his weapons, then I sent archers, shield and lance bearers, chariots, (and) horses of my royal contingent against it.

v 9–14) They besieged that city and (v 10) took possession of the city by means of piling up earth, bringing up battering rams, (and) the assault of foot soldiers. They counted the people, as well as the gods, living inside it as booty. They destroyed (and) devastated that city. They turned (it) into a mound of ruins (lit. "a mound and ruins").
v 15–22) From the booty of those lands that I had plundered, I conscripted 30,000 archers (and) 20,000 shield bearers and added (them) to my royal contingent. (v 20) I divided up the rest of the substantial

v 1–14 This military report is known only from this inscription; it was not incorporated into the military narration of later editions of Sennacherib's *res gestae*. It is, however, mentioned in several later texts; for example, see text no. 34 line 19.
v 2 G. Lanfranchi (Melammu 1 p. 24 n. 68) suggests that Kulummayu can easily be considered an alternative graphic form of Garimmu since the sounds /r/, /l/, and /t/ are often interchangeable in Anatolian languages. He suggests also that the form of the name may have been influenced by the scribal pun introduced in v 14 and therefore the Hittite name of the city (Tekarama) could have been rendered as Tīl-Garimme in this inscription and as Kulummayu in the Eponym Chronicle. For the scribal wordplay between Tīl-Garimme in v 2 and *ana tilli u karmē* "into a mound of ruins (lit. "a mound and ruins")" in v 14, see Borger, HKL 1 p. 319 and Yamada, AoF 33 (2006) p. 232; S. Yamada proposes that this pun was already on the minds of Tiglath-pileser III's scribes since the name of the city Tīl-Garimme (bibl. Togarma) is written as Tīl-karme in that king's inscriptions (for example, Tadmor and Yamada, RINAP 1 p. 46 Tiglath-pileser III 14 line 9).
v 4 ^{m}*gúr-di-i* "Gurdî": The name was previously read as ^{m}*ḫi-di-i* "Ḫidî"; for example, see Luckenbill, Senn. p. 62. URU.*ur-du-ti* "the city Urdutu": Cf. A. Heidel (Sumer 9 [1953] p. 251), who suggests URU *ur-du-ti* "a vassal city"; this view was followed by the CAD (R p. 97 sub *rakāsu* 3b) and PNA (Aro-Valjus, PNA 2/1 p. 431 sub Gurdî no. 3). Our interpretation, however, follows Parpola, Toponyms p. 373 sub URDUTU and Frahm, Sanherib p. 88.
v 6 *as-su-uk-ma* "I ... and": The verb, contra the CAD (N/2 p. 22 sub *nasāqu* A 1a), is *nasāku* "to throw (down)," but its precise meaning in this context is uncertain.
v 16 30 LIM "30,000": Text no. 4 line 59 has 10 LIM "10,000," text no. 15 v 11 and text no. 16 v 34 have 20 LIM "20,000," and text no. 19 ii′ 14′ has 20 LIM 4 ME "20,400." 20 LIM "20,000": Text no. 4 line 59 has 10 LIM "10,000," text no. 15 v 11 and text no. 16 v 34 have 15 LIM "15,000," and text no. 19 ii′ 14′ has 20 LIM 2 ME "20,200."

19) *si-it-ti šal-lat na-ki-ri ka-bit-tu*
20) *a-na gi-mir* KARAŠ-*ia ù* LÚ.EN.NAM.MEŠ-*ia*
21) UN.MEŠ *ma-ḫa-za-ni-ia* GAL.MEŠ
22) *ki-ma ṣe-e-ni lu ú-za-ʾi-iz*

enemy booty like sheep and goats among my entire camp and my governors, (and) the people of my great cult centers.

23) *i-na* u_4-*me-šu-ma* NINA.KI *ma-ḫa-zu ṣi-i-ru*
24) URU *na-ram* ^{d}*iš-tar*
25) *ša nap-ḫar ki-du-de-e* DINGIR.MEŠ
26) *ù* ^{d}IŠ.TAR.MEŠ *ba-šu-ú qé-reb-šú*
27) *tem-me-en-nu da-ru-ú du-ru-uš ṣa-a-ti*
28) *ša ul-tu ul-la it-ti ši-ṭir bu-ru-um-me*
29) *eṣ-rat-su eṣ-ret-ma šu-pu-ú ṣi-in-du-šú*
30) *áš-ru nak-lu šu-bat pi-riš-ti*
31) *ša mim-ma šum-šú ši-pir ni-kil-ti*
32) *gi-mir pel-lu-de-e ni-ṣir-ti làl-gar*
33) *šu-ta-bu-lu qé-reb-šú*
34) *ša ul-tu ul-la* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni*
35) *a-li-kut maḫ-ri* AD.MEŠ-*ia*
36) *ul-la-nu-ú-a be-lu-ut* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *e-pu-šú-ma*
37) *ú-ma-ʾe-ru ba-ʾu-lat* ^{d}EN.LÍL
38) *a-a-um-ma i-na lìb-bi-šú-nu a-na šum-dul*$_6$ *šu-bat* URU
39) *e-peš* BÀD *šu-te-šur su-qa-a-ni*
40) *ù ḫa-re-e* ÍD *za-qa-ap ṣip-pa-a-ti*
41) *ú-zu-un-šu ul ib-ši-ma*
42) *ul uš-ta-bil ka-ras-su*
43) *a-na* É.GAL *qer-bi-šú kúm-mu ri-mit be-lu-te*
44) *ša ṣu-uḫ-ḫu-rat šu-bat-sa*
45) *e-piš-taš la nak-lat-ma*
46) *le-e-su ul id-da-a*
47) *lib-bu-uš ul iḫ-su-us*

v 23–33) At that time, Nineveh, the exalted cult center, the city loved by the goddess Ištar (v 25) in which all of the rituals for gods and goddesses are present; the enduring foundation (and) eternal base whose plan had been designed by the stars (lit. "writing") of the firmament and whose arrangement was made manifest since time immemorial; (v 30) a sophisticated place (and) site of secret lore in which every kind of skilled craftsmanship, all of the rituals, (and) the secret(s) of the *lalgar* (cosmic subterranean water) are apprehended;
v 34–47) in which since time immemorial earlier kings, (v 35) my ancestors, before me exercised dominion over Assyria and ruled the subjects of the god Enlil; (but) not one among them had conceived of and put his mind towards increasing the site of the city, building wall(s), straightening the streets, (v 40) or dredging the river (and) planting orchards; nor had any (of them) paid heed to (or) shown interest in the palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling whose site had become too small (and) whose construction was inexpert:

48) *ia-a-ti* ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*
49) LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI
50) *e-peš šip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i ṭè-em* DINGIR.MEŠ
51) *i-na uz-ni-ia ib-ši-ma ka-bat-ti ub-lam-ma*
52) *te-ne-šet* KUR.*kal-di* LÚ.*a-ra-me* KUR.*man-na-a-a*
53) KUR.*qu-e ù* KUR.*ḫi-lak-ku* KUR.*pi-liš-ti ù* KUR.*ṣur-ri*
54) *ša a-na ni-ri-ia la ik-nu-šu*
55) *as-su-ḫa-am-ma tup-šik-ku ú-šá-áš-ši-šú-nu-ti-ma*

v 48–56a) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, (v 50) the performing of this work came to my attention by the will of the gods and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Manneans, the lands Que and Ḫilakku, (and) Philistia, and the land (of the city) Tyre, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made them carry baskets (of earth) and they made bricks.

56) *il-bi-nu* SIG$_4$ É.GAL *maḫ-ri-tu*
57) *ša* 3 ME 60 *ina* 1.KÙŠ UŠ
58) 95 *ina* 1.KÙŠ SAG.KI
59) *ma-ra-ku šit-ku-na-at-ma*
60) *ṣu-uḫ-ḫu-rat šu-bat-sa*
61) *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni a-li-kut maḫ-ri* AD.MEŠ-*ia*

v 56b–63) The former palace, whose extent was 360 cubits on (its) longer side (and) 95 cubits on (its) shorter side, and (v 60) whose site was too small; which earlier kings, my ancestors, had had constructed for their lordly dwelling, but whose construction they had carried out inexpertly:

v 23–viii 64 Although the building report utilizes material from earlier texts, it also contains material composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 694 (Sennacherib's 11th regnal year). Cf. text no. 15 v 18–viii 7′′ and text no. 16 v 41–viii 51, for which see the for on-page notes. For some of the differences between this text and the previous inscription, see the on-pages below.
v 56b–60 Text no. 16 v 71–76a has É.GAL *maḫ-ri-tu ša* 3 ME 60 *ina* 1.KÙŠ UŠ 80 *i-na* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL *i-na tar-ṣi za-me-e* É *ziq-qur-rat* 1 ME 34 *i-na* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL *i-na tar-ṣi na-ma-ri* É ^{d}*iš-tar* 95 *i-na* 1.KÙŠ DAGAL *i-na tar-ṣi na-ma-ri* É-*kid*$_9$-*mu-ri* "the former palace, which was 360 cubits long, 80 cubits wide opposite the *zamû*-wall of the ziggurrat, 134 cubits wide opposite the tower of the temple of the goddess Ištar, (and) 95 cubits wide opposite the tower of the Bīt-Kidmuri."
v 57 3 ME 60 "360": According to the copy seen by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 88), ex. 1* has 3[?] (over erasure) ME 40 "340," or less likely 6 ME 40 "640."
v 58–60 According to the copy seen by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 88), ex. 1* omits this passage altogether.

62) *a-na ri-mit be-lu-ti-šú-un ú-še-pi-šu-ma*
63) *la ú-nak-ki-lu ši-pir-šá*
64) ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ *ša* NA$_4$*.pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e*
65) *i-na* URU*.ta-as-ti-a-te ša e-ber-tan* ÍD.IDIGNA
66) *ib-tu-qu a-na mu-kil* KÁ.MEŠ*-ši-in*
67) *a-na šu-pu-uš* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ
68) *qé-reb* GIŠ.TIR.MEŠ GIŠ.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
69) *ú-qé-ru i-na nap-ḫar* KUR*-šú-un*
70) *i-na* ITI.GU$_4$ *u$_4$-mu a-dan-ni e-de-e pa-an šat-ti*
71) *i-na* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ṣi-ra-a-te*
72) *a-na a-ḫa-an-na-a ú-šeb-bi-ru-ni mar-ṣi-iš*
73) *i-na né-ber ka-a-ri* GIŠ.MÁ.GU.LA.MEŠ
74) *ú-ṭe-eb-bu-ú ba-ḫu-la-te-šú-un*
75) *ú-šá-ni-ḫu ú-lam-me-nu ka-ras-si-in*
76) *i-na da-na-ni ù šup-šu-qi*
77) *mar-ṣi-iš ú-bi-lu-nim-ma*
78) *ú-šá-aṣ-bi-tu* KÁ.MEŠ*-ši-in*

v 64–78) They quarried bull colossi of white limestone in the city Tastiate, which is across the Tigris River, to be their (the palatial halls') gatekeepers. Throughout their entire land they depleted forests of large trees to have boats built. (v 70) In the month Ayyāru (II), the time of spring floods, they brought (the colossi) across to this side (of the river) with difficulty in magnificent boats. They sank large boats at the quay dock (and then) made their crews (v 75) struggle (and) strain. With might and main, they struggled to transport (the colossi) and install (them) in their gates.

79) ÍD*.te-bil-ti a-gu-ú šit-mu-ru*
80) *ša ul-tu* UD.MEŠ SÙ.MEŠ
81) *ṭe-eḫ* É.GAL *i-ba-ʾu-ú-ma*
82) *i-na* ILLU*-šá gap-ši i-na uš-ši-šá*
83) *ab-bu ú-šab-šu-ú ú-ri-ib-bu tem-me-en-šá*
84) É.GAL.TUR.RA *šá-a-tu a-na si-ḫir-ti-šá aq-qur*
85) *ša* ÍD*.te-bil-ti ma-lak-šá*
86) *ul-tu qa-bal-ti* URU *ap-ru-us-ma*
87) *i-na ta-mir-ti ku-tal* URU *ú-še-šir mu-ṣu-šá*
88) *i-na* 1/2 IKU *ma-lak* A.MEŠ 4 NA$_4$*.pi-i-li* GAL.MEŠ
89) *it-ti* ESIR.UD.A *ak-si-ma* GI.MEŠ *a-pe*
90) *ù ku-pe-e ú-šat-ri-ṣa* UGU*-šú-un*
91) 3 ME 40 *ina* 1.KÙŠ UŠ

v 79–83) The Tebilti River, a tempestuous flood (of water) which had flowed from distant days by the side of the palace and which had caused erosion in its foundation when its flood was in full spate (and) had shaken its base:
v 84–87) I tore down that small palace in its entirety. (v 85) I diverted the course of the Tebilti River from the center of the city and directed its outflow into the meadow behind the city.
v 88–vi 6) In a one-half *ikû* (stretch) of the water's (natural) course, I bonded together, with bitumen, four large limestone (blocks) and spread marsh reeds and rushes over them. As an addition, I took a plot of land that was 340 cubits long (vi 1) (and) 289 cubits wide from the Ḫusur River and from the plain of the city (and) added (it) to the dimensions of the former terrace. In its (the terrace's) entirety, I raised its superstructure 190 courses of brick high.

Col. vi
1) 2 ME 89 *ina* 1.KÙŠ SAG.KI
2) *qaq-qa-ru ul-tu qé-reb* ÍD*.ḫu-su-ur*
3) *ù ta-mir-ti* URU
4) *ki-ma a-tar-tim-ma lu aṣ-ba-ta ṣe-er me-ši-iḫ-ti*
5) *tam-li-i maḫ-re-e lu ú-rad-di-ma*
6) *a-na si-ḫir-ti-šú ina* 1 ME 90 *ti-ib-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šú*
7) *la-ba-riš* UD.MEŠ *i-na* ILLU *kiš-šá-ti*
8) *tem-me-en tam-li-i la e-né-ši*
9) NA$_4$*.pi-i-li* GAL.MEŠ *ki-su-ú-šu*
10) *ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra ú-dan-nin šu-pu-uk-šu*

vi 7–14a) In order to prevent the foundation of the terrace from being weakened over the passage of time by cresting flood(s), (vi 10) I surrounded its base with large limestone (slabs and thereby) reinforced its base.

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v 64 ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ "bull colossi": Cf. text no. 16 v 79, which has UDU.MEŠ *šad-di* ^{d}LAMMA "mountain sheep colossi."
v 72b–73 Ex. 1* appears to abbreviate *mar-ṣi-iš i-na né-ber ka-a-ri* GIŠ.MÁ.GU.LA.MEŠ "with difficulty ... large boats at the quay dock."
v 85–87 Cf. text no. 16 vi 17b–19a, which has *ša* ÍD*.te-bil-ti ma-lak-šá uš-te-eš-na-a ab-bu uš-ṭib-ma ú-še-šir mu-ṣu-šá* "I changed the course of the Tebilti River, repaired (the effects of) the erosion, and regulated its flow."
v 88–90 Text no. 16 vi 19b–21a has *qé-reb ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-ki-šá šap-la-a-nu* GI.MEŠ *e-la-niš* NA$_4$ KUR*-i dan-nu it-ti* ESIR.UD.A *ak-si-ma* "in the hidden depths of its subterranean waters I bonded together with bitumen reeds below (and) strong mountain stone above."
vi 1 2 ME 89 "289": Text no. 16 vi 22 has 2 ME 88 "288."
vi 2–4a *qé-reb ... lu aṣ-ba-ta* "I took ... from ...": Cf. text no. 16 vi 23–24a, which has *ul-tu qé-*[*reb* ÍD*.ḫu-su-ur*$^{?}$ *ú-še-lam-ma*] *na-ba-liš ú-ter* "[I raised] (it) out [of the *Ḫusur River* and] converted (it) to dry land."
vi 6 Unlike text no. 16, this inscription does not include the measurements of the newly constructed terrace. Instead, it adds the dimensions of the palace after the passage recording the reinforcement of the terrace's foundations with large limestone slabs (vi 7–14a). See text no. 16 vi 26–38.
vi 7 Text no. 16 adds a passage here about the god Aššur and the goddess Ištar revealing white limestone in the city Balāṭāya (vi 39–48). That passage appears below in this inscription, but in a greatly expanded fashion. See the on-page note to vi 45–79.

11) *a-na* 7 ME *i-na* AS_4.LUM GAL-*ti* UŠ
12) *ù* 4 ME 40 *ina* AS_4.LUM GAL-*ti* SAG.KI
13) *ši-kit-ti* É.GAL *ú-ter-ma*
14) *šu-bat-sa uš-rab-bi* É.GAL.MEŠ KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR
15) ZABAR NA_4.AN.ZA.GUL.ME NA_4.DÚR.MI.NA.BÀN.DA
16) NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG
17) GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA GIŠ.EREN GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN
18) ŠIM.LI GIŠ.*e-lam-ma-ku* GIŠ.*si-in-da-a*
19) *a-na mu-šab be-lu-ti-ia*
20) *ab-ni-ma* É *mu-ter-re-te*
21) *tam-šil* É.GAL KUR.*ḫa-at-ti*
22) *mé-eḫ-ret ba-ba-a-ti ú-še-piš*
23) GIŠ.ÙR.MEŠ GIŠ.*ere-ni* GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN
24) *ša e-ri-su-un ṭa-a-bu bi-nu-ut* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim*
25) *ù* KUR.*si-ra-ra* KUR.MEŠ KÙ.MEŠ
26) *ú-šat-ri-ṣa e-li-šin*
27) GIŠ.IG.MEŠ GIŠ.*ere-ni* GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN ŠIM.LI
28) GIŠ.*si-in-da-a me-ser* KI.SAG URUDU
29) *ú-rak-kis-ma ú-rat-ta-a ba-bi-šin*
30) *i-na ba-rak-ki ša qé-reb* É.PA.PAḪ.MEŠ
31) *ap-ti bi-ir-ri ú-pat-ta-a*
32) MUNUS.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL ZÚ AM.SI
33) *ša il-lu-ru na-šá-a kit-mu-sa rit-ta-šin*
34) *bal-tu ku-uz-bu ḫi-it-lu-pa lu-le-e*
35) *ma-la-a i-na* KÁ.MEŠ-*šin ul-ziz-ma*
36) *a-na tab-ra-a-te ú-šá-lik*
37) *ṣu-lul ta-ra-a-ni ša qé-reb ba-rak-ka-a-ni*
38) *e-ṭu-su-un ú-šaḫ-la-a*
39) u_4-*mì-iš uš-nam-mir*
40) *sik-kàt kar-ri kas-pi ù* URUDU
41) *qé-reb-šin ú-šal-me*
42) *i-na* SIG_4.AL.ÙR.RA NA_4.ZÚ NA_4.ZA.GÌN
43) *us-si-ma se-el-lum né-bé-ḫi*
44) *ù gi-mir pa-ás-qí-ši-in*
45) *áš-šú šip-ri* É.GAL-*ia šu-te-šu-ri*
46) *ù li-pit* ŠU.II-*ia šul-lu-me*
47) *i-na* u_4-*me-šu-ma* ^{d}*aš-šur ù* ^{d}*iš-tar*
48) *ra-ʾi-i-mu* LÚ.SANGA-*ti-ia*
49) *na-bu-ú* MU-*ia giš-maḫ-ḫi* GIŠ.*ere-ni*

I enlarged the structure of the palace to 700 large cubits along (its) longer side and 440 large cubits along (its) shorter side and (thus) I made its site bigger.

vi 14b–22) I built palatial halls of gold, silver, (vi 15) bronze, ...-stone, breccia, alabaster, elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, *musukkannu*-wood, cedar, cypress, juniper, *elammaku*-wood, (and) Indian wood, for my lordly residence, (vi 20) then I had a house with double doors, a replica of a Hittite palace, opposite (its) gates, constructed.

vi 23–29) I roofed them (the palatial halls) with beams of cedar (and) cypress, whose scent is sweet, product(s) of Mount Amanus (vi 25) and Mount Sirāra, the holy mountains. I fastened bands of silver (and) copper on doors of cedar, cypress, juniper, (and) Indian wood and I installed (them) in their gates.

vi 30–36) In the corridors that are within the *papāḫu*-chambers, I made openings for latticed windows. At their gates, I stationed apotropaic figures of alabaster (and) elephant ivory, whose *folded* hands hold *poppies*, who are laden with pride (and) allure, (vi 35) (and) who are filled with exuberance, and (thus) I made (them) an object of wonder.

vi 37–44) The covering of the roof that (hangs) over the corridors — I made their somber atmosphere cheerful, making (them) as bright as day. (vi 40) I decorated them with silver and copper knobbed nails. I adorned the arches, friezes, and all of the copings with baked bricks (glazed in the color of) obsidian (and) lapis lazuli.

vi 45–53a) So that the construction of my palace might be carried out correctly and that my handiwork be completed, at that time, the god Aššur and the goddess Ištar, who love my priestly service (and) who selected me (lit. "who called my name"), revealed to

vi 11–14a This passage appears in lieu of the dimensions of the terrace. See the on-page note to vi 6.
vi 12 4 ME 40 "440": Ex. 3 has 4 ME "400."
vi 14 É.GAL.MEŠ "palatial halls": Text no. 16 vi 53 has É.GAL "palace."
vi 14b–18 KÙ.BABBAR ... GIŠ.*si-in-da-a* "silver ... Indian wood": This inscription adds silver, gold, bronze, NA_4.AN.ZA.GUL.ME (meaning unknown), and Indian wood to the list of materials used in the construction of the palace. NA_4.AN.ZA.GUL.ME "...": See von Soden, ZA 45 (1939) p. 47; and Schuster-Brandis, AOAT 46 p. 273.
vi 19 *a-na mu-šab be-lu-ti-ia* "for my lordly residence": Cf. text no. 16 vi 56–57, which has *é-gal-zag-di-nu-tuku-a a-na mu-*⌜*šab*⌝ LUGAL-*ti-ia* "Egalzagdinutukua, as my royal residence."
vi 20a *ab-ni-ma* "I built and": Cf. text no. 16 vi 57, which has *ú-še-piš-ma qé-reb-šú* "I had constructed thereon and."
vi 20b–44 This passage is a reworked and expanded version of text no. 16 vi 58–73. Apart from vi 30–39, which was composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 694, the main differences between the two texts are: (1) text no. 16 has É *ap-pa-a-te tam-šil* É.GAL KUR.*ḫat-ti ša i-na li-šá-a-ni* KUR MAR.TU.KI É *ḫi-la-a-ni i-šá-as-su-šú a-na mul-ta-ʾu-ti be-lu-ti-ia ú-še-pi-šá qé-reb-ši-in* "for my lordly pleasure, I constructed inside them a portico, a replica of a Hittite palace, which is called *bīt-ḫilāni* in the language of the land Amurru" in lieu of É *mu-ter-re-te ... ú-še-piš* "I had a house with double doors ... constructed"; (2) this inscription has *bi-nu-ut* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim ù* KUR.*si-ra-ra* "product(s) of Mount Amanus and Mount Sirāra" in place of *bi-nu-ut* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim tar-bit* KUR.*si-ra-ra* "product(s) of Mount Amanus and the yield of Mount Sirāra"; and (3) this text adds Indian wood to the list of wood used to build doors.
vi 28 *me-ser* "band": Cf. earlier texts (for example, text no. 1 line 81 and text no. 16 vi 63), where *misarru* is written *me-sér*.
vi 45–79 This passage is a greatly expanded and reworked version of text no. 16 vi 39–48.

50) *ša ul-tu* UD.MEŠ SÙ.MEŠ *i-ši-ḫu-ma*
51) *ik-bi-ru ma-gal i-na qé-reb* KUR.*si-ra-ra*
52) KUR.MEŠ *ina pu-uz-ri na-an-zu-zu*
53) *ú-šak-li-mu-in-ni ṣi-i-su-un*
54) *ša* NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL *ša i-na tar-ṣi* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni*
55) AD.MEŠ-*ia a-na kar-ri nam-ṣa-ri šu-qu-ru*
56) *i-na sa-pan* KUR.*am-ma-na-na ú-šap-tu-ni pa-ni-šú*
57) *ù* NA_4.DÚR.MI.NA.BÀN.DA *ma-la* DUG.*bur-zi-gal-li*
58) *ša la in-nam-ru ma-ti-ma*
59) *ina* URU.*kap-ri-da-ar-gi-la-a*
60) *ša pa-a-ṭi* URU.DU_6-*bar-si-ip*
61) *ú-kal-lim ra-ma-nu-uš*
62) *i-te-e* NINA.KI *ina er-ṣe-ti* URU.*ba-la-ṭa-a-a*
63) *ki-i ṭè-em* DINGIR-*ma* NA_4.*pi-i-lu pe-ṣu-u*
64) *a-na mu-ʾu-de-e in-na-mir-ma*
65) ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ *ù ṣa-lam meš-re-ti* NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL
66) *ša i-na* 1-*en* NA_4 *ib-ba-nu-ú mi-na-a-te šuk-lu-lu*
67) *i-na ki-gal-li ram-ni-šú-nu*
68) *šá-qiš na-an-zu-zu*
69) MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-te* NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL
70) *ša zi-me nu-us-su-qa*
71) GIM u_4-*me na-par-di-i nu-um-mu-ru zu-mur-šin*
72) KUN_4.MEŠ NA_4.DÚR.MI.NA.BÀN.DA MAḪ.MEŠ
73) *ab-ni ki-lal-la-an i-na šad-di-šú-un ab-tuq-ma*
74) *a-na šip-ri* É.GAL-*ia*
75) *ú-šal-di-da qé-reb* URU.*ni-na-a*
76) ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ *ù* MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-te*
77) NA_4.*pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e i-na lip-ta-at* ^{d}*nin-kur-ra*
78) *i-na er-ṣe-et* URU.*ba-la-ṭa-a-a*
79) *ú-šá-aʾ-lid-ma ú-šak-li-la gat-ta-šú-un*
80) *ša ul-tu ul-la* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia*
81) *ṣa-lam* URUDU *tam-šil gat-ti-šú-un*
82) *a-na šu-zu-zi qé-reb* É.KUR.MEŠ
83) *ib-nu-ma i-na e-piš-ti-šú-nu*
84) *ú-šá-ni-ḫu gi-mir* DUMU *um-ma-a-ni*
85) *i-na la bi-šit uz-ni la ḫa-sa-as a-ma-te*
86) *a-na šip-ri ḫi-šiḫ-ti-šú-nu*
87) Ì.GIŠ *iš-ku-ru na-al-ba-áš ṣe-e-ni*
88) *ú-qé-ru qé-reb* KUR.MEŠ-*šú-un*
89) *ia-a-ti* ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*
90) *a-šá-red kal mal-ki mu-de-e šip-ri*
91) *ka-la-ma tim-me* URUDU GAL.MEŠ
92) *ur-maḫ-ḫi pe-tan bir-ki ša ma-nam-ma*
93) *la ip-ti-qu* LUGAL *pa-ni maḫ-ri-ia*

Col. vii

1) *i-na uz-ni ni-kil-ti*

me a source of long trunks of cedar, (vi 50) which since distant days grew tall and very thick as they stood in seclusion in the Sirāra mountain range.

vi 53b–56) In the uplands of Mount Ammanāna (northern Anti-Lebanon), they (Aššur and Ištar) disclosed to me the location of alabaster, which in the time of the kings, (vi 55) my ancestors, was too expensive (even) for the pommel of a sword.

vi 57–61) Moreover, breccia, as much as is needed (for making) *burzigallu*-bowls, (a stone) that had never been seen before, (vi 60) revealed itself at Kapridargilâ ("Dargilâ Village"), which is on the border of the city Tīl-Barsip.

vi 62–75) Near Nineveh, in the territory of the city Balāṭāya, by divine will, white limestone was discovered in abundance, then I created bull colossi and (other) statues with limbs of alabaster that are sculpted from a single stone, (whose) proportions are perfect, (and) who stand high on their own pedestals; sphinxes of alabaster (vi 70) whose features are exquisite (and) whose bodies shine like a brilliant day; (and) magnificent slabs of breccia. I cut (them) free on both sides from their mountains, then, for the construction of my palace, I had (them) dragged into Nineveh.

vi 76–79) I had bull colossi and sphinxes of white limestone created and their forms perfected through the craft of the deity Ninkura, in the territory of the city Balāṭāya.

vi 80–88) Since time immemorial, the kings, my ancestors, created copper statues, replicas of their (own) forms, to be erected in temples, and through their manufacture they had exhausted all of the craftsmen. (vi 85) Through ignorance (and) failure to give thought on the matter, they depleted the oil, wax, (and) *wool* in their lands for the work they desired.

vi 89–vii 8) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, the foremost of all rulers, expert in every type of work, regarding large columns of copper (and) striding lion colossi, which none of the kings of the past (who came) before me had cast: (vii 1) with the ingenious mind that the prince, the god Ninšiku, had granted to me (and) taking counsel with myself, I intensively pondered

vi 56 KUR.*am-ma-na-na* "Mount Ammanāna": A. Bagg (SAAB 15 [2006] pp. 183–192) suggests that Ammanāna is the northern part of the Anti-Lebanon; Mount Sirāra is regarded as the southern part of that range. Ammanāna has previously been identified with the Anti-Lebanon (Tadmor, Tigl. III p. 61), Jabal an-Nusairiya (Helsinki Atlas p. 5), and the Amanus (Zadok, NABU 1996 no. 17). See also Bagg, Rép. Géogr. 7/1 pp. 8–9 sub Ammanāna.

vi 80–88 and vi 89–vii 8 These passages were probably composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 694. For vi 80–88, see Dalley in Curtis, Bronzeworking pp. 103–104.

vi 85–88 Cf. von Soden, Orientalia NS 27 (1958) pp. 259–260 no. 103.

2) *ša ú-šat-li-ma ru-bu-ú* ^{d}*nin-ši-kù*
3) *i-na ši-tul-ti ram-ni-ia*
4) *a-na e-peš šip-ri šu-a-tu*
5) *ra-biš am-tal-lik-ma ina mì-lik ṭè-me-ia*
6) *ù me-reš ka-bat-ti-ia*
7) *pi-ti-iq* URUDU *ú-ba-áš-šim-ma*
8) *ú-nak-ki-la nik-lá-su*

how to perform this work. Then, with my (own) ideas and knowledge, I created a cast work of copper and expertly carried out its artful execution.

9) *ša giš-maḫ-ḫi ù a-la-mit-ta*
10) GIŠ *meš-re-e* 12 UR.MAḪ.MEŠ *né-ʾi-ru-ti*
11) *a-di* 12 ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ
12) MAḪ.MEŠ *ša šuk-lu-lu nab-ni-tu*
13) 22 MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-te ša ku-uz-ba*
14) *ul-ṣu ḫi-it-lu-pa bal-tu la-la-a*
15) *kúm-mu-ru ṣe-ru-uš-šin*
16) *ki-i ṭè-em* DINGIR-*ma zi-iʾ-pi ṭi-iṭ-ṭi*
17) *ab-ni-ma e-ra-a qé-reb-šú áš-tap-pa-ka*
18) *ki-i pi-ti-iq* 1/2 GÍN.TA.ÀM
19) *ú-šak-li-la nab-ni-su-un*

vii 9–19) By divine will, I created clay mold(s) of tree trunks and date palm(s), (vii 10) the tree of abundance, (of) twelve raging lions, as well as (of) twelve magnificent bull colossi with perfect features (and) twenty-two sphinxes that are coated in allure (and) charm (and) that have pride (and) exuberance (vii 15) heaped upon them, then I poured copper into it. Just like the cast work of (an object weighing only) a half shekel, I perfected their forms.

20) ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ *nab-nit* URUDU
21) *ša* 2 *ina lìb-bi za-ḫa-lu-u lit-bu-šú*
22) ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL
23) *a-di* ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ *ù* MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-te*
24) NA_4.*pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e ša* É.GAL.MEŠ-*ia*
25) *ú-šá-aṣ-bi-ta* SI.GAR-*ši-in*

vii 20–25) I made bull colossi with copper features, two of which were overlaid with *zaḫalû*-silver, (and) bull colossi of alabaster, together with bull colossi and sphinxes of white limestone, hold the door bolts of my palatial halls.

26) *tim-me* URUDU MAḪ.MEŠ *a-di tim-me* GIŠ.*ere-ni*
27) GAL.MEŠ *bi-ib-lat* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim*
28) *me-ser* URUDU *ù* AN.NA *ú-rak-kis-ma*
29) *ṣe-er pirig-gal-le-e ul-ziz-ma*
30) *dáp-pi ku-lul* KÁ.MEŠ-*šin e-mid*
31) MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-te* NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL
32) *a-di* MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-te pi-ti-iq ú-ru-de-e*
33) *šá za-ḫa-lu-u lit-bu-šá ù* MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-te*

vii 26–30) I fastened bands of copper and tin on magnificent copper columns, as well as on large cedar columns, which are the product of Mount Amanus, then I installed (them) upon lion colossi and positioned cross-beams (upon them) as a cornice for their gates.
vii 31–40) Sphinxes of alabaster, as well as sphinxes of cast *urudû*-copper that were overlaid with *zaḫalû*-silver, and sphinxes of cast ...-metal, (vii 35) whose

vii 9–19 See Dalley in Curtis, Bronzeworking p. 104. This passage is a total reworking of text no. 16 vi 74–77. For *giš-maḫ-ḫi ù a-la-mit-ta* "tree trunks and date palm(s)," see the on-page note to vii 48.
vii 10 GIŠ *meš-re-e* "the tree of abundance": Cf. Lambert, BWL p. 74 line 56 and the note to that line on p. 305.
vii 18 D.D. Luckenbill (Senn. p. 109), the CAD (Z p. 87 sub *ze'pu* 3), G.L. Russell (Senn. p. 148), M.A. Powell (Studies Matouš p. 226), S. Parpola (Kwasman and Parpola, SAA 6 p. XXXIX n. 26), and others believe that 1/2 GÍN.TA.ÀM is a reference to a half-shekel piece. To our knowledge none of these "half-shekel pieces" have ever been identified in the archaeological record. For archaeological and textual evidence for the use of "money" in Mesopotamia prior to the invention of coinage, see Powell, Studies Matouš pp. 211–243. In the late third millennium and early second millennium, Powell suggests that silver was exchanged primarily in the form of "rings" (Sum. ḫar, Akk. *šewerum*), or more precisely, "coils," but also in the form of scrap silver (Akk. *šibirtu*). If 1/2 GÍN.TA.ÀM was ever a reference to a piece of money, it is uncertain what shape it took and whether or not these "half-shekel pieces" were regulated by the palace in the same manner as weights, that is, royal-issue "money." Greek coins are mentioned in a late Babylonian text; see CAD Z p. 87 sub *ze'pu* 4. J. Renger (in Schelkle and Nitsch, Rätsel Geld pp. 307 and 309), M.A. Powell (JESHO 39 [1996] pp. 231–232), K. Radner (in Dercksen, Trade and Finance p. 127 n. 2) and P. Vargyas (JNES 61 [2002] pp. 111–115) suggest that this statement was intended to illustrate how simple and effective Sennacherib's new casting was, and not to the minting of coins. Radner notes that the smallest amount of copper referred to in legal documents is half a mina. Vargyas suggests reading 1/2 GÍN.TA.ÀM as *ina* 1 GÍN.TA.ÀM; this proposal is not supported by our collation of ex. 1, as the sign is clearly 1/2, not the signs *ina* 1. Moreover, E. Frahm (NABU 2005 p. 51 no. 45) points out that 1/2 GÍN in this context equals *zūzu* "half unit (of a shekel)"; SIG_7.ALAM = *Nabnītu* Tablet XVII line 236 (Finkel and Civil, MSL 16 p. 162) reads: 1/2 GÍN = *zu-ú-zu*.
vii 20–25 Cf. text no. 16 vii 4–11, which served as the model for this passage. That inscription refers to the colossi as UDU.MEŠ *šad-di* ^{d}LAMMA "mountain sheep colossi," rather than as ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ "bull colossi," and records the number of colossi: twelve copper colossi, two colossi of alabaster, and seventy-two colossi of white limestone.
vii 26–30 This passage, which may have been composed anew for this text (and other inscriptions written in 694), is a reworking of text no. 16 vi 83–vii 3.
vii 31–40 This passage was probably composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 694. Cf. text no. 16 vi 83–vii 3. In particular, note that that passage records the number of colossi (ten copper sphinxes, ten alabaster sphinxes, and twelve sphinxes cast from GU.AN.NA-metal) and that it differentiates the (two) cedar columns from the other wooden columns. In this inscription, the columns are made from ebony, cypress, cedar, *daprānu*-juniper, juniper, and Indian wood and their inlays are made from *pašallu*-gold and silver, whereas in text no. 16 the columns are cedar, cypress, and *daprānu*-juniper and their inlays are *pašallu*-gold, *ešmarû*-silver, and bronze.

34) *pi-ti-iq* GU.AN.NA
35) *ša nu-um-mu-ru gat-ta-ši-in*
36) GIŠ.*tim-me* GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN GIŠ.*ere-ni* GIŠ.*dup-ra-ni*
37) ŠIM.LI *ù* GIŠ.*si-in-da-a iḫ-ze-et pa-šal-li*
38) *ù kas-pi ṣe-ru-uš-šin ul-ziz-ma*
39) *ša kúm-me mu-šab be-lu-ti-ia*
40) *e-mid* GIŠ.GAN.DU$_7$.MEŠ-*šú-un*
41) KUN$_4$.MEŠ NA$_4$.DÚR.MI.NA.BÀN.DA NA$_4$.GIŠ.NU$_{11}$.GAL
42) *ù* KUN$_4$.MEŠ NA$_4$.*pi-i-li* GAL.MEŠ
43) *a-sur-ru-šin ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra*
44) *a-na tab-ra-a-te ú-šá-lik*
45) *áš-šú u$_4$-me-šam-ma* A.MEŠ *di-lu-ti*
46) *da-lum eb-li gu-ḫaṣ-ṣa-a-te* ZABAR
47) *u ḫar-ḫa-ri* ZABAR *ú-še-piš-ma*
48) *ki-mu-ú ma-ka-a-te giš-maḫ-ḫi ù a-la-mit-ta* URUDU
49) *ṣe-er* PÚ.MEŠ *uš-ziz* É.GAL.MEŠ *šá-ti-na ú-šá-lik as-mì-iš*
50) *si-ḫir-ti* É.GAL *a-na tab-rat kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ
51) *ul-la-a re-ši-šá* É.GAL *šá-ni-na la i-šu-u*
52) *ni-bit-sa az-kur*
53) GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MAḪ-*ḫu tam-šil* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim*
54) *ša gi-mir* ŠIM.ḪI.A GURUN *ṣip-pa-a-te*
55) GIŠ.MEŠ *tuk-lat* KUR-*i ù* KUR.*kal-di*
56) *a-di* GIŠ.MEŠ *na-áš* SÍG.ḪI.A
57) *qé-reb-šú ḫur-ru-šu i-ta-a-šá az-qu-up*

58) NINA.KI *ša ul-tu u$_4$-me pa-ni*
59) 9 LIM 3 ME *ina* 1.KÙŠ *šu-bat li-me-ti-šú*
60) BÀD *ù* BÀD.ŠUL.ḪI *ul ú-še-pi-šú*
61) *a-li-kut maḫ-ri ma-al-ki*
62) 12 LIM 5 ME 15 *a-šar ta-mir-ti li-mit* URU
63) *ṣe-er me-ši-iḫ-te maḫ-ri-ti ú-rad-di-ma*
64) 21 LIM 8 ME 15 *ina* AS$_4$.LUM GAL-*ti ú-kin mìn-da-tuš*

features were brilliant: I erected over them columns of ebony, cypress, cedar, *daprānu*-juniper, juniper, and Indian wood, with *pašallu*-gold and silver inlays, then (vii 40) I positioned the architraves of the inner rooms of my lordly residence (on those columns).

vii 41–44) I surrounded their (the palace rooms') lower courses with slabs of breccia (and) alabaster, and large limestone slabs (and) made (them) an object of wonder.

vii 45–49a) In order to be able to draw water by bucket every day, I had bronze wire chains and bronze cables made and, instead of poles, I had tree trunks and date palm(s) of copper placed over wells.

vii 49b–52) I made those palatial halls beautiful. To be an object of wonder for all of the people, I raised the superstructure of the entire palace. I called it "The Palace Without a Rival."

vii 53–57) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, which has all kinds of aromatic plants (and) fruit trees, trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, together with cotton trees (lit. "trees bearing wool"), *collected* inside it.

vii 58–64) Nineveh, the site of whose circumference had been 9,300 cubits since former times (vii 60) (and) for which no earlier ruler had had an inner or outer wall built — I added 12,515 (cubits) in the plain around the city to (its) previous measurement and (thus) established its dimensions as 21,815 large cubits.

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vii 39 Text no. 16 vii 2 has É.GAL.MEŠ *be-lu-ti-ia* "my lordly palatial halls."

vii 45–49 and 50–52 These passages were probably composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 694. With regard to vii 45–49, see also Læssøe, JCS 7 (1953) p. 15 and Walker in Curtis, Bronzemaking pp. 116–117.

vii 48 *ma-ka-a-te* "poles": S. Dalley (HSAO 6 p. 22; and Technology and Culture 44 [2003] pp. 1–26) translates *makūtu* (pl. *makâtu*) as "shaduf." *giš-maḫ-ḫi ù a-la-mit-ta* "tree trunks and date palm(s)": Dalley (Iraq 56 [1994] pp. 52–53; HSAO 6 pp. 22–23; and Technology and Culture 44 [2003] pp. 1–26) suggests that these are the components of the Archimedes' screw; the *gišmaḫḫu* is the cylinder and the *alamittu* is the screw/spiral that draws the water upward through the cylinder. Her identification of *alamittu* as a spiral comes from the sculptured façade of the great temple at Tell al-Rimah, as well as other Mesopotamian temples; the façade of Tell al-Rimah temple is decorated with semi-engaged columns, some of which are "constructed in brickwork to imitate the edible date-palm with its scalloped trunk, and others having spirals like a stick of barley-sugar." This led Dalley (Iraq 56 [1994] pp. 52–53) to the following conclusion: "There is no question that the ancient Mesopotamians visualised the trunk of the inedible palm-tree *alamittu* as a spiral, and that the idea was not restricted to a small region. Sennacherib used the word in his inscription along with that for a cylinder. The only water-lifting device to use these components is the Archimedes Screw. Sennacherib was describing the cylinder and screw which are the two component parts of this device, and his engineers invented the so-called Archimedes screw some 400 years before the time of Archimedes." For a drawing of the Archimedes' screw and a photograph of the façade of Tell al-Rimah, see respectively Dalley, Iraq 56 (1994) p. 53 fig. 2; and Dalley and Oleson, Technology and Culture 44 (2003) p. 9 fig. 2. Dalley's identification of *gišmaḫḫu* and *alamittu* as the components of the Archimedes' screw is conjectural; for some reservations on her proposal, see for example Bagg, Assyrische Wasserbauten pp. 201–203, 206–207, and 277–279. URUDU "copper": Contra Luckenbill, Senn. p. 110 and CAD M/1 p. 143 sub *makūtu* 1, both exs. 1 and 2 have *a-la-mit-ta* URUDU; in ex. 2, A. Heidel (Sumer 9 [1953] p. 166) confidently read URUDU with no brackets and on p. 185 noted that the reading was "unmistakable." URUDU "copper," however, is omitted in ex. 4. M. Worthington (personal communication) suggests emending the text to *a-la-mit-ta-te* since he suspects that *a-la-mit-ta* URUDU is a corruption of *alamittāte*. Moreover, he proposes that URUDU was dropped from some exemplars/texts because the copyists regarded it as nonsensical, without realising that the sign originated as TE, while other scribes kept the sign.

65) *ša* BÀD-*šú* GAL-*i bàd-ní-gal-bi-lú-kúr-ra-šú-šú*
66) *du-ú-ru ša nam-ri-ru-šu na-ki-ri saḫ-pu*
67) *ṣe-er* NA_4*.pi-i-li tem-me-en-šú ad-di-ma*
68) 40 SIG_4 *ú-kab-bir*
69) *i-na* 1 ME 80 *ti-ib-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šu*
70) *a-na er-bet-ti šá-a-ri* 15 KÁ.GAL.MEŠ
71) *pa-nu ù ar-ka i-na ṣi-li ki-lal-la-an*
72) *a-na e-re-bi ù a-ṣe-e*
73) *ú-šap-ta-a qé-reb-šú*
74) *li-bur* ÉNSI ^{d}*aš-šur* KÁ.GAL ^{d}*aš-šur ša* URU.ŠÀ.URU
75) *sa-pi-in gi-mir na-ki-ri*
76) KÁ.GAL ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba ša* KUR.*ḫal-zi*
77) ^{d}EN.LÍL *mu-kin* BALA-*ia* KÁ.GAL ^{d}UTU *ša* KUR.*ga-gal*
78) *ša* ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba it-ti man-zal-ti e-req-qi*
79) *kin-ni* BALA-*šú* KÁ.GAL ^{d}NIN.LÍL *ša* URU.*kar*-^{d}NIN.LÍL
80) *mu-še-ṣa-at* UZU ÁZAG KÁ.GAL *muš-la-lum*
81) *du-muq áš-na-an ù* ^{d}*laḫar qé-reb-šá ka-a-a-an*
82) KÁ.GAL URU.*ši-ba-ni-ba*
83) *ba-bi-lat ḫi-ṣib ḫur-šá-a-ni* KÁ.GAL KUR.*ḫa-laḫ-ḫi*
84) ŠU.NIGIN 7 KÁ.GAL.MEŠ ^{d}UTU.È
85) *mé-eḫ-ret* IM.*šu-ú-ti ù* IM.*šá-di-i*
86) *az-ku-ra ni-bit-si-in*
87) ^{d}IŠKUR *šá-ri-ik* ḪÉ.GÁL *a-na* KUR
88) KÁ.GAL ^{d}IŠKUR *ša am-ba-si*
89) ^{d}*èr-ra šá-a-giš za-ma-ni-ia*
90) KÁ.GAL ^{d}U.GUR *ša* URU.*tar-bi-ṣi*
91) ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-*ru na-ṣir* AGA *be-lu-ti-ia* KÁ.GAL ^{d}EN.ZU
92) ŠU.NIGIN 3 KÁ.GAL.MEŠ *ša mé-eḫ-ret* IM.*il-ta-ni*
93) *at-ta-bi si-qir-ši-in*

94) ^{d}*é-a mu-še-šir kùp-pi-ia* KÁ.GAL *mas-qé-e*
95) *mu-še-ri-bat mi-šìr-ti da-ád-me* KÁ.GAL *ka-a-ri*
96) *kàd-re-e* LÚ.*su-mu-ʾe-èl ù* LÚ.*te-e-me*

Col. viii

1) *qé-reb-šá ir-ru-ub* KÁ.GAL *mad-ba-ri*
2) *pa-qí-da-at ka-la-ma* KÁ.GAL É.GAL *ma-šar-ti*
3) ^{d}*šár-ur*$_4$ *mu-šam-qit a-a-ab* LUGAL KÁ.GAL *ḫa-an-du-ú-ri*

vii 65–69) I laid the foundation of its great wall, Badnigalbilukurašušu, (which means) "Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies," upon limestone and made (it) 40 bricks thick. I raised its superstructure 180 courses of brick high.

vii 70–73) I had fifteen gates opened up in it in four directions, in front and behind, (and) along both sides, for entering and leaving.

vii 74–86) "May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Stay in Good Health": (this is) the Aššur Gate, which (leads to) the Inner City (Aššur). (vii 75) "The One Who Flattens All Enemies": (this is) the Sennacherib Gate, which (leads to) the land Ḫalzi. "The God Enlil Is the One Who Makes My Reign Firm": (this is) the Šamaš Gate, which (leads to) the land Gagal. "Make Sennacherib's Dynasty as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation!": (this is) the Mullissu Gate, which (leads to) the city Kār-Mullissi. (vii 80) "The One Who Exorcises the 'Flesh' of the *Asakku*-demon": (this is) the Step Gate. "The Choicest of Grain and Flocks Are Constantly Inside It": (this is) the gate (that leads to) the city Šibaniba. "The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains": (this is) the gate (that leads to) the land Ḫalaḫḫu. In total, seven gates (facing) the rising sun, (vii 85) towards the south and east, (and) I gave them (these) names.

vii 87–93) "The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land": (this is) the Adad Gate, which (leads to) the game preserve. "The God Erra Is the One Who Slaughters Those Hostile to Me": (vii 90) (this is) the Nergal Gate, which (leads to) the city Tarbiṣu. "The Divine Nannāru Is the One Who Protects My Lordly Crown": (this is) the Sîn Gate. In total, three gates (facing) towards the north (and) I gave them (these) names.

vii 94–viii 5) "The God Ea Is the One Who Properly Directs (Water Flow into) My Cisterns": (this is) the Mašqû Gate. (vii 95) "The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements": (this is) the Quay Gate. "The Presents of the People of Sumuʾel and Tēma (viii 1) Enter Through It": (this is) the Desert Gate. "The One Who Regulates Everything": (this is) the Armory Gate. "The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King's

vii 70–viii 5 Cf. text no. 15 vii 25–23′ and text no. 16 vii 34–69, which state that there were fourteen gates, and text no. 18 vii 10′–40′, which records that Nineveh had eighteen gates. For details, see the chart on p. 18. A list of the gates of Nineveh in the time of Ashurbanipal was published by O.R. Gurney (STT 2 pl. CCLIV no. 372) and edited by E. Reiner (JNES 26 [1967] pp. 197–198). On the location of the gates, see for example King, Cat. pp. xix–xxiv; Thompson, Arch. 79 (1929) pp. 111–113; Thompson, Iraq 7 (1940) pp. 91–93; Reade, RA 72 (1978) pp. 50–54; and Scott and MacGinnis, Iraq 52 (1990) pp. 63–68.

vii 74 Cf. text no. 16 vii 38–39, which lists the Ḫandūru Gate first. That gate is listed last in this inscription, with the west-facing gates. *li-bur* ÉNSI ^{d}*aš-šur* "May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Stay in Good Health": The name of the Aššur Gate is *lil-bur* ÉNSI ^{d}*aš-šur* "May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure" in text no. 15 vii 31, text no. 16 vii 40, and text no. 18 vii 14′.

vii 78–79 The name of the Mullissu Gate is ^{d}*iš-tar za-nin-ki kur-bi* "O Ištar Bless the One Who Provides for You!" in text no. 16 vii 46.

vii 89 The name of the Nergal Gate is ^{d}*èr-ra mu-šam-qit a-a-bi* "The God Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down Enemies" in text no. 16 vii 57.

vii 91 Cf. the former name of the gate in text no. 16 vii 59–60a: ^{d}IGI.SIG_7.SIG_7 *mu-šam-me-eḫ ṣip-pa-a-te* KÁ.GAL GIŠ.$KIRI_6$.MEŠ "'The God Igisigsig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish': (this is) the Gate of the Gardens."

vii 96–viii 1 This gate is first attested in this text. See Ephʿal, Arabs p. 41 and n. 108.

4) ŠU.NIGIN 5 KÁ.GAL.MEŠ *ša mé-eḫ-ret* IM.*a-mur-ri*
5) *at-tas-qa-ra šu-me-šin*
6) *ša šal-ḫi-i bàd-níg-érim-ḫu-luḫ-ḫa*
7) *mu-gal-lit za-ma-a-ni uš-še-šú ap-te-e-ma*
8) 45 NINDA *ú-šap-pil-ma*
9) *ú-šá-ak-šid* A.MEŠ *na-ag-bi*
10) *qé-reb ma-a-me šap-la-a-nu* NA_4 KUR-*i dan-ni ak-si-ma*
11) *e-la-niš a-di pa-ás-qí-šú i-na* NA_4.*pi-i-li* GAL.MEŠ
12) *ú-nak-kil ši-pir-šu*
13) *ša* NINA.KI URU *be-lu-ti-ia šu-bat-su uš-rab-bi*
14) *re-ba-ti-šú ú-šá-an-dil-ma ú-nam-mir* GIM u_4-*me*
15) BÀD *šal-ḫu-ú ú-še-piš-ma ú-zaq-qir ḫur-šá-niš*

16) *e-le-en* URU *ù* KI.TA URU *ú-še-piš* GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ
17) *mut-ḫum-me* KUR-*i ù ma-ti-tan*
18) *kul-lat* ŠIM.ḪI.A KUR.*ḫat-ti ú-ḫar-ri-šá qé-reb-šú-un*
19) *ṣe-er šá-ab-bur-ti ša a-ḫa am-ba-si* GEŠTIN KUR-*i*
20) DÙ-*šú-un gi-mir* GURUN *ad-na-a-te*
21) ŠIM.ḪI.A *ù* GIŠ.*se-er-di a-na ba-aʾ-li az-qu-up*
22) ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur ša ul-tu ul-la-a* A.MEŠ-*šá*
23) *šu-up-lu ṣab-tu-ma i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia*
24) *mám-ma la is-sír-šu-nu-ti-ma i-tab-ba-ku* ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL-*iš*
25) *a-na miṭ-ra-a-te šum-mu-ḫi*
26) *ul-tu pa-a-ṭi* URU.*ki-si-ri*
27) *mu-la-a muš-pa-lum i-na ak-kul-la-a-te*
28) *aḫ-ra-a ú-še-šir* ÍD.*pat-tu*
29) A.MEŠ *šu-nu-te ṣe-er ta-mir-ti* NINA.KI *ú-ki-nam-ma*
30) *qé-reb ṣip-pa-a-te ša-ti-na ú-šaḫ-bi-ba a-tap-piš*
31) *a-na bit-re-e ma-a-me ina* GÌR.II *mu-uṣ-ri* KUR-*e ger-ri aṣ-bat-ma*
32) *áš-qu-ma a-di* URU.*el-mu-na-qin-né-e šup-šu-qiš at-tal-lak*
33) *i-na re-eš* URU.BÀD-^{d}15 URU.*ši-ba-ni-ba*

Enemy": (this is) the Ḫandūru Gate. In total, five gates (facing) towards the west (and) I gave them (these) names.
viii 6–12) I opened up a foundation pit for the outer wall, Badnigerimḫuluḫa, (which means) "Terrorizer of Enemies," then I dug down forty-five *nindanu* and made (it) reach the water table. (viii 10) I bound together strong mountain stone in the water below and above I expertly carried out its construction with large limestone (blocks) up to its copings.

viii 13–15) I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my capital city. I broadened its squares, making (them) as bright as day. I had an inner (and) outer wall built and I raised (them) as high as mountain(s).
viii 16–21) I had gardens cultivated upstream and downstream of the city. I gathered in them fruit trees of the mountains and of all lands (and) every type of aromatic tree of the land Ḫatti. On newly tilled soil, which is beside the game preserve, (viii 20) I planted in great number all (types) of mountain vine, every type of fruit tree from all over the world, (including) spice and olive trees.
viii 22–24) The Ḫusur River, whose waters since time immemorial had been deep and which none of the kings, my ancestors, had confined (i.e., made its water flow through a canal) so that they (the waters of the Ḫusur) poured into the Tigris River:
viii 25–30) To make (those) planted areas luxuriant, I dug with picks a canal straight through high ground (and) low ground, from the border of the city Kisiru. (Thus) I provided a regular supply of those waters to the plain of Nineveh and (viii 30) I made (them) gush through small canals into those gardens.

viii 31–35) I mounted an expedition to search for water at the foot of Mount Muṣri, then I climbed high and marched with difficulty to the city Elmunaqinnû. I found sources of water in front of the cities Dūr-Ištar, Šibaniba, and Sulu, then (viii 35) I made their narrow

viii 15 This inscription omits the passages referring to the construction of aqueducts and a bridge. Cf. text no. 16 vii 81–viii 3a.
viii 16–21 Cf. text no. 16 viii 3b–11.
viii 19 *a-ḫa am-ba-si* "beside the game preserve": Probably a sandhi writing of *aḫi ambassi* (M. Worthington, personal communication).
viii 22–42 The first part of this passage (viii 22–30) is a reworked version of text no. 16 viii 12–13, while the second part of the report of the creation of a canal system for Nineveh (viii 31–42) contains material that was probably written anew for this inscription. For a detailed study of Sennacherib's efforts to bring water to Nineveh, see Bagg, Assyrische Wasserbauten pp. 175–224. See also, for example, Reade, RA 72 (1978) pp. 47–72; and Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) pp. 404–407 §11.7.
viii 27 *mu-la-a muš-pa-lum* "high ground (and) low ground": Cf. text no. 16 viii 17, which has KUR-*a ù bi-ru-tú* "mountain and *valley*."
viii 28 *aḫ-ra-a* "I dug" and ÍD.*pat-tu* "a canal": Text no. 16 viii 19 has *ú-šat-tir-*⌜*ma*⌝ "I cut straight through and" and ÍD.*ḫar-ru* "a canal."
viii 29 *ú-ki-nam-ma* "I provided a regular supply and": Cf. CAD K p. 165, where it is translated "I directed (these waters toward ...)."
viii 30 *a-tap-piš* "through small canals": Text no. 16 viii 23 has *pat-ti-iš* "through feeder canals."
viii 31 *a-na bit-re-e ma-a-me* "to search for water": The reading follows Jacobsen and Lloyd, OIP 24 p. 34 n. 15; and Heidel, Sumer 9 (1953) p. 173. Cf. King (CT 26 p. 29), Luckenbill (Senn. p. 114), the CAD (G p. 90 sub *girru*), and Bagg (Assyrische Wasserbauten pp. 190 and 345), who interpret *ana bitrê māmē* as a place name called Bīt-Rêmāme (*a-na* É-*re-e-ma-a-me*). *mu-uṣ-ri* KUR-*e* "Mount Muṣri": This mountain is identified with Jebel Bašiqā. For example, see Forrer, Provinz. p. 35; and Jacobsen and Lloyd, OIP 24 pp. 35–36.
viii 33 J. Reade (RA 72 [1978] pp. 68–72; and RLA 9/5–6 p. 407 §11.7) has suggested that traces of one of the canal heads may be visible at Baʾzani, near Šibaniba, and that the project could have had its origins in canals dug by Sargon II for Dūr-Šarrukīn. Cf. the Bavian Inscription lines 8–10 (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 79), where Sennacherib reports that he dug eighteen canals, including the three from Dūr-Ištar, Šibaniba, and Sulu.

34) *ù* URU.*su-li nam-ba-ʾi a-mur-ma*
35) IGI.II-*šú-nu pi-qa-a-te ú-rab-bi-ma ú-ter a-na kup-pi*
36) *áš-šú ma-lak* A.MEŠ *šú-nu-ti* KUR.MEŠ *mar-ṣu-ti*
37) *áš-ri pa-áš-qu-ti ina ak-kul-la-ti ú-šat-tir-ma*
38) *mu-ṣu-šú-un ú-še-ši-ra a-na ta-mir-ti* NINA.KI
39) ÍD.*ḫar-ra-ti-šú-un ú-dan-nin ki-i šu-pu-uk* KUR-*i*
40) A.MEŠ *ša-tu-nu qé-reb-šú-un ú-kin-na*
41) *ki-ma a-tar-tim-ma ṣe-er* A.MEŠ ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur*
42) *ú-rad-da-a da-ri-šam*
43) *i-na um-ma-a-te ú-šá-áš-qa-a gi-mir ṣip-pa-a-ti*
44) *i-na* EN.TE.NA 1 LIM ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *ta-me-ra-a-ti*
45) *e-li* URU *ù* KI.TA URU *ú-šá-an-kar šat-ti-šam*
46) *a-na šup-šu-ḫi a-lak-ti* A.MEŠ *šu-nu-ti*
47) ÍD.*a-gam-mu ú-šab-ši-ma ṣu-ṣu-ú qé-reb-šá*
48) *as-ti-il* ÍGIRA.MUŠEN.MEŠ ŠAḪ.MEŠ GIŠ.GI
49) *a-lap qí-ši i-na lìb-bi ú-maš-šir*
50) *i-na ṭè-em* DINGIR-*ma qé-reb* GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ EDIN *šá-ab-bur-ti*
51) GEŠTIN *gi-mir* GURUN GIŠ.*se-er-du*
52) ŠIM.ḪI.A *ma-gal iš-mu-ḫu*
53) GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA
54) *nap-ḫar* GIŠ.MEŠ *i-ši-ḫu-ma*
55) *ú-ṣar-ri-šú pa-pa-al-lum*
56) *ap-pa-ra-a-ti ma-gal i-ši-ra*
57) MUŠEN.MEŠ AN-*e* ÍGIRA.MUŠEN *ša a-šar-šú ru-ú-qu*
58) *qin-na iq-nun-ma* ŠAḪ.MEŠ GIŠ.GI *a-lap qí-ši*
59) *ú-rap-pi-šú ta-lit-tu*
60) GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN *tar-bit ṣip-pa-a-ti*
61) GI AMBAR.MEŠ *ša qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me ak-šiṭ-ma*
62) *a-na šip-ri ḫi-šiḫ-ti* É.GAL.MEŠ
63) *be-lu-te-ia lu e-pu-uš*
64) *iṣ-ṣu na-áš ši-pa-a-ti ib-qu-mu im-ḫa-ṣu ṣu-ba-ti-iš*
65) *ul-tu šip-ri* É.GAL-*ia ú-qat-tu-ú*
66) ^{d}*aš-šur* EN GAL-*ú* DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* ^{d}IŠ.TAR.MEŠ
67) *a-ši-bu-ut* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
68) *i-na qer-bi-šá aq-re-ma*
69) UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *taš-ri-iḫ-te aq-qí-ma*
70) *ú-šat-lim kàd-ra-a-a*
71) Ì.GIŠ GIŠ.*sér-di ù ḫi-bi-iš-ti*
72) *ša* GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ EDIN *šá-ab-bur-ti*
73) *ú-raq-qa-a a-na ru-uš-ti*
74) *i-na taš-ri-it* É.GAL *ša ba-ḫu-la-te* KUR-*ia*
75) *ú-šá-áš-qa-a muḫ-ḫa-ši-in*
76) GEŠTIN *du-uš-šu-pu ṣur-ra-ši-in am-kir*
77) *a-na ár-kàt u$_4$-me i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-*ia*
78) *ša* ^{d}*aš-šur a-na* RE.É.UM-*ut* KUR *ù* UN.MEŠ

openings bigger and turned (them) into springs.

viii 36–42) For a course for those waters, I cut through rugged mountains, confined areas, with picks and directed their outflow into the plain of Nineveh. I strengthened their channels like the base of a mountain. (viii 40) I provided a regular supply of those waters in them. (Thus) I forever added (them) as an addition to the waters of the Ḫusur River.

viii 43–45) In summer, I enabled all of the orchards to be irrigated. In winter, I annually had water provided to 1,000 seeded fields in the plains upstream and downstream of the city.

viii 46–59) I created a marsh to moderate the flow of those waters and planted a canebrake in it. I let loose in it herons, wild boars (lit. "pigs of the reeds"), (and) *roe deer*. (viii 50) By divine will, vines, all kinds of fruit trees, olive trees, (and) aromatic trees flourished greatly in (those) gardens (planted) on newly tilled soil. Cypress trees, *musukkannu*-trees, (and) all kinds of trees grew tall and (viii 55) sent out shoots. The marshes thrived greatly. Birds of the heavens, heron(s) whose home(s) are far away, made nest(s) and wild boars (and) *roe deer* gave birth in abundance.

viii 60–64) I cut down *musukkannu*-trees (and) cypress trees grown in the orchards (and) marsh reeds from the swamps and I used (them) in the work required (to build) my lordly palatial halls. They picked cotton (lit. "trees bearing wool") (and) wove (it) into clothing.

viii 65–76) After I had finished the work on my palace, I invited inside it the god Aššur, the great lord, (and) the gods and goddesses living in Assyria, then I made splendid offerings and (viii 70) presented my gift(s). I made fine oil from olives and aromatics from the orchards (planted) on newly tilled soil. At the inauguration of the palace, (viii 75) I had the heads of the subjects of my land drenched (and) I watered their insides with sweet wine.

viii 77–87) In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, (viii 80) renovate its

viii 43–45 Cf. text no. 16 viii 24–28. In that text Sennacherib claims to have supplied water to only 500 fields.
viii 46 A.MEŠ *šu-nu-ti* "those waters": Text no. 16 viii 29–30 has A.MEŠ *ša* GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ "water for (those) gardens."
viii 47–48 *qé-reb-šá as-ti-il* "I planted in it": Text no. 16 viii 31 has ⌜*ú*⌝-*šá-as-ti-il* "I had planted."

79) *i-nam-bu-ú zi-kir-šú*
80) *e-nu-ma* BÀD *šá-a-tu*
81) *i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫu*
82) *an-ḫu-us-su lu-ud-diš*
83) MU.SAR-*e ši-ṭir šu-me-ia*
84) *li-mur-ma* Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš*
85) UDU.SISKUR *liq-qí a-na áš-ri-šú li-ter*
86) ^{d}*aš-šur ù* ^{d}*iš-tar*
87) *ik-ri-bi-šú i-šem-mu-ú*

dilapidated section(s) when that wall becomes old and dilapidated. May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it) with oil, (viii 85) make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur and the goddess Ištar will (then) hear his prayers.

Date

88) ITI.NE *li-mu* ^{m}DINGIR-KI-*ia* LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.*di-maš-qa*

Date

viii 88) Abu (V), eponymy of Ilu-issīya, governor of the city Damascus (694).

18

A poorly preserved octagonal clay prism from Nineveh, and probably a small fragment of another prism, are inscribed with a text describing eight of Sennacherib's military campaigns and numerous building activities in and around Nineveh, including the rebuilding of the "Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace), the construction of Nineveh's inner and outer walls (Badnigalbilukurašušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa) with their eighteen gates, the creation of a fifty-two-cubit-wide royal road, and the digging and widening of a moat around the city. This inscription contains material from texts written earlier in the king's reign (especially from those written in 694–692) and material composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 691 (Sennacherib's 14th regnal year). Like the better preserved and known text nos. 22 and 23, the military narration of this edition of Sennacherib's *res gestae* includes accounts of eight campaigns: (1) against Marduk-apla-iddina II (biblical Merodach-baladan) and his Chaldean and Elamite allies in Babylonia; (2) against the Kassites and Yasubigallians, and the land Ellipi; (3) to the Levant, against an Egyptian-led coalition that had been organized by the nobles and citizens of the city Ekron, and against the Judean king Hezekiah; (4) against Bīt-Yakīn; (5) to Mount Nipur and against Maniye, king of the city Ukku; (6) against the Chaldeans living in Elam and against Nergal-ušēzib, the king of Babylon; (7) against Elam; and (8) the battle of Ḫalulê, where Assyrian forces fought Babylonian and Elamite forces led by Mušēzib-Marduk, the king of Babylon, and Umman-menanu (Ḫumban-menanu), the king of Elam. Accounts of the events of the king's 9th and 10th regnal years (696 and 695), those undertaken by his officials to Ḫilakku (Cilicia) and the city Tīl-Garimme, however, are not included among the king's victories on the battlefield. In connection with his work at Nineveh, Sennacherib records that he built the citadel wall (or some other structure in the citadel) as high as a mountain, created a wide road through the center of the city for triumphal processions, widened the moat that he had dug around the city earlier in his reign, and dug numerous canals in order to bring abundant water to Nineveh. One exemplar preserves date lines and that prism was inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni, governor of the city Carchemish (691).

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	BM 127845 + BM 127996 + BM 128228 + BM 128265 (+) A 8134 + A 16918 (+) BM 127903 + BM 128297 (+) BM 127914 (+) BM 127932 + BM 128076 + BM 128292 + BM 128333 + BM 134432 + K 11406 (+) BM 128229 + BM 128237 (+) BM 134475 (+) BM 134476 (+) BM 134490	1929-10-12,501 + 1929-10-12,652 + 1932-12-10,485 + 1932-12-10,522 (+) 1929-10-12,559 + 1932-12-10,554 (+) 1929-10-12,570 (+) 1929-10-12,588 + 1929-10-12,732 + 1932-12-10,549 + 1932-12-10,590 + 1932-12-12,427 (TM 1931-2,1+2) (+) 1932-12-10,486 + 1932-12-10,494 (+) 1932-12-12,470 (+) 1932-12-12,471 (+) 1932-12-12,485 (TM 1931-2,3)	Nineveh; BM 134432, BM 134475, BM 134476, BM 134490: Nineveh, Area SH	Cols. 6.7–7 wide. Height: BM 127845+: 13.5; BM 127903+: 13.5; BM 127914: 2.5; BM 127932+: 19.2; BM 128229+: 10.5; BM 134475: 10.5; BM 134476: 5.5; BM 134490: 4.5	i 1′–8′, 1′′–38′′, ii 1′–28′, 1′′–16′′, 1′′′–3′′′, iii 1–31, 1′–30′, 1′′′, iv 1–10, 1′–36′, v 1′–31′, vi 1–3, 1′–15′, 1′′–48′′, 1′′′–11′′′, vii 1–22, 1′–52′, viii 1′–12′, 1′′–32′′, 1′′′–22′′′, date	c

CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	—	83-1-18,605	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 2.8 and 3 wide; 4.5 high	iii 1′′–9′′, iv 1′′–11′′	c

COMMENTARY

This inscription, which would have been one of the longest texts written under the auspices of Sennacherib (800+ lines), was composed in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni (691; the king's 14th regnal year), three years after text no. 17; text no. 22 ex. 2 and text no. 23 ex. 1 were inscribed in the same year as ex. 1 (see below). The text, which was intended for octagonal clay prisms deposited in Nineveh's wall (just like text nos. 15–17), includes a short prologue, accounts of eight of Sennacherib's campaigns, and a lengthy and detailed account of construction in and around Nineveh. The prologue, most of the military narration (reports of the first seven campaigns), and much of the building report duplicate those same passages in text no. 17 and *res gestae* inscribed on (six- and eight-sided) prisms in 693 (the king's 12th regnal year) and 692 (hiss 13th regnal year); reports of the sixth campaign (against the Chaldeans living in Elam and against Nergal-ušēzib) were first recorded in texts written in the eponymy of Iddin-aḫḫē (693) and those of the seventh campaign (against Elam) were first described in *res gestae* written in the eponymy of Zazāya (692). Accounts of the eighth campaign (the battle of Ḫalulê), as well as sections of the building report, were composed anew for this text (and possibly other inscriptions written in 691). Because no intermediary editions of Sennacherib's *res gestae* between text no. 17 and this text are known, it is difficult to trace the editorial history of the various passages of the building report — that is, how the building report of text no. 17 evolved into that of this foundation inscription. Some additional information is provided in the on-page notes.

Ex. 1 presently comprises eight fragments, several of which are composed of many smaller fragments. For details on the (physical and non-physical)

joins and the suggestion that the fragments belong to a single exemplar, see Frahm, Sanherib p. 90; cf. also Reade, JCS 27 (1975) pp. 193–194. In general, we agree with E. Frahm's assessment of the pieces. The various fragments of ex. 1 could very well belong to one and the same prism and thus we see no reason why all of the fragments of ex. 1 should not be edited together. Note, however, that BM 127914 may be part of another prism; the vertical ruling line between the columns does not appear to match that of the other fragments. As for the date of composition, collation reveals that the prism was inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni (691). The date lines (viii 23′′′–25′′′) now read: [...] *x* / [*li-mu* ^{m}EN-IGI-*a*]-⌜*ni*⌝ / [LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*gar-ga*]-⌜*miš*⌝ "[The month ..., (... day,) eponymy of Bēl-ēmurann]i, [governor of the city Carchem]ish." The traces of the NI and MES signs match exactly those in the date written on text no. 22 ex. 2. Cf. Frahm, Sanherib p. 94 and pl. III.

Ex. 1*, a fragment of an octagonal clay prism, is inscribed with either a copy of this inscription or another text whose military narration contained at least eight of Sennacherib's campaigns (up to the battle of Ḫalulê). Since the building report is not preserved, 83-1-18,605 is regarded here as a fragment of uncertain attribution.

E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 89) regarded 80-7-19,317 as a duplicate of this text, but it is more likely a duplicate of text no. 22 or text no. 23 since it appears to be from a hexagonal, not an octagonal, prism; that piece is edited as text no. 22 ex. 6*. A prism fragment published by V. Scheil (Prisme p. 45) could be a duplicate of this inscription, text no. 22, or text no. 23, but because we were unable to examine that piece, it is not known if it is part of a six- or eight-sided prism, and thus it is arbitrarily edited as text no. 22 ex. 9*.

Ex. 1 is the master text, but ex. 1* is the master text for col. iii 1′′–9′′ and col. iv 1′′–11′′. Since exs. 1 and 1* do not overlap, no score is provided on the CD-ROM. Restorations are based on text no. 17, text no. 22, and text no. 23; preference is generally given to text no. 22 (ex. 2) and text no. 23.

The tiny fragment K 19861 (Frahm, Sanherib p. 96) has traces of a line that duplicates vi 28′ of this text (see the note to the line), but otherwise the scant traces do not seem to match this portion of the text.

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2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

TEXT

Col. i

Lacuna

1′) ⌜*mi*⌝-[*gir* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *na-ṣir kit-ti*]
2′) *ra-*[*'i-im mi-šá-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti*]
3′) *a-*⌜*lik*⌝ [*tap-pu-ut a-ki-i*]
4′) *sa-ḫi-*[*ru dam-qa-a-ti*]
5′) *eṭ-lum* ⌜*gít*⌝-[*ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du*]
6′) *a-šá-red* [*kal mal-ki*]
7′) *rap-pu la-*⌜'⌝*i*⌝-[*iṭ la ma-gi-ri*]
8′) *mu-šab-*⌜*ri*⌝-[*qu za-ma-a-ni*]

Lacuna

1′′) *x* [... *ša* ^{md}MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ]

Lacuna

i 1′–8′) fav[orite of the great gods, guardian of truth] who lo[ves justice, renders assistance], goes to [the aid of the weak], (and) strives af[ter good deeds], (i 5′) per[fect] man, [virile warrior], foremost of [all rulers], the bridle that cont[rols the insubmissive], (and) the one who strikes [enemies] with lightn[ing]:

Lacuna

i 1′′–5′′a) ... [...] I received [a sub]stantial [audience gift

i 1–iv 10 These lines generally duplicate text no. 16 i 1–v 16 and text no. 17 i 1–iv 44, apart from orthographic variants, for which see the on-page notes.

2′′) LÚ.*qí-*ᶠ*pi*ᵀ [URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-ti* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR]
3′′) GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-*ᶠ*ni*ᵀ [GAL.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ]
4′′) GU_4.MEŠ *ù* ᶠ*ṣe*ᵀ-[*e-ni ta-mar-ta-šú*]
5′′) *ka-bit-tu am-*ᶠ*ḫur*ᵀ [*ba-ḫu-la-ti* URU.*ḫi-rim-me*]
6′′) LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣi i-na* ᶠGIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠᵀ [*ú-šam-qit-ma*]
7′′) *e-du ul e-zib pag-*ᶠ*ri*ᵀ-[*šu-un*]
8′′) *i-na ga-ši-ši a-lul-*[*ma*]
9′′) *si-ḫir-ti* URU *ú-šal-me*
10′′) *na-gu-ú šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aṣ-bat*
11′′) 1-*en* GU_4 10 UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ 10 ANŠE GEŠTIN
12′′) 20 ANŠE ZÚ.LUM.MA *re-še-te-šú a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni*
13′′) KUR *aš-šur*.KI EN.MEŠ-*ia ú-kin dà-ri-šam*

from Nabû-bēl-šumāti], the official in charge of [the city Ḫararatu: gold, silver, large] *musukkannu*-trees, [donkeys, camels], oxen, and sheep [and goats].

i 5′′b–13′′) [I put] to the sword [the population of the city Ḫirimmu], a dangerous enemy, [and] I did not spare a single one. I hung [their] corpses on poles [and] placed (them) around the city. (i 10′′) I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

14′′) *i-na* 2-*e ger-ri-ia* ^{d}*aš-šur be-lí*
15′′) *ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma a-na* KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i*
16′′) *ù* KUR LÚ.*ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a*
17′′) *ša ul-tu ul-la a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni*
18′′) AD.MEŠ-*ia la kit-nu-šú lu al-lik*
19′′) *qé-reb ḫur-šá-a-ni zaq-ru-ti* A.ŠÀ *nam-ra-ṣi*
20′′) *i-na* ANŠE.KUR.RA *ar-kab-ma* GIŠ.GIGIR GÌR.II-*ia*
21′′) *i-na ti-ik-ka-ti ú-šá-áš-ši*
22′′) *áš-ru šup-šu-qu i-na* GÌR.II-*ia*
23′′) *ri-ma-niš at-tag-giš* URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ*
24′′) URU.*ḫa-ar-diš-pi* URU.É-^{m}*ku-bat-ti*
25′′) URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú-nu* É BÀD.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti*
26′′) ᶠ*al*ᵀ-*me* KUR-*ud* UN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.ᶠMEŠᵀ
27′′) [ANŠE].ᶠMEŠᵀ GU_4.MEŠ *ù ṣe-e-*[*ni*]
28′′) [*ul-tu*] ᶠ*qer-bi*ᵀ-*šú-un ú-še-ṣa-*ᶠ*am*ᵀ-[*ma*]
29′′) [*šal-la-tiš*] ᶠ*am*ᵀ-*nu* ᶠ*ù*ᵀ [URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu*]
30′′) [TUR.MEŠ *ša ni*]-*ba la i-šu-ú ap-*ᶠ*pul*ᵀ [*aq-qur*]
31′′) [*ú*]-ᶠ*še*ᵀ-*me kar-meš* É EDIN ᶠ*kul*ᵀ-[*ta-ri*]
32′′) [*mu*]-*šá-bi-šú-nu i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR ᶠ*aq*ᵀ-[*mu-ma*]
33′′) [*di*]-*tal-liš ú-še-me ú-*[*ter-ma*]
34′′) [URU].É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ* [*šu-a-tu*]
35′′) ᶠ*a*ᵀ-*na* URU.*bir-tu-ti aṣ-bat* UGU ᶠ*šá*ᵀ [u_4-*um pa-ni*]
36′′) BÀD.MEŠ-*šú ú-dan-nin-ma* [UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR]
37′′) *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia i-na lìb-*[*bi ú-še-šib*]
38′′) UN.MEŠ KUR LÚ.ᶠ*kaš*ᵀ-[*ši-i*]

i 14′′–23′′a) On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, (i 15′′) encouraged me and I marched to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians, who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, my ancestors. In the high mountains, difficult terrain, (i 20′′) I rode on horseback and had my personal chariot carried on (men's) necks. In very rugged terrain I roamed about on foot like a wild bull.

i 23′′b–33′′a) I surrounded (and) conquered the cities Bīt-Kilamzaḫ, Ḫardišpu, (and) Bīt-Kubatti, (i 25′′) their fortified walled cities. I brought [out] of them people, horses, mules, [donkey]s, oxen, and sheep and [goats, and] I counted (them) [as booty]. Moreover, (i 30′′) I destroyed, [devastated, (and) tu]rned into ruins [their small(er) settlements, which] were without [num]ber. I bu[rned] with fire pavilions (and) te[nts], their [ab]odes, [and] reduced (them) [to] ashes.

i 33′′b–38′′) I made [that city] Bīt-Kilamzaḫ a fortress a[gain] (and) I strengthened its walls more than [before], then [I settled] there[in the people of the lands] that I had conquered. [I brought down from the mountains] the people of the land of the Kas[sites]

Col. ii

Lacuna

Lacuna

1′) [É *ni-ṣir-ti*]-*šú ú-*[*maš-šir-ma*]
2′) [*a-na ru-qé-e*]-*ti in-na-bit* ᶠ*gim-ri*ᵀ
3′) [KUR-*šú* DAGAL-*tim ki*]-ᶠ*ma*ᵀ $MURU_9$ *as-ḫu-up*
4′) [URU.*mar-ú*]-ᶠ*bišᵀ-ti* URU.*ak-ku-ud-du*
5′) [URU.MEŠ-*ni* É LUGAL]-*ti-šú a-di* 34 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
6′) [*ša li-me-ti*]-ᶠ*šú*ᵀ-*nu al-me ak-šud*^{ud}

ii 1′–7′) He (Ispabāra) [abandoned his fortified cities] (and) his [treasury and] fled [far awa]y. I overwhelmed all of [his wide land l]ike a fog. I surrounded, conquered, [destroyed], devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities [Mar'u]bištu (and) Akkuddu, (ii 5′) [cities of] his [roy]al [house], together with thirty-four small(er) settlements [in] their [environs].

Lacuna after i 38′′ Based on parallels, the translation assumes that a now-missing line, probably i 40′′ or i 41′′, contained *ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*i ú-še-ri-dam-ma* "I brought down from the mountains."
Lacuna before ii 1′ Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing line immediately before ii 1′ contained URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* "his fortified cities."

7′) [*ap-pul*] ⌜*aq*⌝-*qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*
8′) [UN.MEŠ TUR GAL] NITA *ù* MUNUS ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
9′) [ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ] ⌜ANŠE⌝.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ
10′) [*ù ṣe*]-⌜*e*⌝-*ni a-na la mi-nam*
11′) [*áš-lu-lam*]-⌜*ma*⌝ *a-di la ba-ši-i*
12′) [*ú-šá-lik-šu*]-⌜*ma*⌝ *ú-ṣa-aḫ-ḫir* KUR-*su*
13′) [URU.*ṣi-ṣi-ir*]-*tu* [URU].*ku-um-ma-aḫ-lum*
14′) [URU.MEŠ-*ni dan-nu*]-⌜*ti a-di*⌝ URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
15′) [*ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*] KUR.É-^{m}*ba-ar-ru-u*
16′) [*na-gu-ú*] *a-na gi-mir-ti-šú*
17′) [*ul-tu qé*]-⌜*reb*⌝ KUR-*šú ab-tuq-ma*
18′) [UGU *mi-ṣir*] ⌜KUR⌝ *aš-šur*.KI *ú-rad-di*
19′) [URU.*el-en-za-áš*] ⌜*a*⌝-*na* URU LUGAL-*ú-ti*
20′) [*ù dan-na-at na*]-⌜*ge*⌝-*e šu-a-tú aṣ-bat-ma*
21′) [MU-*šú maḫ-ra-a*] *ú-nak-kir-ma*
22′) [URU.*kar*-^{md}EN.ZU]-⌜ŠEŠ⌝.MEŠ-*eri-ba*
23′) [*at-ta-bi ni-bit-su* UN].MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-ti* [ŠU.II-*ia*]
24′) [*i-na lìb-bi ú-še*]-*šib i-na* ŠU.II
25′) [LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia* LÚ.EN].⌜NAM⌝ URU.*ḫar*-⌜*ḫar*⌝
26′) [*am-nu-ma ú-rap*]-⌜*piš*⌝ *ma-a*-[*ti*]
27′) [*i-na ta-a-a-ar*]-*ti*-[*ia*]
28′) [...] *x x* [...]

ii 8′–18′) [I carried off people, young (and) old], male and female, horses, [mules], donkeys, camels, oxen, [and sheep] and goats without number, then [I brought him (Ispabāra) to nought] and made his land smaller. I detached [from] his land [the cities Ṣi(ṣ)ṣir]tu (and) Kummaḫlum, [fortifi]ed [cities], together with the small(er) settlements (ii 15′) [in their environs (and) the district of] the land Bīt-Barrû in its entirety, and I added (this area) [to the territory of] Assyria.

ii 19′–26′) I took [the city Elenzaš] as a royal city (ii 20′) [and a fortress for] that [dist]rict, then I changed [its former name] and [called it Kār-Senn]acherib. [I sett]led [therein the people] of the lands that [I] had conquered. (ii 25′) [I placed] (it) under the authority of [a eunuch of mine, the gov]ernor of the city Ḫarḫar, [and (thus) enlarg]ed [my] lan[d].

ii 27′–28′) [On my return] ma[rch, ...] ... [...]

Lacuna

1″) LUGAL ⌜URU.*is-qa-al*⌝-[*lu-na ša la ik-nu-šú*]
2″) *a-na ni-ri-ia* [DINGIR.MEŠ É AD-*šú šá-a-šú*]
3″) DAM-*su* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú* DUMU.MUNUS.[MEŠ-*šú* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú*]
4″) NUMUN É AD-*šú as-su-ḫa-*⌜*am*⌝-[*ma a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI]
5″) *ú-ra-áš-šú* ^{m}LUGAL-*lu-dà-*⌜*ri*⌝ [DUMU ^{m}*ru-kib-ti*]
6″) LUGAL-*šu-nu maḫ-ru*-[*ú* UGU UN.MEŠ]
7″) URU.*is-qa-al-lu*-[*na áš-kun-ma*]
8″) *na-dan* GUN *kàd-re*-[*e be-lu-ti-ia*]
9″) *e-mid-su-ma i-šá*-[*a-aṭ ab-šá-a-ni*]
10″) *i-na me-ti-iq* ⌜*ger*⌝-[*ri-ia* URU.É-*da-gan-na*]
11″) URU.*ia-ap-pu-*⌜*ú*⌝ [URU.*ba-na-a-a-bar-qa*]
12″) URU.*a-zu-ru* [URU.MEŠ-*ni ša* ^{m}*ṣi-id-qa-a*]
13″) *ša a-na* GÌR.II-⌜*ia*⌝ [*ár-ḫiš la ik-nu-šú*]
14″) *al-me* KUR-*ud* [*áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*]
15″) LÚ.GÌR.⌜NÍTA⌝.[MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ *ù* UN.MEŠ URU.*am-qar-ru-na*]
16″) *x* [...]

ii 1″–5″a) [Moreover, (as for) Ṣidqâ], the king of the city Ashke[lon who had not bowed down] to my yoke, I forcibly removed [the gods of his father's house, himself], his wife, his sons, [his] daughter[s, his brothers], (and other) offspring of his father's house [and] took him [to Assyria].
ii 5″b–9″) [I set] Šarru-lū-dāri, [son of Rūkibtu], their forme[r] king, [over the people of] the city Ashkelo[n and] imposed upon him the payment of tribute (and) gift[s (in recognition) of my overlordship] so that he (now) pul[ls my yoke].
ii 10″–14″) In the course of [my] cam[paign], I surrounded, conquered, (and) [plundered the cities Bīt-Daganna], Joppa, [Banayabarqa], (and) Azuru, [the cities of Ṣidqâ] that [had not submitted] to me [quickly].
ii 15″–16″) (As for) the governor[s, the nobles, and the people of the city Ekron] ... [...]

Lacuna

1‴) [LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù* DUMU.MEŠ] ⌜LUGAL KUR⌝.*mu-*⌜*ṣu*⌝-[*ra-a-a*]
2‴) [*a-di* LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR].⌜MEŠ *ša*⌝ LUGAL KUR.*me-luḫ*-[*ḫi*]
3‴) [*bal-ṭu-su-un i*]-⌜*na*⌝ $MURUB_4$ *tam-*⌜*ḫa-ri*⌝ *ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-⌜*a-a*⌝

ii 1‴–3‴) [I]n the thick of battle, I captured [alive the] Egypt[ian charioteers and pri]nces (lit. "the sons of the king"), [together with the charioteer]s of the king of the land Meluḫ[ḫa].

Lacuna before ii 1″ The translation assumes that the now-missing line immediately before ii 1″ contained *ù* ^{m}*ṣi-id-qa-a* "moreover, (as for) Ṣidqâ."

Col. iii

1) [URU.*al-ta-qu-u* URU.*ta-am-na-a al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal*]-⌜*la*⌝-*sún*
2) [*a-na* URU.*am-qar-ru-na*] ⌜*aq*⌝-*rib-ma*
3) [LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ] ⌜*ša*⌝ *ḫi-iṭ-ṭu*
4) [*ú-šab-šu-ú a-duk-ma*] *i-na di-ma-a-ti*
5) [*si-ḫir-ti* URU *a-lul*] *pag-ri-šú-un*
6) [DUMU.MEŠ URU *e-piš an*]-⌜*ni*⌝ *ù gíl-la-ti*
7) [*a-na šal-la-ti am*]-⌜*nu*⌝ *si-it-tu-te-šú-nu*
8) [*la ba-bil ḫi-ṭi-ti*] *ù gul-lul-ti*
9) [*ša a-ra-an-šú-nu la*] *ib-šu-ú*
10) [*uš-šur-šú-un aq-bi* ^{m}*pa-di*]-⌜*i*⌝ LUGAL-*šú-nu*
11) [*ul-tu qé-reb* URU.*ur-sa-li*]-*im-mu*
12) [*ú-še-ṣa-am-ma i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA] ⌜*be*⌝-*lu-ti*
13) [UGU-*šú-un ú-še-šib-ma man-da*]-*at*-⌜*tu*⌝
14) ⌜*be*⌝-[*lu-ti-ia ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú*]
15) *ù* ⌜^{m}*ḫa*⌝-[*za-qi-a-ú* KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a*]
16) *ša la ik*-[*nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ia*]
17) 46 URU.MEŠ-⌜*šú*⌝ [*dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ]
18) *ù* URU.MEŠ [TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*]
19) *ša ni-ba* ⌜*la*⌝ [*i-šu-ú i-na šuk-bu-us*]
20) *a-ram-me* [*ù qit-ru-ub šu-pi-i*]
21) *mit-ḫu-*⌜*uṣ*⌝ [*zu-uk* GÌR.II *pil-ši nik-si*]
22) *ù* ⌜*kal*⌝-[*ban-na-te al-me* KUR-*ud*]
23) 2 ME LIM [1 ME 50 UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *ù* MUNUS]
24) ANŠE.KUR.⌜RA⌝.[MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ]
25) GU_4.MEŠ [*ù ṣe-e-ni ša la ni-bi*]
26) *ul-tu* [*qer-bi-šú-un ú-še-ṣa-am-ma*]
27) *šal-la*-[*tiš am-nu šá-a-šú* GIM MUŠEN *qu-up-pi*]
28) *qé-*⌜*reb*⌝ [URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú*]
29) *e*-[*sír-šú* URU.ḪAL.ṢU.MEŠ UGU-*šú ú-rak-kis-ma*]
30) *a*-⌜*ṣe*⌝-[*e* KÁ.GAL URU-*šú ú-ter-ra ik-ki-bu-uš*]
31) ⌜URU⌝.[MEŠ-*šú ša áš-lu-la ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*šú*]

Lacuna

1′) [*i-na* 4-*e ger-ri*]-⌜*ia*⌝ ^{d}*aš-šur be-lí*
2′) [*ú-tak-kil-an-ni*]-⌜*ma*⌝ *um-ma-na-ti-ia*
3′) [*gap-šá-te ad-ke*]-*ma a-na* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$
4′) [*a-la-ku aq-bi*] *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia*
5′) [*ša* ^{m}*šu-zu-bi*] ⌜LÚ⌝.*kal-dà-a-a a-šib qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me*
6′) [*i-na* URU.*bi*]-⌜*it*⌝-*tu-ú-tu áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú*
7′) [*šu-ú*] ⌜*ḫur*⌝-*ba-šú ta-ḫa-zi-ia* UGU-⌜*šú*⌝
8′) [*im-qut*]-⌜*ma*⌝ *it-ru-ku lib-bu-*⌜*šú*⌝
9′) [*ki-ma*] ⌜*az*⌝-*za-ri e-diš ip-par-šid-ma*
10′) [*ul*] ⌜*in*⌝-*na-mir a-šar-šú pa-an ni-ri-ia*
11′) [*ú*]-*ter-ma a-na* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$ *aṣ-ṣa-bat*
12′) ⌜*ḫar*⌝-*ra-nu šu-ú* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA
13′) [*ša*] ⌜*i-na*⌝ *a-lak ger-ri-ia maḫ-re-e*
14′) [BAD_5].⌜BAD_5-*šú*⌝ *áš-ku-nu-ma ú-par-ri-ru el-lat-su*
15′) [*ri*]-*gim* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-ti*
16′) ⌜*ù*⌝ *ti-ib ta-ḫa-zi-ia ez-zi*

iii 1–10a) [I surrounded, conquered, (and) plunder]ed [the cities Eltekeh (and) Tamnâ]. I approached [the city Ekron] and [I killed the governors (and) nobles] who [had committed] crime(s) [and (iii 5) hung] their corpses on towers [around the city; I cou]nted the citizens who had committed the crim]inal acts [as booty; (and) I commanded that] the rest of them, [(those) who were not guilty of crimes] or wrongdoing, [(to) whom no penalty] was due, [be allowed to go free].

iii 10b–14) [I brought out Pad]î, their king, [from the city Jerusal]em [and placed (him) on the] lordly [throne over them, then I imposed upon him pay]ment (in recognition) of [my] lo[rdship].

iii 15–27a) Moreover, (as for) He[zekiah of the land Judah], who had not sub[mitted to my yoke, I surrounded (and) conquered] forty-six of his [fortified] cities, [fortresses], and [small(er)] settlements [in their environs], which [were] without number, [by having] (iii 20) ramps [trodden down and battering rams brought up], the assault of [foot soldiers, sapping, breaching], and siege [engines. I brought] out [of them] 200,[150 people, young (and) old, male and female], horse[s, mules, donkeys, camels], (iii 25) oxen, [and sheep and goats, which were without number, and I counted] (them) as boo[ty].

iii 27b–31) [As for him (Hezekiah)], I [confined him] inside [the city Jerusalem, his royal city, like a bird in a cage. I set up blockades against him and (iii 30) made him dread] exiti[ng his city gate. I detached from his land] the cit[ies of his that I had plundered]

Lacuna

iii 1′–10′a) [On] my [fourth campaign], the god Aššur, my lord, [encouraged me] so that [I mustered] my [numerous] troops and [ordered the march] to the land Bīt-Yakīn. In the course of my campaign, (iii 5′) I defeated [Šūzubu] (Mušēzib-Marduk), a Chaldean who lives in the marshes, [at the city Bi]ttūtu. [As for him], terror of doing battle with me [fell] upon him and his heart pounded. He fled alone [like] a lynx and his (hiding) place could [not] be found.

iii 10′b–24′) [I] turned around (lit. "[I] turned the front of my yoke") and took the road to the land Bīt-Yakīn. He — Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), [whom] I had [de]feated and whose forces I had scattered during my first campaign — (iii 15′) [be]came frightened by [the cl]angor of my mighty weapons and my fierce battle array, then [dis]lodged the gods of the (full) extent of his land from their

Lacuna after iii 31 Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing iii 32 began with *ab-tuq-ma* "I detached and."

17′) [*e*]-⌜*dur*⌝-*ma* DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-rak* KUR-*šú ina* KI.TUŠ-*šú-nu*
18′) [*id*]-⌜*ke*⌝-*ma qé-reb* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ú-šar-kib-ma*
19′) [*a-na* URU].*na-gi-ti-raq-qí ša* MURUB_4 *tam-tim*
20′) [*iṣ-ṣu*]-⌜*riš*⌝ *ip-pa-riš* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* NUMUN É AD-*šú*
21′) [*ša ú-maš-ši*]-*ru a-ḫi tam-tim a-di si-it-ti*
22′) [UN.MEŠ KUR]-⌜*šú*⌝ *ul-tu* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$
23′) [*qé-reb* ÍD].⌜*a*⌝-*gam-me u ap-pa-ra-a-ti*
24′) [*ú-še-ṣa-am*]-⌜*ma*⌝ *šal-la-ti-iš am-nu*
25′) [*ú-ter-ma* URU].⌜MEŠ⌝-*šú ap-pul aq-qur*
26′) [*ú-še-me kar-meš*] UGU EN *sa-li-me-šú*
27′) [LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *na-mur*]-⌜*ra*⌝-*tum at-bu-uk*
28′) [*i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia*] ^{m}*aš-šur-na-din*-MU
29′) [DUMU *reš-tu-ú tar-bit*] ⌜*bir*⌝-*ki-ia*
30′) [*i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *be-lu-ti-šú ú*]-⌜*še*⌝-*šib-ma*

Lacuna

1″) [URU.*šá-ru-um* URU.*e-za-ma* URU].⌜*kib*⌝-*šú* ⌜URU⌝.[*ḫal-bu-da*]
2″) [URU.*qu-u-a* URU.*qa-na ša*] ⌜GIM⌝ *qin*-⌜*ni*⌝ [TI_8.MUŠEN *a-šá-red*]
3″) [MUŠEN.ḪI.A *ṣe-er zuq-ti* KUR].*ni-pur* KUR-*i mar-ṣi*
4″) [*šu-bat-sún šit-ku-na-at-ma la*] ⌜*kit*⌝-*nu-šú a-na ni-ri*
5″) [*i-na* GÌR.II KUR.*ni-pur ka-ra-ši*] ⌜*ú*⌝-*šá*-⌜*áš-kin-ma*⌝
6″) [*it-ti* LÚ.*qur-bu-ti* GÌR.II-*ia*] ⌜*na*⌝-*as*-⌜*qu-ti*⌝
7″) [*ù* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *ta-ḫa-zi-ia la*] ⌜*ga*⌝-*me*-⌜*lu-ti*⌝
8″) [*a-na-ku* GIM AM *ek-di pa-nu-uš*]-⌜*šu*⌝-*un aṣ*-⌜*bat*⌝
9″) [...] *x* [...]

Lacuna

1‴) *x* [...]

Col. iv

1) ⌜*i-na* ŠU.SI.MEŠ *ḫur*⌝-*šá-a*-⌜*ni*⌝ [*ar-de-šú-nu-ti-ma*]
2) *áš-ta-kan taḫ-ta-šú-un* [URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* KUR-*ma*]
3) *áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un* [*ap-pul aq-qur*]
4) *i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu* [*pa-an ni-ri-ia*]
5) *ú-ter-ma ṣe-er* ^{m}[*ma-ni-ia-e*]
6) LUGAL URU.*uk-ki šad*-⌜*da*⌝-[*a-a-e la kan-še*]
7) *aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu* [*ur-ḫi la pe-tu-ti*]
8) *ṭu-di pa-áš-qu-ti* [*ša la-pa-an* KUR.MEŠ]
9) *mar-ṣu-ti ul-la*-⌜*nu*⌝-[*ú-a qé-reb-šú-un*]
10) *ma-am*-⌜*man la il*⌝-[*li-ku* LUGAL.MEŠ *pa-ni maḫ-ru-ti*]

Lacuna

abodes, and loaded (them) onto boats. He flew away [like a] bird [to the city] Nagīte-raqqi, which is in the midst of the sea. (iii 20′) [I brought] his brothers, the seed of his father's house, [whom he had aban]doned at the shore of the sea, together with the rest of [the people of] his [land, out] of the land Bīt-Yakīn, [which is in the] swamps and marshes, and I counted (them) as booty.

iii 25′–27′) [Once again] I destroyed (and) devastated his [cit]ies, (and) [turned (them) into ruins]. I poured out [awe-inspiring] brilliance upon his ally, [the king of the land Elam].

iii 28′–30′) [On my return march, I] placed Aššur-nādin-šumi, [my first-born son (whom I) raised on] my (own) knee, [on his lordly throne] and

Lacuna

iii 1″–5″) [On my fifth campaign: The population of the cities Tumurrum, Šarum, Ezāma], Kibšu, [Ḫalbuda, Qūa, (and) Qana, whose dwellings are situated] like the nests of [eagles, the foremost of birds, on the peak of Mount] Nipur, a rugged mountain, [and who had not] bowed down to the yoke — (iii 5″) I had [my camp] pitched [at the foot of Mount Nipur].

iii 6″–9″) [Like a fierce wild bull, with my] select [bodyguard and my] merci[less combat troops], I took [the lead of] them (the soldiers in my camp). [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

iii 1‴) ... [...]

iv 1–4a) [I pursued them] on the peaks of the mountains [and] defeated them. [I conquered], plundered, [destroyed, devastated], (and) burned with fire [their cities].

iv 4b–10) I turned [around] (lit. "I turned [the front of my yoke]") and took the road against [Maniye], the king of the city Ukku (and) an [insubmissive] mountain-d[weller]. Before [my] time, none of [the former kings of the past] had mar[ched through the untrodden paths] (and) difficult trails [on account of the] rugged [mountains].

Lacuna

iii 17′–18′ Text no. 15 exs. 2 and 11, text no. 16, and text no. 17 omit DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-rak* KUR-*šú i-na* KI.TUŠ-*šú-nu id-ke-ma qé-reb* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ú-šar-kib-ma* "he dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of his land from their abodes, and loaded (them) onto boats."
Lacuna before iii 1″ The translation assumes that the now-missing line immediately before iii 1″ contained *i-na* 5 *ger-ri-ia ba-ḫu-la-te* URU.*tu-mur-ri* "on my fifth campaign: The population of the cities Tumurrum."

1′) [...] *x* [...]
2′) *šum-man-nu* ⌜*ù*⌝ [*bi-re-tu* AN.BAR *ad-di-šu-ma*]
3′) *a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI [*ú-ra-áš-šú* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]
4′) *ša* Á.II-*šú is-ḫu-ru-*[*ma il-li-ku*]
5′) *re-ṣu-su* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú* ⌜*áš*⌝-[*kun* ILLAT.MEŠ-*šú*]
6′) *ú-sap-pi-iḫ-ma ú-*⌜*par*⌝-[*ri-ir pu-ḫur-šú*]

iv 1′–6′) [...] ... [... I bound him (Nergal-ušēzib) with] tethering ropes and [iron fetters, and brought him] to Assyria. I defea[ted the king of the land Elam], who had aligned himself with him [and come to] (iv 5′) his aid. I dispersed [his forces] and scatte[red his assembled host].

7′) *i-na* 7-*e ger-ri-ia* [^{d}*aš-šur be-lí*]
8′) *ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma a-*⌜*na*⌝ [KUR.*e-lam-ti*]
9′) *lu al-lik* URU.É-^{m}*ḫa-*ʾ*i-i-*⌜*ri*⌝ [URU.*ra-ṣa-a*]
10′) URU.MEŠ-*ni ša mi-ṣir* [KUR *aš-šur*.KI]
11′) *ša i-na tar-ṣi* AD-*ia e-*[*la-mu-ú*]
12′) *e-ki-mu da-na-niš i-na* [*me-ti-iq*]
13′) *ger-ri-ia* KUR-*ud-ma áš-lu-la šal-la-sún*
14′) LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *šu-lu-ti-ia ú-še-rib*
15′) *qé-reb-šú-un a-na* ⌜*mi*⌝-*ṣir* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
16′) *ú-ter-ram-ma* ŠU.II ⌜LÚ⌝.GAL URU.ḪAL.ṢU
17′) BÀD.DINGIR.KI *am-nu* URU.*bu-bé-e*
18′) URU.*dun-ni-*^{d}UTU URU.É-^{m}*ri-si-ia*
19′) URU.É-*aḫ-la-me-e* URU.*du-ru*
20′) URU.*dan-nat-*^{m}*su-la-a-a* URU.*ši-li-ib-tu*
21′) URU.É-^{m}*a-ṣu-si* URU.*kar-*^{m}NUMUN-BA-*šá*
22′) URU.É-^{m}*gi-iṣ-ṣi* URU.É-^{m}*kàt-pa-la-ni*
23′) URU.É-^{m}*im-bi-ia* URU.*ḫa-ma-nu*
24′) URU.É-^{m}*ar-ra-bi* URU.*bu-ru-tu*
25′) URU.*di-in-tu-ša-*^{m}*su-la-a-a*
26′) URU.*di-in-tu-ša-*^{md}DUMU-É-KAR-*ir*
27′) URU.*ḫar-ri-áš-la-ke-e* URU.*rab-ba-a-a*
28′) URU.*ra-a-su* URU.*ak-ka-ba-ri-na*
29′) URU.DU_6-^{m}*ú-ḫu-ri* URU.*ḫa-am-ra-nu*
30′) URU.*na-di-tu a-di* URU.MEŠ *ša né-re-bi*
31′) *ša* URU.É-*bu-na-ki* URU.DU_6-^{d}*ḫu-um-bi*
32′) URU.*di-in-tu-ša-*^{m}*du-me-*DINGIR
33′) URU.É-^{m}*ú-bi-ia* URU.*bal-ti-li-šir*
34′) [URU.*ta*]-⌜*qab*⌝-*li-šir* URU.*ša-na-qi-da-ti*
35′) [URU.*ma-su-tú*]-⌜*šap*⌝-*li-*⌜*tú*⌝ URU.*sa-ar-ḫu-de-ri*
36′) [URU.*a-lum-ša-*GAŠAN-É] ⌜URU⌝.É-^{m}PAP.⌜MEŠ-SUM.NA⌝

iv 7′–17′a) On my seventh campaign, [the god Aššur, my lord], encouraged me and I marched to [the land Elam]. In [the course of] my campaign, I conquered and plundered the cities Bīt-Ḫaʾiri (and) [Raṣā], (iv 10′) cities on the border of [Assyria] that the E[lamites] had taken away by force in the time of my ancestors. I had my garrisons stationed (iv 15′) inside them. I brought (those cities) back inside the border of Assyria and placed (them) under the authority of the garrison commander of Dēr.

iv 17′b–30′a) The cities Bubê, Dunni-Šamaš, Bīt-Risiya, Bīt-Aḫlamê, Dūru, (iv 20′) Dannat-Sulāya, Šilibtu, Bīt-Aṣusi, Kār-Zēra-iqīša, Bīt-Giṣṣi, Bīt-Katpalāni, Bīt-Imbiya, Ḫamānu, Bīt-Arrabi, Burutu, (iv 25′) Dimtu-ša-Sulāya, Dimtu-ša-Mār-bīti-eṭir, Ḫarri-ašlakê, Rabbāya, Rāsu, Akkabarina, Tīl-Uḫuri, Ḫamrānu, Nadītu,

iv 30′b–36′) together with the cities of the passes, namely Bīt-Bunaki, Tīl-Ḫumbi, Dimtu-ša-Dume-ili, Bīt-Ubiya, Baltī-līšir, [Ta]qab-līšir, Ša-nāqidāte, (iv 35′) [Masūtu]-šaplīti, Sarḫudēri, [Ālum-ša-Bēlet-bīti], Bīt-Aḫḫē-iddina,

Lacuna

Lacuna

1″) [*x*] *x* [...]
2″) *iš-me-ma* [*ki-šit-ti* URU.MEŠ-*šú* ^{m}NÍG.DU-^{d}*na-ḫu-un-du*]
3″) LÚ.*e-*⌜*la*⌝-[*mu-ú im-qut-su ḫat-tum*]
4″) ⌜*si-it-ti*⌝ [URU.MEŠ-*šú a-na dan-na-a-ti ú-še-rib*]
5″) ⌜*šu-ú* URU.*ma*⌝-[*dak-ti* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú e-zib-ma*]
6″) ⌜*a*⌝-*na* URU.*ḫa-i-*⌜*da*⌝-[*la ša qé-reb šad-di-i* SÙ.MEŠ]
7″) ⌜*iṣ*⌝-*ṣa-bat* ⌜*ḫar-ra-nu*⌝ [*a-na* URU.*ma-dak-ti* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú*]
8″) ⌜*a*⌝-*la-ku* ⌜*aq-bi* ITI.*tam*⌝-[*ḫi-ri* EN.TE.NA *dan-nu*]
9″) ⌜*e*⌝-*ru-ba-am-*⌜*ma šá-mu*⌝-[*tum ma-at-tum*

iv 1″–7″a) [...] ... [... Kudur-Naḫundu (Kudur-Naḫḫunte)], the Ela[mite], heard about [the conquest of his cities and fear fell upon him. He brought] (the people of) the rest of [his cities into fortresses]. (iv 5″) He [abandoned] the city Ma[daktu, his royal city, and] took the road to the city Ḫayda[la, which is in the distant mountains].

iv 7″b–11″) I ordered the march [to the city Madaktu, his royal city]. In the month Tam[ḫīru, bitter cold] set in and a [severe] rainst[orm sent down] (iv 10″) its [rain. I was afraid] of the rain [and snow ...] ... [...] ...

iv 1′–vi 15′ Reports of the sixth, seventh, and eighth campaigns, which are badly damaged in this inscription, duplicate those same passages in text no. 22 iv 32–vi 35, apart from orthographic variants, for which see the on-page notes.

ú-šá-az-ni-na] [...]
10′′) [ŠÈG.MEŠ]-*šá* ŠÈG.[MEŠ *ù šal-gu* ...]
11′′) [...] *x* [...] *x* [...]
Lacuna Lacuna
Col. v
Lacuna Lacuna
1′) ⌜*ša*⌝ [*dun-ni e-ri-ia-ti pa-an* AN-*e*]
2′) *rap-šu-*⌜*ti*⌝ [*ka-ti-im el-la-mu-ú-a*]
3′) *i-na* URU.⌜*ḫa*⌝-[*lu-le-e ša ki-šad* ÍD.IDIGNA]
4′) *šit-ku-nu* ⌜*si*⌝-[*dir-ta pa-an maš-qí-ia*]
5′) *ṣab-tu-ma* [*ú-šá-ʾa-lu* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú-un*]

v 1′–5′) [The dust of their feet covered the] wide [heavens like a heavy cloud] in [the deep of winter]. While drawing up a bat[tleline before me] at the city Ḫa[lulê], which is [on the bank of the Tigris River] (and) keeping [me from the water source, they sharpened their weapons].

6′) *a-na-*[*ku a-na*] ⌜^{d}*aš-šur* ^{d}30 ^{d}⌝[UTU ^{d}EN ^{d}MUATI]
7′) ^{d}⌜U⌝.[GUR ^{d}]⌜INANNA⌝ *ša* NINA.KI ^{d}INANNA ⌜*ša* URU⌝.[LÍMMU-DINGIR]
8′) ⌜DINGIR.MEŠ⌝ *ti-ik-li-ia a-na ka-*⌜*šá*⌝-[*di*]
9′) LÚ.KÚR *dan-ni am-ḫur-šú-nu-ti-ma*
10′) *su-pe-e-a ur-ru-ḫi-iš iš-mu-ú*
11′) *il-li-ku re-ṣu-ti la-ab-biš*
12′) *an-na-dir-ma at-tal-bi-šá si-ri-ia-am*
13′) *ḫu-li-ia-am si-mat ṣi-il-te a-pi-*⌜*ra*⌝
14′) *ra-šu-ú-a i-na* GIŠ.GIGIR *ta-ḫa-zi-*[*ia*]
15′) *ṣir-ti sa-pi-na-at za-*⌜ʾ⌝*i*⌝-[*i-ri*]
16′) *i-na ug-gat lib-bi-ia* ⌜*ar*⌝-[*ta-kab ḫa-an-ṭiš*]
17′) GIŠ.PAN *dan-na-tum ša* ^{d}[*aš-šur ú-šat-li-ma*]
18′) *i-na* ŠU.II-*ia aṣ-bat* GIŠ.*šil-*⌜*ta*⌝-[*ḫu pa-ri-i*ʾ]
19′) *nap-šá-ti at-muḫ* [*rit-tu-u-a*]
20′) *ṣe-er gi-mir* ⌜*um*⌝-*ma*-[*na-ti na-ki-ri*]
21′) *lem-nu-ti* u_4*-mi-*⌜*iš*⌝ [*ṣar*]-⌜*piš al*⌝-[*sa-a*]
22′) GIM ^{d}IŠKUR *áš-*⌜*gu-um*⌝ *i-na qí-bit* ^{d}[*aš-šur*]
23′) EN GAL [EN-*ia a*]-⌜*na*⌝ *šid-di u pu-*⌜*ti*⌝ [GIM]
24′) [*ti-ib me-ḫe*]-*e šam-ri a-na* LÚ.KÚR [*a-zi-iq*]
25′) [*i-na*] ⌜GIŠ⌝.TUKUL.MEŠ ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-⌜*ia*⌝ [*ù*]
26′) [*ti-ib*] ⌜*ta*⌝-*ḫa-zi-ia ez-*⌜*zi*⌝ [*i-rat-su-un*]
27′) [*a*]-⌜*né*⌝-*e*ʾ-*ma suḫ-ḫur-ta-šú-*⌜*nu*⌝
28′) [*áš-kun* ERIM.ḪI.A *na*]-*ki-ri i-na uṣ-ṣi*
29′) [*mul-mul*]-⌜*li*⌝ *ú-šá-qir-*⌜*ma*⌝
30′) [*gim-ri* ADDA.MEŠ-*šú*]-*nu ú-pal-*⌜*li*⌝-[*šá*]
31′) [UD-*zi-zi-iš* ^{md}]⌜*ḫu-um-ban-un*⌝-[*da-šá* (...)]

v 6′–11′a) I myse[lf] prayed [to] the deities Aššur, Sîn, [Šamaš, Bēl, Nabû], Ne[rgal], Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of [Arbela], the gods who support me, for victory [over] (my) strong enemy and (v 10′) they immediately heeded my prayers (and) came to my aid.

v 11′b–19′) I raged up like a lion, then put on armor (and) placed a helmet suitable for combat on my head. (v 15′) In my anger, I [rode quickly] in [my] exalted battle chariot, which lays enem[ies] low. I took in my hand the mighty bow that [the god Aššur had granted to me] (and) I grasped [in my hand] an arr[ow that cuts off] life.

v 20′–31′a) I roa[red loud]ly like a storm (and) thundered like the god Adad against all of the troop[s of the] wicked [enemies]. By the command of the god [Aššur], the great lord, [my lord, I blew like the onset of a] severe [stor]m against the enemy [o]n (their) flanks and front lines. (v 25′) [With] the weapons of the god Aššur, my lord, [and] my fierce battle [array, I] turned [them] back and [made] them retreat. I shot [the troops of the en]emy with *uṣṣu*-arrows (and) [*mul-mul*]*lu*-[arrows], and pierc[ed all of their corpses like ...].

v 31′b) [I quickly slaughtered and defeated] Ḫumban-un[daša, (...)]

Lacuna Lacuna
Col. vi
1) [... *ù-mun-ni-šú-nu*] ⌜*ú*⌝-*šar-da-a*
2) [*ṣe-er er-ṣe-ti šá*]-⌜*di*⌝-*il-ti*
3) [...] (*x*) *x x x*

vi 1–3) [...] I made [their blood] flow [over the br]oad [earth ...] ...

Lacuna Lacuna
1′) [...] *x x* [*x* (*x*)]

vi 1′–3′) [I cut off (their) li]ps [and (thus) destroyed

iv 11′′ The translation assumes that *a-du-ra* "I was afraid" is to be (partially or completely) restored in iv 11′′.
Lacuna before v 1′ Based on the eighth campaign report in text nos. 22 and 23, the translation assumes that the now-missing line(s) immediately before v 1′ contained SAḪAR.ḪI.A GÌR.II-*šú-nu ki-ma* MURU$_9$ *kab-ti* "the dust of their feet (covered the wide heavens) like a heavy cloud."
v 31′ UD-*zi-zi-iš* "...": The reading and meaning are unknown. See von Soden, AHw p. 1318 sub *tamzīziš* and CAD T p. 168 sub *tamziziš*.
Lacuna after v 31′ Based on the eighth campaign report in text nos. 22 and 23, the translation assumes that a now-missing line after v 31′ (ca. six or seven lines later) contained *ur-ru-ḫi-iš ú-pal-liq-šú-nu-ti-ma áš-ku-na taḫ-ta-šú-un* "I quickly slaughtered and defeated them."
vi 1′ The translation assumes that *x x* [*x* (*x*)] partially preserves *sa-ap-sa-pa-te* "lips." Too little is preserved of *x x* to positively identify the signs.

2′) [*ú-na-kis-ma bal-ta-šú-un a-bu-ut ki-ma bi*]-⌜*ni*⌝ *qiš-še-*⌜*e*⌝
3′) [*si-ma-ni ú-na-kis*] ⌜*qa*⌝-*ti-šú-un*
4′) [ḪAR.MEŠ *as-pi* KÙ.GI] ⌜KI⌝.SAG *eb-bi*
5′) [*šá rit-ti-šú-nu am-ḫur i*]-⌜*na*⌝ *nam-ṣa-ri*
6′) [*zaq-tu-ti ḫu-ṣa-an-ni-šú-nu*] *ú-par-ri-i*ʾ
7′) [GÍR.MEŠ *šib-bi* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR *šá* MURUB_4].MEŠ-*šú-nu e-kim*
8′) [*si-it-ti* LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*šú a*]-⌜*di*⌝ ^{md}MUATI-MU-GAR-*un*
9′) [DUMU ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA *ša la*]-*pa-an* MÈ-*ia*
10′) [*ip-la-ḫu id-ku-ú* Á.II-*šú*]-⌜*un*⌝ *bal-ṭu-su-un*
11′) [*i-na* MURUB_4 *tam-ḫa-ri it-mu*]-⌜*ḫa*⌝ ŠU.II-*a-a*
12′) [GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *a-di* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*ši-na ša i*]-⌜*na*⌝ *qit-ru-ub*
13′) [*ta-ḫa-zi dan-ni ra-ki-bu-šin*] ⌜*de*⌝-*ku-ma*
14′) [*ù ši-na muš-šu-ra-ma ra-ma-nu*]-⌜*uš*⌝-*šin*
15′) [*it-ta-na-al-la-ka mit-ḫa-riš ú-ter*]-⌜*ra*⌝

their pride. I cut off] their hands [like the *st*]*ems* of cucumbers [in season].

vi 4′–7′) [I received gold] (and) shining silver [sling straps as their wrist-trappings] (and) slashed off [their belts w]ith [sharp] swords. I took away [gold (and) silver (decorated) belt-daggers as] their [waist-trappings].
vi 8′–11′) [(As for) the rest of his magnates, in]cluding Nabû-šuma-iškun, [a son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), (vi 10′) who had raised the]ir [arms be]cause [they were terrified o]f doing battle with me, I [capt]ured them alive [in the thick of battle].

vi 12′–15′) [I brought ba]ck [all together the chariots along with their horses, whose drivers] had been killed [i]n the thick of (that) [mighty battle] and [which had themselves been released so that they galloped about on] their [ow]n.

Lacuna

1″) [...] URU *x* [*x*]
2″) [... *ša*] ⌜*ul*$^{?}$⌝-*tu* UD.MEŠ
3″) [SÙ.MEŠ ... *ṣu-uḫ-ḫu*]-⌜*rat*⌝ *šu-bat-su*
4″) [...] *ša* 3 ME 30
5″) [*i-na* 1.KÙŠ UŠ *x x x i*]-⌜*na*⌝ 1.KÙŠ SAG.KI
6″) [*ma-ra-ku šit-ku-na-at-ma la*] *nu-ku-lat e-piš-taš*
7″) [... *qa*$^{?}$]-⌜*bal*$^{?}$⌝-*ti* URU *ú-ṣu-ú*
8″) [...]-*x-du-ú*$^{?}$ *uš-še-šá*
9″) [...] *a-na ar-ke-e-šá*
10″) [...]-*ú i-na* ILLU-*šá gap-ši*
11″) [...] *x x-tu* UN.MEŠ *a-šib*
12″) [...]-*ḫu šat-*⌜*ti*⌝-*šam* URU DINGIR.MEŠ
13″) [...] *a-šar* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia*
14″) [GUN$^{?}$ *mal-ki*$^{?}$] ⌜*kib*⌝-*ra-a-ti im-*⌜*da*⌝-*na-ḫa-ru*
15″) [*qé-reb-šu* ...] *x gi-mir ad-na-a-ti*
16″) [...]-⌜*me*$^{?}$⌝ *da-na-ni ša* DINGIR.MEŠ
17″) [...] ⌜*šug*⌝-*lu-du šat-ti-šam*
18″) [... *a*]-*na qé-reb* NINA.KI
19″) [URU$^{?}$ *be-lu-ti-ia*$^{?}$] *i-bab-ba-lu-ni*

vi 7″–20″a) [...] that went out [throu]gh the city [...] ... its foundation [...] to its rear (vi 10″) [...] ... when its flood (the Tebilti's) was in full spate [...] ... the people living in [...] ... annually, the city, the gods [...] where[in] the kings, my ancestors, received [the tribute of the rulers of] the (four) quarters (of the world); (vi 15″) [...] ... of the entire world [...] ... the strength of gods [...] very frightening, annually, [...] they brought their [*substantial*] payment [i]nto Nineveh, [*my capital city*].

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vi 1″–viii 14″′b The building report of this inscription contains material borrowed from earlier inscriptions, especially text no. 16 and text no. 17, and material that was composed anew for inscriptions written in 693, 692, and 691. Because no intermediary editions of Sennacherib's *res gestae* between text no. 17 and this inscription are known, it is difficult to trace the editorial history of the various passages of the building report; we assume that foundation inscriptions were written on octagonal clay prisms in 693 (eponymy of Iddin-aḫḫē, governor of the city Dūr-Šarrukīn; Sennacherib's 12th regnal year) and 692 (eponymy of Zazāya, governor of the city Arpad; Sennacherib's 13th regnal year). For some of the differences between this inscription and text no. 17, see the on-page notes below. Col. vi 1″–48″ are presently known only from this inscription.
vi 2″–6″ Sennacherib complains in this passage about the small size of the former palace and the inferior workmanship of its structure. Cf. the earlier descriptions in text no. 16 v 71–78 and text no. 17 v 56b–63. The restorations in vi 5″–6″ are based on text no. 17 v 57–59.
vi 4″–5″ The longer side and shorter side of the former palace are 360 cubits and 95 cubits respectively in text no. 17 v 57–58.
vi 7″ This line probably refers to the destructive waters of the Tebilti River. Cf. text no. 16 vi 11–19a and text no. 17 v 79–87, both of which describe the damaged caused by the Tebilti River immediately after the passage describing the former palace.
vi 10″ [...]-*ú* "[...] ...": R.C. Thompson restores [*i-ba-*ʾ*u*]-*ú* "had flowed" on analogy with Luckenbill, Senn. p. 99 line 47 (= text no. 3 line 47). ILLU-*šá* "its flood": The feminine possessive suffix (*-ša*) very probably refers to the Tebilti River, as the expression *ina mīlīša gapši* ("when its flood was in full spate") occurs in passages concerning the destructive nature of that watercourse.
vi 14″ The restoration at the beginning of the line is based on text no. 4 line 65.
vi 15″ *qé-reb-šu* "wherein": The restoration is based on text no. 4 line 65. [...] *x* "[...] ...": E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 96) tentatively suggests [... LUGAL$^{?}$ *da-ád*$^{?}$]-⌜*me*⌝ "[*... king of the settlemen*]*ts of.*"
vi 19″ Following E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 92), URU$^{?}$ *be-lu-ti-ia*$^{?}$ "*my capital city*" is tentatively restored at the beginning of the line.

man-da-ta-šú-nu

20′) [...] URU *ṣe-eḫ-ru*
21′) [...] *x pi-i* [*x x*]*-ki-šú*
22′) [...]-*a-ti* URU *ma-lu-ú*
23′) [...] *x*.MEŠ *šit-ku-na*
24′) [... *a-na a*]-*tal-lu-ki la ṭa-bu*
25′) [...]-*mu-ú i-ta-at* URU
26′) [...] *x-bu ù šá-am-mu*
27′) [... *ša ina la*] *ma-a-me šu-lu-ka na-mu-ta*
28′) [... *šá*]*-ta-ta qé-e et-tu-tu*
29′) [... *i*]-*na e-bi-ḫi rak-su-ma*
30′) [...] *ú-šu-zu i-ta-ti-šú*
31′) [...]-*ṣa-bu la i-ba-šu-ú*
32′) [...] *šab-bur-ti* SAG URU
33′) [...] *sa-ra-bu ù ṣu-mu*
34′) [...] *ze-ri pu-qut-tu*
35′) [...] *x-šá eṭ-lum*
36′) [...] *e-lu-ú e-li-šá*
37′) [... *a*]-*na maš-ti-ti-šú*
38′) [...] *ni-iz-mat-su*
39′) [...] *ša i-na*
40′) [...] *x*
41′) [...] *x*
42′) [...]
43′) [...] UD
44′) [...]-*ú*
45′) [...] KUR.MEŠ
46′) [...] *x-li*
47′) [... *is*?]-*pu-nu*
48′) [...]-*ú*

Lacuna

1′′′) (traces) [...]
2′′′) [...] AD [...]
3′′′) [*x x*]*-ti-šú-un* [... LUGAL.MEŠ*-ni*]
4′′′) *a-li-kut maḫ-ri* [AD.MEŠ*-ia ša ul-tu* u_4*-me*]
5′′′) *ul-lu-ti ul-la-*[*nu-ú-a be-lu-ut* KUR *aš-šur*.KI]
6′′′) *e-pu-šu-ma ú-*[*ma-ʾe-ru ba-ʾu-lat* ^{d}EN.LÍL]
7′′′) *a-a-um-ma i-na* [*lìb-bi-šú-nu a-na e-peš*?]
8′′′) É.GAL *ṣi-ir-ti* [...]
9′′′) *ù šum-dul*$_6$ [*šu-bat* URU ...]
10′′′) *ù x* [...]
11′′′) (traces) [...]

Lacuna

Col. vii

vi 20′′b–30′′) [...] small settlement [...] ... [...] of the city was filled [...] ... were set [...] was not suitable [for p]assage (vi 25′′) [...] ... borders of the city [...] ... and vegetation [... which] had been turned into wastelands [without] water [... we]re woven over with spider webs [...] were bound [w]ith ropes (vi 30′′) [...] standing at its sides;

vi 31′′–38′′) [...] are not ... [...] newly tilled soil before the city [...] cold and thirst [...] seeds, thorns (vi 35′′) [...] ..., the young man [...] rose up above it [... f]or his drink allowance [...] his desire

vi 39′′–48′′) (No translation possible)

Lacuna

vi 1′′′–11′′′) ... [...] ... [...] their ... [... ea]rlier [kings, my ancestors who from] (vi 5′′′) distant [days], befo[re me], had exercised [dominion over Assyria] and r[uled the subjects of the god Enlil; (but) not] one among [them had conceived of and put his mind towards *building*] a magnificent palace, [...] or increasing [the site of the city, ...] and ... [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

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vi 20′′ Possibly restore *ka-bit-tu* "valuable" at the beginning of the line, as suggested by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 92).
vi 23′′ *x*.MEŠ "...": A.MEŠ "water" is possible.
vi 27′′–28′′ Cf. the Bavian Inscription lines 6–7 (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 79).
vi 28′′ An inscription preserved on K 19861, a small fragment of a clay tablet, has [... *šá*]-*ta-at qé-e et-tu-tú* [...] "[... we]re woven over with spider webs [...]." For a transliteration of that fragment, see Frahm, Sanherib p. 96.
vi 29′′ Cf. *at-ta e-bi-iḫ-ka ina lìb-bi-šú-nu ta-rak-kas* "you will tie with your *rope* on them" in Parpola, SAA 1 p. 6 no. 1 lines 50–51. This appears to be an idiom.
vi 3′′′b–11′′′ This passage is an expanded and reworked version of text no. 16 v 51–61 and text no. 17 v 34–47.
vi 9′′′–10′′′ E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 97) tentatively suggests [... *šu-pu-uš*? BÀD] *ù šal-*[*ḫi-i* ...] "[... *to have* an inner wall] and oute[r wall *built*, ...]."
vi 11′′′ Based on similar passages in text nos. 15, 16, and 17, the translation assumes that *ú-zu-un-šu ul ib-ši-ma ul uš-ta-bil ka-ras-su* "(not one among them) had conceived of and put his mind towards" appeared in vi 11′′′ or in the now-missing vi 12′′′ or 13′′′.

1) *qaq-qa-ru at-*ʳ*ru*ˀ [...]
2) *i-na* UGU 3 ME [*x x ina* 1.KÙŠ UŠ]
3) [*x*] ʳME 80 *i*ˀ*-na* 1.ʳKÙŠˀ [SAG.KI ...]
4) [*lu ú*]-ʳ*rad*ˀ*-di a-na* ʳ9 MEˀ [*x x i-na* 1.KÙŠ? GAL-*ti*? UŠ]
5) [*ù x*] ME 60 *i-na* 1.ʳKÙŠˀ [GAL-*ti*?]
6) [SAG.KI] *ši-kit-ti* É.[GAL *ú-ter-ma šu-bat-sa uš-rab-bi*]
7) [1 ME] ʳ90ˀ *ti-ib-ki a-na* ʳ*e*ˀ-[*la-ni tam-la-a*?]
8) ʳ*uš*ˀ*-mal-li ṣe-ru-uš-šú* [...]
9) *ša i-na kib-rat ar-ba-*[*'i* ...]
10) *a-na mu-šab be-lu-ti-*[*ia ina*? $MURUB_4$? URU?]
11) *ša* NINA.KI *eš-šiš ab-ni* [...]
12) UGU *ša* u_4*-um pa-ni uš-*ʳ*rab*ˀ-[*bi* ...]
13) *ú-še-piš-ma ú-zaq-*[*qir ḫur-šá-niš*]
14) *še-ḫi-ni-tu-šú ša a-gúr-ri* [...]
15) *i-na ši-pir* LÚ.ŠITIM.GAL-ʳ*le*ˀ-[*e en-qu-ti*]
16) *ú-še-piš nak-liš áš-šú* ʳ*i*ˀ-[*na* ŠÈG.MEŠ?]
17) *ù šal-gi uš-še-šú* [*la*? *e-né-ši*?]
18) *ki-su-šú i-na* NA_4*.pi-i-*[*li* GAL.MEŠ *ú-še-pi-šá*?]
19) *ú-dan-nin šu-pu-uk-*[*šu* 1 ME *ina* 1.KÙŠ GAL-*tim*]
20) *ḫa-ri-ṣu-uš* ʳ*uš-rap-piš*ˀ [...]
21) *ma-da-*ʳ*x*ˀ [...]
22) *x* [...]

Lacuna

1′) *x x x x x* ʳ*ša* BÀD?ˀ-[*šú* GAL *bàd-ní-gal-bi*]-
2′) -ʳ*lú*ˀ*-kúr-ra-šú-šú du-ú-ru* ʳ*ša nam*ˀ-[*ri-ru-šu*]
3′) *na-ki-ri saḫ-pu ṣe-er* NA_4*.pi-*[*i-li*]
4′) *tem-me-en-šú ad-di-ma* 40 SIG_4 *i-na na-*ʳ*al-ban*ˀ-[*ia*]
5′) GAL-*i ú-kab-bir-šú a-na e-liš a-di šap-la-*[*niš*]
6′) *na-bur-ri-šú a-na* 39 SIG_4 *ú-ter-*[*ma*]

vii 1–8a) [*I took* ...] as an additional plot of land. [I] added (it) to the three hundred [and ... cubits long (and) ...] hundred and eighty cubits [wide ... I enlarged] the structure of the pa[lace] to nine hundred [and ... large cubits along (its) longer side (vii 5) and ...] hundred and sixty [large] cubits [along (its) shorter side and (thus) I made its site bigger]. Upon it, I filled in [*a terrace* 1]90 courses of brick h[igh].

vii 8b–11a) For [my] lordly residence [*in the citadel*] of Nineveh I built anew [*a palace* (...)] that [...] in the fou[r] quarters (of the world).
vii 11b–16a) I made [...] larg[er] than before, had [...] built, and rais[ed (it) as high as a mountain]. (As for) its ..., which [...] baked bricks, (vii 15) I had (it) expertly made through the craft of [well-trained] master builder[s].
vii 16b–19a) In order to [prevent] its foundations fr[om *being weakened by rain*] and snow, [I had] its base [*built*] with [large] limest[one] (blocks and thereby) reinforced [its] base.
vii 19b–22) I widened its moat [100 large cubits. ...] ... [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

vii 1′–9′) [...] ... I laid the foundation of [its] great [wall, Badnigalbi]lukurašušu, (which means) "Wall Whose Bril[liance] Overwhelms Enemies," upon lime[stone] and (vii 5′) made (it) 40 bricks thick, measured by [my] large brick mold. Upwards (to the north) and downw[ards] (to the south), I enlarged its battlements to (a width of) 39 bricks, [then] I raised its su-

vii 1–8a This passage records the construction of the terrace and the layout of the palace, which is now said to have been 900+ large cubits along its longer side. Cf. text no. 17 vi 11, where it is only 700 large cubits. At the end of vii 1, probably restore *lu aṣ-ba-ta* "*I took*"; cf. text no. 17 vi 4 and text no. 22 vi 47.
vii 2 3 ME [*x x*] "three hundred [and ...]": Based on vi 4′′, E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 97) tentatively suggests 3 ME [30] "3[30]." Cf. text no. 17 v 91, where the length of the additional plot of land is 3 ME 40 "340."
vii 3 [*x*] ʳME 80ˀ "[...] hundred and eighty": Cf. text no. 17 vi 91, where the width of the additional plot of land is 2 ME 89 "289." See also the discussion in Frahm, Sanherib p. 97.
vii 4 ʳ9 MEˀ [*x x*] "nine hundred [and ...]": The longer side of the palace is 700 large cubits in text no. 17 vi 11.
vii 5 [*x*] ME 60 "[...] hundred and sixty": The shorter side of the palace is 440 large cubits in text no. 17 vi 12 and thus *x* may be read as 4.
vii 8b–11a This passage records the construction of the structure of the "Palace Without a Rival." Because the passage is not attested elsewhere in the extant Sennacherib corpus, it is not certain if vii 11b–12a also deal with Sennacherib's palace or another structure at Nineveh. See Frahm, Sanherib pp. 97–98 (the commentary to vii 11).
vii 9 E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 92) tentatively restores the end of the line as [*šānina*? *lā*? *īšû*?] "[*does not have a rival*]."
vii 10 The restoration follows E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 92).
vii 11b–16a This passage describes work on another building/structure at Nineveh, possibly the citadel wall. Moreover, it is not certain if this passage begins after *ab-ni* "I built" in vii 11 or after *uš-*ʳ*rab*ˀ-[*bi*] "I made larg[er]" in vii 12. See Frahm, Sanherib pp. 97–98 (the commentary to vii 11).
vii 16b–19a The restorations follow E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 92). Cf. text no. 16 vi 49–52 and text no. 17 vi 7–10.
vii 19–20 Text no. 38 lines 18–19 also record the widening of the moat to a width of 100 large cubits. The moat is clearly visible only on the north and east walls, about 80 m in front of the wall; it is 70 m wide and 10 m deep (after erosion). A relief from the South-West Palace (Layard, Discoveries p. 231) may show the southwestern corner of the wall with the moat. See Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) p. 390 fig. 1 and p. 400 fig. 5.
vii 1′–9′ This passage is an expanded version of text no. 16 vii 29b–33 and text no. 17 vii 65b–69. *x x x x x* "...": R.C. Thompson (Iraq 7 [1940] p. 90) suggests reading the signs as *x-*ʳ*su*?ˀ *uš-te-šib* "... I had installed." In lieu of 40 SIG_4 ... *ḫur-šá-niš* "... 40 bricks thick ... as a mountain," those earlier inscriptions have 40 SIG_4 *ú-kab-bir i-na* 1 ME 80 *ti-ib-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šu* "I made (it) 40 bricks thick. I raised its superstructure up 180 layers of brick."
vii 4′–5′ *i-na na-*ʳ*al-ban*ˀ-[*ia*] GAL-*i* "by [my] large brick mold": This expression also occurs in text no. 34 lines 62–63.

7′) *i-na* 3 UŠ 20 *ti-ib-ki* SIG$_4$ *ša ši-zu-ú*
8′) *mu-bu-šá e-la-niš a-di pa-ás-qí-šú re-ši-šú*
9′) *ul-li-ma ú-zaq-qir-šú ḫur-šá-niš*

perstructure up high, to its copings, to (a height of) 200 courses of brick, (each of) whose thickness was one-third of a cubit, and (thus) raised (it) as high as a mountain.

10′) *a-na er-bet-ti šá-a-ri* 18 KÁ.GAL.MEŠ
11′) *pa-nu ù ar-ka i-na ṣi-li ki-lal-la-an*
12′) *a-na e-re-bi ù a-ṣe-e ú-šap-ta-a*
13′) *qé-reb-šú* ^{d}*šár-ur$_4$ mu-šam-qit a-a-ab* LUGAL
14′) KÁ.GAL *ḫa-an-du-ri lil-bur* ÉNSI ^{d}*aš-šur*
15′) KÁ.GAL ^{d}*aš-šur ša* URU.ŠÀ.URU *sa-pi-in gi-mir na-ki-ri*
16′) KÁ.GAL ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU *ša* KUR.*ḫal-zi*
17′) ^{d}EN.LÍL *mu-kin* BALA-*ia* KÁ.GAL ^{d}UTU *ša* KUR.*ga-gal*
18′) *šá* ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU *it-ti man-zal-ti e-req-qí*
19′) *li-kun* BALA-*šú* KÁ.GAL ^{d}NIN.LÍL *ša* URU.⌜*kar*-^{d}NIN⌝.LÍL
20′) *mu-še-ṣa-at* UZU ÁZAG KÁ.GAL *muš-la-lum*
21′) *du-*⌜*muq* ^{d}*áš-na-an u* ^{d}*laḫar*⌝ *qé-reb-šá ka-a-a-an*
22′) KÁ.GAL URU.*ši-ba-ni-*⌜*ba*⌝ *ba-bi-lat ḫi-ṣib ḫur-šá-a-ni*
23′) KÁ.GAL KUR.*ḫa-láḫ-ḫi* ŠU.NIGIN 8 KÁ.GAL.MEŠ ^{d}UTU.È
24′) *mé-eḫ-ret šu-ú-ti* ⌜*u*⌝ *šá-di-i az-ku-ra*

vii 10′–13′a) I had eighteen gates opened up in it in four directions, in front and behind, (and) along both sides, for entering and leaving.

vii 13′b–25′a) "The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King's Enemy": (this is) the Ḫandūru Gate. "May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure": (vii 15′) (this is) the Aššur Gate, which (leads to) the Inner City (Aššur). "The One Who Flattens All Enemies": (this is) the Sennacherib Gate, which (leads to) the land Ḫalzi. "The God Enlil Is the One Who Makes My Reign Firm": (this is) the Šamaš Gate, which (leads to) the land Gagal. "May Sennacherib's Dynasty Be as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation!": (this is) the Mullissu Gate, which (leads to) the city Kār-Mullissi. (vii 20′) "The One Who Exorcises the 'Flesh' of the *Asakku*-demon": (this is) the Step Gate. "The Choicest of Grain and Flocks Are Constantly Inside It": (this is) the gate (that leads to) the city Šibaniba. "The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains": (this is) the gate (that leads to) the land Ḫalaḫḫu. In total, eight gates (facing) the rising sun, towards the south and east, (and) I gave them (these) names.

25′) *ni-bit-si-in* ^{d}IŠKUR *šá-rik* ḪÉ.GÁL *a-na* KUR
26′) ⌜KÁ.GAL⌝ ^{d}IŠKUR *ša am-ba-si* ^{d}⌜*èr-ra*⌝ *mu-šam-qit*
27′) *a-a-bi-ia* KÁ.GAL ^{d}U.GUR *ša* ⌜URU⌝.[*tar*]-*bi-ṣi*
28′) ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-*ru mu-kin a-ge-e* ⌜*be*⌝-[*lu*]-⌜*ti*⌝-*ia*
29′) KÁ.GAL ^{d}30 ^{d}*é-a mu-še-šir kùp-*[*pi*]-*ia*
30′) KÁ.GAL *ma-as-qé-e li-bur e-pi-*[(*is*$^{?}$)]-⌜*sa*$^{?}$⌝
31′) *muš-la-lum ša* É.GAL ^{d}IGI.SIG$_7$.⌜SIG$_7$⌝

vii 25′b–40′) "The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land": (this is) the Adad Gate, which (leads to) the game preserve. "The God Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down My Enemies": (this is) the Nergal Gate, which (leads to) the city [Tar]biṣu. "The Divine Nannāru Is the One Who Makes Firm My Lo[rd]ly Crown": (this is) the Sîn Gate. "The God Ea Is the One

vii 7′ Text no. 16 vii 33 and text no. 17 vii 69 record that the height of the wall was 180 (1 ME 80) layers of brick. Moreover, nothing is said about the thickness of the brick layers in those inscriptions.

vii 10′–40′ Cf. text no. 15 vii 25–23′ and text no. 16 vii 34–69, which state that there were fourteen gates, and text no. 17 vii 70–viii 5, which records that Nineveh had fifteen gates. The lack of foundation inscriptions written on prisms in 693 and 692 prevents us from knowing exactly when Sennacherib built the three new gates mentioned in this inscription. For details, see the chart on p. 18. On the location of the gates, see in particular King, Cat. pp. xix–xxiv; Thompson, Arch. 79 (1929) pp. 111–113; Thompson, Iraq 7 (1940) pp. 91–93; Reade, RA 72 (1978) pp. 50–54; and Scott and MacGinnis, Iraq 52 (1990) pp. 63–68.

vii 13′b–14′a Like text no. 16 vii 38–39, this inscription places the Ḫandūru Gate first. Cf. text no. 17 viii 3, where it is listed last, with the west-facing gates.

vii 14′b *lil-bur* ÉNSI ^{d}*aš-šur* "May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure": The name of the gate is the same as text no. 15 vii 31 and text no. 16 vii 40; cf. text no. 17 vii 74, where the name of the gate is *li-bur* ÉNSI ^{d}*aš-šur* "May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Stay in Good Health."

vii 18′–19′ The name of the Mullissu Gate is ^{d}*iš-tar za-nin-ki kur-bi* "O Ištar Bless Your Provider" in text no. 16 vii 46 and *šá* ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba it-ti man-zal-ti e-req-qi kin-ni* BALA-*šú* "Make Sennacherib's Dynasty as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation!" in text no. 17 vii 78–79.

vii 26′b–27′ The name of the Nergal Gate is almost the same as it is in text no. 16 vii 57, which has ^{d}*èr-ra mu-šam-qit a-a-bi* "The God Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down Enemies." Cf. text no. 17 vii 89, where it is ^{d}*èr-ra šá-a-giš za-ma-ni-ia* "The God Erra Is the One Who Slaughters Those Hostile to Me."

vii 28′–29′a The name of the Sîn Gate is ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-*ru na-ṣir* AGA *be-lu-te-ia* "The Divine Nannāru Is the One Who Protects My Lordly Crown" in text no. 17 vii 91. Cf. the former name of the gate in text no. 16 vii 59–60a: ^{d}IGI.SIG$_7$.SIG$_7$ *mu-šam-me-eḫ ṣip-pa-a-te* KÁ.GAL GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ "'The God Igisigsig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish': (this is) the Gate of the Gardens." The old name was reused for the third gate from the north wall; see the on-page note to vii 31′–32′.

vii 29′a Cf. text no. 16 vii 60–62 and text no. 17 vii 92–93, which record the number of gates in the north wall after the Sîn Gate/Gate of the Gardens. This inscription combines the totals of the north and south walls; see vii 39′–40′.

vii 30′b–31′ This inscription is the earliest known text mentioning the Step Gate of the Palace; it may have been first incorporated into the building report of inscriptions in either 693, 692, or 691. *e-pi-*[(*is*$^{?}$)]-⌜*sa*$^{?}$⌝ "*Its Buil*[*der*]": The reading follows Frahm, Sanherib p. 93; B. Pongratz-Leisten (Ina Šulmi Īrub p. 213) reads the signs as *e-pi-*[*is*$^{?}$]-*su*$^{?}$ "*Its Buil*[*der*]." The traces of the last sign are too faint for any certain reading.

vii 31′b–32′ The name was originally used for the westernmost gate in the northern wall; see text no. 16 vii 59–60a. Igisigsig (or Amurriqānu, "jaundice") is the chief gardener of Anu.

32′) *mu-šam-me-eḫ ṣip-pa-ti muš-la-lum ša* GIŠ.KIRI$_6$
33′) *mu-še-ri-bat mi-šìr-ti da-ád-me*
34′) KÁ.GAL *ka-a-ri lu da-ri ba-nu-šá*
35′) *muš-la-lum* É.GAL *ma-šar-ti* ^{d}*a-nu-um*
36′) *na-ṣir na-piš-ti-ia* KÁ.GAL *pil-ku* KUR.*bar-ḫal-zi*
37′) *kàd-re-e* LÚ.*te-e-me u* LÚ.*su-mu-ʾe-èl*
38′) *qé-reb-šá ir-ru-ub* KÁ.GAL *mad-ba-ri*
39′) ŠU.NIGIN 10 KÁ.GAL.MEŠ *ša mé-eḫ-ret il-ta-ni*
40′) *ù a-mur-ri at-ta-bi zi-kir-ši-in*

Who Properly Directs (Water Flow into) My Cist[erns]": (vii 30′) (this is) the Mašqû Gate. "May *Its Buil*[*der*] Endure": (this is) the Step Gate of the Palace. "The God Igisigsig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish": (this is) the Step Gate of the Gardens. "The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements": (this is) the Quay Gate. "May Its Builder Live Forever": (vii 35′) (this is) the Step Gate of the Armory. "The God Anu Is the Protector of My Life": (this is) the gate of the section assigned to the land Barḫalzi. "The Presents of the People of Tēma and Sumuʾel Enter Through It": (this is) the Desert Gate. In total, ten gates (facing) towards the north (vii 40′) and west (and) I gave them (these) names.

41′) *ša šal-ḫi-i bàd-níg-érim-ḫu-luḫ-ḫa*
42′) *mu-gal-lit za-ma-a-ni uš-še-*⌜*šú*⌝ [*ap-te-e-ma*]
43′) [*x x*] *x le* ⌜*e u*⌝ *i x* [...]
44′) *ma-da-*⌜*ti*$^{?}$⌝ *ku x* [...]
45′) *a-di* UGU A.MEŠ *ú-*[*šá-ak-šid*$^{?}$ 45$^{?}$ NINDA$^{?}$ *qé-reb*$^{?}$]
46′) *ma-a-me ú-šap-pil-*[*ma šap-la-a-nu*]
47′) NA$_4$ KUR-*i dan-nu ak-si-*[*ma e-la-niš a-di pa-ás-qí-šú*]
48′) *i-na* NA$_4$.*pi-i-li* ⌜GAL⌝.[MEŠ *ú-nak-kil ši-pir-šu*]
49′) *ša* NINA.KI URU [*be-lu-ti-ia šu-bat-su*]
50′) *uš-rab-bi* 52 *i-*[*na* 1.KÙŠ GAL-*tim su-qí-šu*]
51′) *me-ti-iq ger-*[*ri* LUGAL *ú-šá-an-dil-ma*]
52′) ⌜*ú*⌝*-nam-mir* GIM [*u$_4$-me* ...]

[I opened up] a foundation pit for the outer wall, Badnigerimḫuluḫa, (which means) "Terrorizer of Enemies," then [...] ... [...] ... [...]. (vii 45′) Until I [*had* (*it*) *reach*] the water table, I dug down [*into*] the water [*forty-five nindanu*, then] I bound together strong mountain stone [below and above I expertly carried out its construction] with large limestone (blocks) [up to its copings].

Lacuna

Col. viii

Lacuna

1′) [URU.*ki-si-ri a-di*] ⌜*ta*⌝*-*[*mir*]*-*⌜*ti* NINA⌝.[KI KUR-*a*$^{?}$]
2′) [*ù bi-ru-tú*$^{?}$ *ina*] ⌜*ak*⌝*-kul-la-te* AN.BAR *ú-šat-tir-ma*
3′) [*ú-še-šir* ÍD.*ḫar*]*-*⌜*ru*⌝ A.MEŠ ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur da-riš*
4′) [*ṣe-er ta-mir-ti* NINA.KI *ú*$^{?}$]*-*⌜*kin*$^{?}$⌝*-na-ma qé-reb* GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ
5′) [EDIN *šá-ab-bur-ti*$^{?}$] ⌜*ú*⌝*-šaḫ-bi-ba a-tap-piš*

Lacuna

vii 49′–52′) I enlarged [the site] of Nineveh, [my capital] city. For the course of a [royal] ro[ad, I made its streets] fifty-two [large cubits wide and] (thus) I made (the city) as bright as [day. ...]

Lacuna

viii 1′–5′) I cut [with] iron picks [a can]al [straight through *mountain and valley*, from the border of the city Kisiru to] the [plain] of Nineveh. (Thus) [I] provided for eternity a regular supply of water from the Ḫusur River [to the plain of Nineveh] and I made (it) gush through small canals into the gardens (planted) [on *newly tilled soil*].

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vii 34′b–35′a The gate associated with the armory in text no. 17 viii 2 is *pa-qí-da-at ka-la-ma* "The One Who Regulates Everything." Note that the Armory Gate is mentioned after the Desert Gate in that inscription; it is mentioned before it in this text.

vii 35′b–36′ This inscription is the earliest known text mentioning the gate leading to the land Barḫalzi; it may have been first incorporated into the building report of inscriptions in either 693, 692, or 691.

vii 37′–38′ The name of the Desert Gate in text no. 17 vii 96–viii 1 is *kàd-re-e* LÚ.*su-mu-ʾe-èl ù* LÚ.*te-e-me qé-reb-šá ir-ru-ub* "The Presents of the People of Sumuʾel and Tēma Enter Through It." Note also that it is mentioned before the Armory Gate in that text; it is the southernmost gate on the western wall in this inscription.

vii 41′–52′ Cf. text no. 16 vii 70–76a and text no. 17 viii 6–12. The contents of vii 43′–44′ are not attested elsewhere in the Sennacherib corpus, and those of vii 45′–46′ rework material known from other inscriptions. The restorations in those lines follow Frahm, Sanherib p. 93.

vii 49′–52′ This passage is similar to text no. 38 lines 15–19a; cf. text no. 16 vii 76b–80 and text no. 17 viii 13–15. Sennacherib had inscribed steles placed on both sides of the royal road, which probably ran from the Aššur Gate in the south wall, east past the armory and the citadel, to the Sîn Gate (formerly the Gate of the Gardens) at the western end of the north wall. Three of those steles are preserved today and their inscriptions also record that the width of the road was fifty-two cubits. For further details, including information on the royal road, see text no. 38.

Lacuna before viii 1′ Based on similar passages in text nos. 15, 16, and 17, the translations assumes that the now-missing line immediately before viii 1′ ended with *ul-tu pa-a-ṭi* "from the border of."

viii 1′–5′ This passage is based on text no. 16 viii 16–23 and text no. 17 viii 26–30. KUR-*a*$^{?}$ *ù bi-ru-tú*$^{?}$ "mountain and *valley*": The conjectural restoration is based on text no. 16 viii 17; cf. text no. 17 viii 27, which has *mu-la-a muš-pa-lum* "high ground (and) low ground."

6′) [...]-*x*-⌜*a*?⌝-*ti* URU.*gi-ir-mu-a*
7′) [...]-*x-tú* URU.*a-lum-la-bir*
8′) [...] *ša ul-tu ul-la*
9′) [...] *x*-⌜*ur*⌝ *i-šat-tu-u*
10′) [...] ⌜*i*⌝-*šat-tu-ú*
11′) [...] ⌜*ma*⌝-*šar-tu*
12′) [...] ⌜*gal*?⌝-*liš*

viii 6′–12′) [...] ..., the city Girmua, [...] ..., the city Ālum-labir [...] which since time immemorial [...] ... took water (viii 10′) [...] took water [...] *review* [...] *like a gallû-demon*

Lacuna

Lacuna

1″) *x x* [...]
2″) UN.MEŠ *a*-⌜*ši*?⌝-[*bu-ut* ...]
3″) *né-su-ú x* [...]
4″) *ka-a-a-na x* [...]
5″) 6 ME ŠE.NUMUN *áš-na*-⌜*an*⌝ [*u* ^{d}*nisaba e-li* URU]
6″) *ù* KI.TA URU ⌜*ú*⌝-[*šá-an-kar šat-ti-šam*]

viii 1″–4″) ... [...] the people *liv*[*ing in* ...] distant ... [...] constantly ... [...].

viii 5″–6″) I [annually provided irrigation for] 600 fields seeded with grain [and cereals (located) upstream] and downstream of the city.

7″) *a-na šup-šu-uḫ a*-⌜*lak*⌝-[*ti* A.MEŠ *šu-nu-ti* ÍD.*a-gam-mu*]
8″) *ú-šab-ši-ma* ⌜*ṣu*⌝-[*ṣu-ú qé-reb-šá as-ti-il*]
9″) ÍGIRA.MUŠEN.MEŠ [ŠAḪ.MEŠ GIŠ.GI *a-lap qí-ši*]
10″) *i-na lìb-bi ú*-[*maš-šir i-na ṭè-em* DINGIR-*ma*]
11″) *qé-reb* GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ [EDIN *šá-ab-bur-ti* GEŠTIN *gi-mir* GURUN]
12″) ⌜GIŠ.*se-er-du* ŠIM⌝.[ḪI.A *ma-gal iš-mu-ḫu* (GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA)]
13″) *nap-ḫar* GIŠ.MEŠ [*i-ši-ḫu-ma ú-ṣar-ri-šú*]
14″) *pa-pa-al-lum* ⌜*ap*⌝-[*pa-ra-a-ti ma-gal i-ši-ra*]
15″) MUŠEN AN-*e* ⌜ÍGIRA⌝.[MUŠEN *ša a-šar-šú ru-ú-qu*]
16″) *qin-na iq-nun*-[*ma* ŠAḪ.MEŠ GIŠ.GI *a-lap qí-ši*]
17″) *ú-rap-pi-šú* ⌜*ta*⌝-[*lit-tu* GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN]
18″) *tar-bit ṣip-pa-a-ti* [GI AMBAR.MEŠ *ša qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me*]
19″) *ak-šiṭ-ma a-na* [*šip-ri ḫi-šiḫ-ti* É.GAL.MEŠ]
20″) *be-lu-ti-ia* ⌜*lu*⌝ [*e-pu-uš* ...]
21″) *ki-lal-la-an* ⌜*aḫ*⌝-[...]
22″) *iš-mu-ḫa qé*-⌜*reb*⌝ [...]
23″) *i-mi-du áš-na*-[*an*? ...]

viii 10″b–23″) I [...] both [...] flourished, [...] within [...] set, *gra*[*in* ...].

24″) *ul-tu šip-ri* [É.GAL-*ia ú-qat-tu-ú*]
25″) ^{d}*aš-šur* EN GAL-[*ú* DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* ^{d}IŠ.TAR.MEŠ]
26″) *a-ši-bu-ut* [KUR *aš-šur*.KI *i-na qer-bi-šá aq-re-ma*]
27″) UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ [*taš-ri-iḫ-te aq-qí-ma*]
28″) *ú-šat-lim* [*kàd-ra-a-a* Ì.GIŠ GIŠ.*sér-di*]
29″) *ù ḫi-bi-*[*iš-ti ú-raq-qa-a a-na ru-uš-ti*]
30″) *i-na taš*-⌜*ri*⌝-[*it* É.GAL *ša ba-ḫu-la-te* KUR-*ia*]
31″) *ú-šá-áš*-[*qa-a muḫ-ḫa-ši-in* GEŠTIN *du-uš-šu-pu*]
32″) *ṣur-ra*-[*ši-in am-kir* ...]

viii 24″–32″a) After [I had finished] the work on [my palace, (viii 25″) I invited inside it] the god Aššur, the grea[t] lord, (and) [the gods and goddesses] living in [Assyria, then I made splendid] offerings [and] presented [my gift(s). I made fine oil from olives] and aroma[tics]. (viii 30″) At the inauguration [of the palace], I had [the heads of the subjects of my land] dren[ched (and) I watered their] insides [with sweet wine].

viii 32″b) [...]

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viii 6′–12′ This passage is not attested elsewhere in the extant Sennacherib corpus. Cf. text no. 17 viii 31–42. [...]-*x*-⌜*a*?⌝-*ti* "[...] ...": E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 101) tentatively suggests reading [... URU.*nam-pa-ga*]-⌜*a*⌝-*ti* "[... the city Nampag]ātu," which is based on the Bavian Inscription line 10 (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 79).
viii 1″–4″ This passage is not attested elsewhere in the extant Sennacherib corpus.
viii 5″–6″ Cf. text no. 16 viii 24–28 and text no. 17 viii 43–45, both of which are earlier versions of this passage. Those inscriptions record that water was provided for 500 and 1000 seeded fields respectively. The numeral is definitely 6, not 5 (so Thompson).
viii 20″b–23″ This passage is not attested elsewhere in the extant Sennacherib corpus.
viii 29″ Text no. 17 viii 72 adds *ša* GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MEŠ EDIN *šá-ab-bur-ti* "from the orchards (planted) on newly tilled soil" after *ḫi-bi-iš-ti* "aromatics."
viii 32″b–14‴a This passage is not attested elsewhere in the extant Sennacherib corpus.

Lacuna

1′′′) [...] *x*
2′′′) [...] ⌜*pa*ʔ⌝-*ni-šú*
3′′′) [...] *x-áš-šú-ni*
4′′′) [...] *x-ut-tu*
5′′′) [...]-⌜*lu*ʔ⌝ É.GAL
6′′′) [...] *i-šu-ú*
7′′′) [...] UN.MEŠ URU.MEŠ
8′′′) [...] *x la-ban ap-pi*
9′′′) [...] *x a-na* NINA.KI
10′′′) [...]-⌜*ti*⌝ *i-na bi-rit*
11′′′) [...]-⌜*ki*⌝-*i ša ina qé-reb*
12′′′) [... *ḫar*ʔ]-⌜*ra*ʔ⌝-*na i-šad-di-ḫu*
13′′′) [...] ⌜*ṭa*ʔ⌝-*biš ú-ṣa-nu*
14′′′) [...] *x-šú-un a-na ár-kàt*
15′′′) [UD.MEŠ *i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni*] ⌜DUMU⌝.MEŠ-*ia ša* ^{d}*aš-šur*
16′′′) [*a-na* RE.É.UM] ⌜KUR⌝ *ù* UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-u*
17′′′) [*zi-kir-šú e-nu*]-*ma* BÀD *šá-a-tú i-lab-bi-ru-ma*
18′′′) [*en-na-ḫu an*]-⌜*ḫu*⌝-*us-su lu-ud-diš*
19′′′) [MU.SAR-*e ši-ṭir*] ⌜*šu-me-ia*⌝ *li-mur-ma*
20′′′) [Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU].⌜SISKUR⌝ *liq-qí*
21′′′) [*a-na áš-ri-šú lu*]-⌜*ter* ^{d}⌝*aš-šur*
22′′′) [*ù* ^{d}*iš-tar ik-ri*]-⌜*bi*⌝-*šú* ⌜*i*⌝-[*šem*]-⌜*mu*⌝-*ú*

Date

23′′′) [...] *x*
24′′′) [*li-mu* ^{m}EN-IGI-*a*]-⌜*ni*⌝
25′′′) [LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*gar-ga*]-⌜*miš*⌝

Lacuna

viii 1′′′–4′′′) (No translation possible)

viii 5′′′–14′′′a) [...] ... palace [...] have [...] the people of cities, [...] ... expressions of humility (lit. "stroking the nose") [...] ... to Nineveh (viii 10′′′) [...] ... between [...] ... which is inside [...] they march along [the *ro*]*ad* [...] *they made* [...] *smell pleasant* [...] their [...].

viii 14′′′b–22′′′) In the futu[re], may [one of the kings], my descendants, whom the god Aššur nam[es for shepherding] the land and people, renovate its [dilap]idated section(s) [wh]en that wall becomes old and [dilapidated]. May he find [an inscribed object bearing] my name, (viii 20′′′) [anoint (it) with oil], make [an of]fering, (and) [ret]urn (it) [to its place]. The god Aššur [and the goddess Ištar] will (then) [he]ar his [praye]rs.

Date

viii 23′′′–25′′′) [The month ..., ... day, eponymy of Bēl-ēmurann]i, [governor of the city Carchem]ish (691).

19

A small fragment of a hexagonal clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, is inscribed with a text recording Sennacherib's first five campaigns, the creation of a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers, and presumably construction at Nineveh. The accounts of the third, fourth, and fifth campaigns, as far as they are preserved, duplicate those same reports of military narration in Smith Bull 4, an inscription written on a bull colossus stationed in Court H, Door *a* of Sennacherib's palace (the South-West Palace). This edition of the king's *res gestae* was probably written on prisms in 695, as suggested by the fact that the military narration ends with a report of the fifth campaign (to Mount Nipur and against Maniye, king of the city Ukku) and by the number of prisoners said to be conscripted into Sennacherib's army (20,400 archers and 20,200 shield bearers).

18 viii 23′′′ It is unclear if *x* is the last sign of the month name or the KAM following the day that the prism was inscribed. Thus one could read this line as [ITI.*x x*] *x* "[The month ...] ..." or [ITI.*x x* (*x*) UD.*x* (*x*)].⌜KAM⌝ "[The month ..., ... day]." Note that text no. 17 (both exs. 1 and 2) and text no. 22 ex. 2 have only the month name recorded; the day the objects were inscribed is not mentioned.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
—	83-1-18,599	Probably Nineveh	6.7×6.7	c

COMMENTARY

Unlike most of the other known inscriptions written on octagonal and hexagonal clay prisms (text nos. 15–18 and 22–23), the military narration of this text, as well as those of the next two inscriptions, follows that of Smith Bull 4 (3 R pls. 12–13). 83-1-18,599, a fragment preserving parts of two columns (cols. iii and iv, or possibly cols. iv and v), is the earliest known six-sided prism of Sennacherib, although this particular medium for foundation inscriptions with annalistic narration may have been in use since 698 (see the commentary of text no. 14). With regard to the year during which the prism from which this piece originates was inscribed, E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 101–102) suggests 695 (rather than 696) not only because the military narration ends with an account of the fifth campaign (just like text no. 16), but because the number of prisoners conscripted into Sennacherib's army is greater than that of text no. 16; this inscription states that 20,400 archers and 20,200 shield bearers were added to the king's army, while text no. 16 records that Sennacherib formed a military contingent of only 20,000 archers (and) 15,000 shield bearers.

Following the style of text no. 22 and text no. 23, the building report of this inscription (which is completely missing) probably also described work on a single project at Nineveh; compare the building reports of texts inscribed on eight-sided prisms (text nos. 15–18), which record work on numerous projects in and around that same city. Therefore, the building report of 83-1-18,599 may have described the construction and decoration of the "Palace Without a Rival" (for which no foundation record written after 700 is known with certainty) or the armory (for which the earliest known accounts of its construction come from texts written in 691). Should it commemorate work on Egalzagdinutukua, as suggested by the fact that its military narration closely follows that of Smith Bull 4, then the description may have been similiar or identical to: (1) text no. 16 v 41–vii 21 and viii 3b–51; (2) text no. 17 v 23–vii 57 and viii 16–64; or (3) Smith Bull 4 lines 106b–161a.

The extant text duplicates Smith Bull 4 (3 R pls. 12–13) lines 30–33 and 43–47. Restorations are generally based on that inscription.

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TEXT

Col. i′

Lacuna

1′) [... *man*]-ʳ*da*ˀ-*at*-ʳ*tú*ˀ
2′) [*ú-rad-di-ma*] *ú-kin*
3′) [*ṣe-ru-uš-šu-un šu-ú* ^{m}*ḫa*]-ʳ*za*ˀ-*qi-a-a-ú*
4′) [*pul-ḫi me-lam-me*] ʳ*be*ˀ-*lu-ti-ia*
5′) [*is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma*] ʳLÚˀ.*úr-bi*

Lacuna

i′ 1′–3′a) [I added ... pay]ment [and] imposed (it) [upon them].
i′ 3′b–14′) [As for him, He]zekiah, [fear of] my lordly [brilliance (i′ 5′) overwhelmed him and he had] the auxiliary forces [and his] elite [troops whom he] had

i′ 2′ The restoration at the beginning of the line follows Smith Bull 4 line 30 (3 R pl. 12). Cf. text no. 16 iv 20 and text no. 22 iii 36, which add *kàd-re-e be-lu-ti-ia* "gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship" between *man-da-at-tú* "payment" and *ú-rad-di-ma* "I added and."

i′ 5′b–8′ Cf. text no. 16 iv 24–27a and text no. 22 iii 39–41a, which have LÚ.*úr-bi ù* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ-*šú* SIG$_5$.MEŠ *ša a-na dun-nu-un* URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú ú-še-ri-bu-ma ir-šu-ú til-la-a-te* "the auxiliary forces and his elite troops whom he had brought inside to strengthen the city Jerusalem, his royal city, and who had provided support."

6′) [*ù* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ-*šú*] ⌜SIG$_5$⌝.MEŠ
7′) [*ša a-na qé-reb* URU.*ur*]-*sa-li-im-ma*
8′) [URU LUGAL-*ti-šú ú*]-⌜*še*⌝-*ri-bu-ma*
9′) [*it-ti* 30 GUN KÙ.GI] ⌜8⌝ ME GUN KÙ.BABBAR
10′) [*mim-ma šum-šu ni-ṣir*]-⌜*ti*⌝ É.GAL-*šú*
11′) [*ù* DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* MUNUS.UN.MEŠ] É.GAL-*šú*
12′) [LÚ.NAR.MEŠ MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ *a-na qé*]-⌜*reb*⌝ NINA.KI
13′) [*ú-še-bi-lam-ma a-na na-dan man*]-⌜*da*⌝-*at-ti*
14′) [*iš-pu-ra rak*]-⌜*bu*⌝-*šu*

brought [inside the city Jeru]salem, [his royal city, along with 30 talents of gold], 800 talents of silver, (i′ 10′) [every kind of treasure] of his palace, [as well as his daughters], his palace [women, male singers, (and) female singers brought in]to Nineveh and he sent a moun]ted messenger of his to me [to deliver (this) pay]ment.

15′) [*i-na* 4-*e ger-ri-ia a-na* KUR.É-^{m}]⌜*ia*⌝-*kin*$_7$
16′) [*lu al-li-ik i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri*]-⌜*ia*⌝
Lacuna
Col. ii′
Lacuna
1′) (traces) [...]
2′) LUGAL *pa-ni maḫ-ri-*⌜*ia*⌝ [*i-na* GÌR.II KUR.*a-na-ra*]
3′) *ù* KUR.*up-pa* KUR.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti* [*ka-ra-ši*]
4′) *ú-šá-*⌜*áš-kin*⌝-*ma a-na-ku i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA ⌜*né-me*⌝-[*di*]
5′) [*it-ti*] ⌜LÚ⌝.ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-*ia mar-ṣi-iš*
6′) [*e-te-el-la-a*] ⌜ŠU⌝.SI.MEŠ KUR.MEŠ *pa-áš-qa-a-ti*
7′) ⌜*šu-ú*⌝ [^{m}*ma*]-⌜*ni-ia*⌝-*e a-lak-ti ger-ri-ia*
8′) *iš-me-ma* URU.*uk-ku* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú e-zib-ma*
9′) *a-na ru-qé-e-ti in-na-bit e-ru-um-ma*
10′) *a-na qé-reb* É.GAL-*šú mim-ma šum-šú* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA
11′) *la ni-bi áš-lu-la ta-mar-ta-šú ka-bit-tu*
12′) URU.MEŠ-*šú ap-pul aq-qur ina* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq*-[*mu*]
13′) *ki-ma* DU$_6$ *a-bu-bi ú-še-me i-na šal-lat* [KUR.MEŠ]
14′) *šá-ti-na* 20 LIM 4 ME GIŠ.PAN 20 LIM 2 ME

Lacuna
ii′ 1′–6′) ... [... no] king of the past (who came) before me [...] I had [my camp] pitched [at the foot of Mount Anara] and Mount Uppa, mighty mountains, and I myself, in an armch[air, with] my fighting troops, [ascended] with a struggle the steep mountain peaks.

ii′ 7′–11′) He, [Ma]niye, heard about the advance of my expeditionary force, then he abandoned the city Ukku, his royal city, and fled afar. I entered his palace and, (ii′ 10′) as his substantial audience gift, I carried off every kind of possession (and) property, (which) were without number.
ii′ 12′–13′a) I destroyed, devastated, (and) bur[ned] with fire his cities, (and) made (them) like ruin hill(s) (created by) the Deluge.
ii′ 13′b–16′) From the booty of those [lands], I con[scripted] 20,400 archers (and) 20,200 shi[eld bearers and] a[dded (them) to] my royal [contingent].

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i′ 9′ This inscription omits from the list of tribute *ni-si-iq-ti gu-uḫ-li ták-kàs-si* NA$_4$.AN.ZA.GUL.ME GAL.MEŠ GIŠ.NÚ.MEŠ ZÚ GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ *né-me-di* ZÚ KUŠ AM.SI ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG "choice antimony, large blocks of ..., ivory beds, armchairs of ivory, elephant hide(s), elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood"; cf. text no. 16 iv 28–31 and text no. 22 iii 42b–45a.
i′ 10′ [*ni-ṣir*]-⌜*ti*⌝ É.GAL-*šú* "[treasure] of his palace": Text no. 16 iv 32 and text no. 22 iii 45 have *ni-ṣir-tu ka-bit-tu* "valuable treasure."
i′ 13′ Cf. text no. 16 iv 35–37 and text no. 22 iii 47–49, which add URU *be-lu-ti-ia* EGIR-*ia* "my capital city, after my (departure)" after NINA.KI "Nineveh" and add *ù e-peš* ARAD-*ú-ti* "and to do obeisance" after *na-dan man-da-at-ti* "to deliver (this) payment."
i′ 15′–16′a Text no. 16 iv 38–41a and text no. 22 iii 50–52a have *i-na* 4-*e ger-ri-ia* ^{d}*aš-šur be-lí ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma um-ma-na-te-ia gap-šá-a-te ad-ke-e-ma a-na* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$ *a-la-ku aq-bi* "on my fourth campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me so that I mustered my numerous troops and ordered the march to the land Bīt-Yakīn."
ii′ 5′ This inscription omits *gít-ma-lu-ti i-na ne-re-bi-šú-un pi-qu-ti šu-nu-ḫi-iš e-ru-um-ma* "(my) crack (combat troops), I entered their narrow passes with great difficulty and" between ⌜LÚ⌝.ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-*ia* "my fighting troops" and *mar-ṣi-iš* "with a struggle." Cf. text no. 16 v 19b–21a and text no. 22 iv 20b–22.
ii′ 7′–8′ *a-lak-ti ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma* "he heard about the advance of my expeditionary force": Text no. 16 v 23b–24a and text no. 22 iv 23b–24a have *tur-bu-u*ʾ GÌR.II ERIM.ḪI.A-*ia e-mur-ma* "he saw the dust cloud (stirred up) by the feet of my troops."
ii′ 9′b–11′ This passage appears in lieu of URU.*uk-ku al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su mim-ma šum-šú* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA *ni-ṣir-ti* É.GAL-*šú ul-tu qer-bi-šú ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu* "I surrounded, captured, (and) plundered the city Ukku. I brought out of it every kind of possession (and) property, the treasures of his palace, and I counted (it) as booty." Cf. text no. 16 v 26–28 and text no. 22 iv 25b–28a.
ii′ 12′–13′ Text no. 16 v 29–32 and text no. 22 iv 28b–31 have *ù* 33 URU.MEŠ *ša pa-a-ṭi na-gi-šu ak-šud*^{ud}*-ma* UN.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ù* US$_5$.UDU.ḪI.A *ul-tu qer-bi-šú-un áš-lu-la ap-pu-ul aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu* "moreover, I conquered thirty-three cities on the borders of his district and carried off from them people, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats. (Then) I destroyed (them), devastated (them), (and) burned (them) with fire."
ii′ 14′ This text omits *ša áš-lu-la* "that I had plundered" after KUR.MEŠ *šá-ti-na* "those lands." 20 LIM 4 ME "20,400": Text no. 4 line 59 has 10 LIM "10,000," text no. 15 v 11 and text no. 16 v 34 have 20 LIM "20,000," and text no. 17 v 16 has 30 LIM "30,000." 20 LIM 2 ME "20,200": Text no. 4 line 59 has 10 LIM "10,000," text no. 15 v 11 and text no. 16 v 34 have 15 LIM "15,000," and text no. 17 v 16 has 20 LIM "20,000."

GIŠ.ᶠ*a*ᵀ-[*ri-tu*]
15′) ᶠ*i-na lìb*ᵀ-*bi-šú-nu ak-*[*ṣur-ma*]
16′) [UGU *ki-ṣir*] ᶠLUGAL-*ti*ᵀ-*ia* ᶠ*ú*ᵀ-[*rad-di*]
Lacuna Lacuna

20

A small fragment of a (hexagonal?) clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, is inscribed with a foundation inscription with annalistic narration. Only part of the report of the sixth campaign is extant and that passage, as far as it is preserved, duplicates the contents of Smith Bull 4, an inscription written on a bull colossus stationed in Court H, Door *a* of Sennacherib's South-West Palace. The *terminus post quem* for this edition of Sennacherib's *res gestae* is the sixth campaign (against Elam) and thus the earliest date that the prism from which this fragment originates could have been inscribed is 693.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Sm 2093	—	Probably Nineveh	4×5.5	c

COMMENTARY

Sm 2093 is not sufficiently preserved to be able to determine with certainty whether it is from an octagonal or hexagonal prism. Because the extant text duplicates text known from Smith Bull 4 (3 R pls. 12–13) and since inscriptions duplicating reports of military narration on that same bull were written on six-sided prisms (text nos. 19 and 21), E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 102) has suggested that this small fragment may have been from a hexagonal prism. Following Frahm, Sm 2093 is tentatively regarded as part of a six-sided prism.

Given that only parts of sixteen lines are preserved, it is not possible to determine if the military narration of this edition of Sennacherib's *res gestae* ended with the report of the sixth campaign (just like Smith Bull 4) or with an account of the seventh (or even the eighth) campaign. Moreover, it is not known what project its building report commemorated; see the commentary of text no. 19 for some possibilities (assuming that Sm 2093 is from a hexagonal prism).

The extant text duplicates Smith Bull 4 (3 R pl. 12) lines 56–63. Restorations are based on that inscription.

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2001 Rollinger, Melammu 2 p. 242 nn. 56 and 61 (line 7, study)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

TEXT

Col. i′

1) [...] ⌜*ṣe-ru*⌝-*uš*-⌜*šú-un*⌝
2) [*a-na* KUR.*na-gi-ti a*]-*la-ku aq-bi*
3) [LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ KUR.*ḫa-at-ti ḫu*]-⌜*bu*⌝-*ut* GIŠ.PAN.MEŠ-⌜*ia*⌝
4) [*i-na* NINA.KI *ú-še-šib-ma*] ⌜GIŠ⌝.MÁ.MEŠ *ṣi*-⌜*ra*⌝-[*a*]-⌜*te*⌝
5) [*e-piš-ti* KUR-*šu-un ib*]-*nu-ú* ⌜*nak*⌝-*liš*
6) [LÚ.MÁ.LAḪ$_5$.MEŠ] ⌜URU.*ṣur*⌝-[*ra*]-⌜*a*⌝-*a*
7) [URU.*ṣi-du-un-na-a-a* KUR.*ia-am*$^{?}$]-⌜*na*⌝-*a-a*
8) [*ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia ú-šá-ḫi-su-nu*]-⌜*ti*⌝ *ur-tu*
9) [*qé-reb* ÍD.IDIGNA *it-ti*] *ši-na-ti*
10) [*a-na qid-da-ti a-di* URU].*ú-pi-a*
11) [*ú-še-qel-pu-ú ù* TA URU.*ú-pi-a na*$^{?}$]-⌜*ba*$^{?}$⌝-*liš*
12) [*ú-še-lu-ši-na*]-⌜*ti*⌝-*ma*
13) [*ṣe-er* GIŠ.*gúr-gu-ge a-na*] ⌜ZIMBIR$^{?}$⌝.KI

Lacuna

i′ 1–11a) [...] I ordered [the] march against them [to the land Nagītu. I settled in Nineveh the people of the land Ḫatti plu]ndered by my bows [and th]ey skillfully built magnif[ic]ent ships, (i′ 5′) [a product characteristic to their land(s). I gave] orders [to sailors of] the cities Ty[r]e (and) [Sidon, (and) the land *Io*]*nia*, [whom I had captured. They (my troops) let (them) sail down the Tigris River with] them [downstream to the city] Opis.

i′ 11b–13) [Then, from the city Opis, they lifted th]em (the boats) [up onto] dry land and [dragged them on rollers to *Sip*]*par*.

Lacuna

21

A small fragment of a hexagonal clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, is inscribed with a foundation inscription with annalistic narration. Only parts of the accounts of the third and fourth campaigns are extant and those passages, as far as they are preserved, duplicate (with minor variation) the contents of Smith Bull 4, an inscription written on a bull colossus stationed in Court H, Door *a* of Sennacherib's palace (the South-West Palace). The piece is inscribed with either text no. 19, text no. 20, or another inscription. Because of similarities with the previous two inscriptions, it has been suggested that the prism from which this fragment originates was inscribed in 695 or 693; too little of the text is preserved to be certain of the date.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
—	Ki 1902-5-10,2	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 3.2 and 5.5 wide; 4 high	c

20 i′ 7 [KUR.*ia-am*$^{?}$]-⌜*na*⌝-*a-a* "[of the land *Io*]*nia*": Or possibly [KUR.*ia-ad*$^{?}$]-⌜*na*⌝-*a-a* "[of the the land *Cypr*]*us* (Yadna)." Our reading follows Salonen, Wasserfahrzeuge p. 181; Frahm, Sanherib p. 117; Lanfranchi, Melammu 1 pp. 28–29 n. 94; Rollinger, Melammu 2 p. 242; and Rollinger, SAAB 16 (2007) p. 82 n. 63. Apart from Smith Bull 4 line 60, this is the only known reference to Ionians in the Sennacherib corpus.
20 Lacuna after i′ 13 The translation assumes that *il-du-du-ši-na-ti* "they dragged them" appeared in the now-missing i′ 14.

COMMENTARY

Like the previous two inscriptions, the military narration of this text follows that of Smith Bull 4 (3 R pls. 12–13), rather than that of texts inscribed on other octagonal and hexagonal clay prisms (text nos. 15–18 and 22–23). Since only a small portion of the original is preserved (the base and the lower parts of cols. ii and iii), it is no longer possible to determine if the prism is inscribed with a copy of text no. 19 (695; five campaigns and a building report), text no. 20 (probably 693; six or more campaigns and a building report), or another inscription. Therefore, it is edited on its own. Cf. J. Reade (JCS 27 [1975] p. 193), who tentatively suggests that Ki 1902-5-10,2 is inscribed with a 693 edition of Sennacherib's *res gestae* that described work on the armory. See also the commentaries of text nos. 19 and 20.

The extant text duplicates (with minor variation) Smith Bull 4 (3 R pl. 12) lines 23–24 and 34–36. Restorations are based on that inscription.

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TEXT

Col. i′

Lacuna

1′) [... *a*]-˹*na*˺ *an*-˹*zil*˺-[*li i-pu-šú*]
2′) [*ip-làḫ* ŠÀ-*šú-nu*] ˹LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* KUR˺.[*mu-ṣu-ri*]
3′) [ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN GIŠ].˹GIGIR˺.MEŠ ˹ANŠE.KUR˺.[RA.MEŠ]
4′) [*ša* LUGAL KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫa*] *e-mu-qí la ni-bi*
5′) [*ik-te-ru-ni*] *i-na ta-mir-ti*
6′) [URU.*al-ta-qu*]-*ú it-ti-šú-un*
7′) [*am-da-ḫi-iṣ-ma*] ˹*áš-ta-kan*˺ BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú-un*

Col. ii′

Lacuna

1′) [...] *x* [...]
2′) [*šu-ú* ^{m}]˹^{d}AMAR˺.UTU-IBILA-[SUM.NA]
3′) ˹*ša*˺ *ina a-lak ger-ri-ia maḫ*-[*re-e*]
4′) *áš-ku-nu* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú ri-gim* GIŠ.˹TUKUL˺.[MEŠ-*ia*]
5′) *dan-nu-ti e-dúr-ma a-na na*-˹*gi*˺-[*te*]-
6′) -*ra-aq-qí ša* $MURUB_4$ *tam-tim in*-[*na-bit*]
7′) ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* NUMUN É AD-*šú ša ú*-˹*maš*˺-[*ši-ru*]

Lacuna

i′ 1′–5′a) [... they became frightened on acc]ount of the vill[ainous acts they had committed. They formed a confederation with] the kings of [Egypt (and) the archers, c]hariots, (and) hors[es of the king of the land Meluḫḫa], forces without number.

i′ 5′b–7′) In the plain of [the city Elteke]h, [I fought] with them [and] defeated them.

Lacuna

ii′ 1′–8′) [...] ... [... He] — Marduk-apla-[iddina] (II) (Merodach-baladan), whom I had defeated during my fir[st] campaign — (ii′ 5′) became frightened by the clangor of [my] mighty weapon[s] and fl[ed] to (the city) Nagī[te]-raqqi, which is in the midst of the sea. [I brought] his brothers, the seed of his father's house, whom he had aband[oned] at the shore of the sea, together with the rest of the people [of his land, out

i′ 5′ This edition omits *il-li-ku re-ṣu-us-su-un* "they came to their aid" after *ik-te-ru-ni* "they formed a confederation." Cf. text no. 16 iii 49 and text no. 22 ii 81.

i′ 6′ This inscription omits *el-la-mu-ú-a si-id-ru šit-ku-nu ú-šá-'a-lu* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú-un i-na tukul-ti* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia* "they sharpened their weapons while drawing up in battleline before me. With the support of the god Aššur, my lord" after URU.*al-ta-qu-ú* "the city Eltekeh." Cf. text no. 16 iii 51–53 and text no. 22 ii 83–iii 2.

ii′ 4′ This text has *áš-ku-nu* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú* "whom I defeated" in lieu of BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú áš-ku-nu-ma* "whom I defeated and." It also omits *ú-par-ri-ru el-lat-su* "whose forces I had scattered." Cf. text no. 16 iv 53 and text no. 22 iii 60–61.

ii′ 5′–6′ This text omits *ù ti-ib* MÈ-*ia ez-zi* "and my fierce battle array" and DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-rak* KUR-*šú i-na* KI.TUŠ-*šú-nu id-ke-ma qé-reb* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ú-šar-kib-ma* "he dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of his land from their abodes, and loaded (them) onto boats." Text no. 15 exs. 2 and 11 and text no. 16 also omit this passage. Cf. text no. 15 iv 30′–32′ and text no. 22 iii 62–64. *na*-˹*gi*˺-[*te*]-*ra-aq-qí* "(the city) Nagī[te]-raqqi": Smith Bull 4 (3 R pl. 12) has ˹URU.*na-gi-i*˺-*ti* "the city Nagītu." *in*-[*na-bit*] "he fl[ed]": Other inscriptions on prisms have *iṣ-ṣu-riš ip-pa-riš* "he flew away like a bird"; see, for example, text no. 22 iii 65.

ii′ 8′ *a-di si-it-ti* "together with the rest of": Smith Bull 4 (3 R pl. 12) omits *a-di* before *si-it-ti*.

8′) *a-ḫi tam-tim a-di si-it-ti* UN.ᶠMEŠᵀ [KUR-*šú*] of the land Bīt-Yakīn],
Rest of the inscription is missing Rest of the inscription is missing

22

Two complete hexagonal clay prisms and several fragments of prisms from Nineveh are inscribed with a text describing eight of Sennacherib's military campaigns and the construction of a new armory. This inscription contains material from texts written earlier in the king's reign (especially those written in 694–692) and material composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 691 (Sennacherib's 14th regnal year). Like text no. 18 and text no. 23, the military narration of this edition of Sennacherib's *res gestae* includes accounts of eight campaigns: (1) against Marduk-apla-iddina II (biblical Merodach-baladan) and his Chaldean and Elamite allies in Babylonia; (2) against the Kassites and Yasubigallians, and the land Ellipi; (3) to the Levant, against an Egyptian-led coalition that had been organized by the nobles and citizens of the city Ekron, and against the Judean king Hezekiah; (4) against Bīt-Yakīn; (5) to Mount Nipur and against Maniye, the king of the city Ukku; (6) against the Chaldeans living in Elam and against Šūzubu (Nergal-ušēzib), the king of Babylon; (7) against Elam; and (8) the battle of Ḫalulê, where Assyrian forces battled Babylonian and Elamite forces led by Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk), the king of Babylon, and Umman-menanu (Ḫumban-menanu), the king of Elam. Accounts of the events of the king's 9th and 10th regnal years (696 and 695), the campaigns undertaken by his officials to Ḫilakku (Cilicia) and the city Tīl-Garimme, however, are not included among the king's victories on the battlefield. In the building report, Sennacherib says that after he had completed the "Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace) he started work on an armory, which he refers to as the *ekal kutalli* (the "Rear Palace"). He tore down the former palace, which he complains was too small, poorly constructed, and dilapidated. On a high terrace built upon a new plot of land (the Nineveh mound now called Nebi Yunus), Sennacherib constructed a new palace consisting of two wings, one in the Syrian style and one in the Assyrian style, and a large outer courtyard. He decorated the building in a fitting fashion, which included large limestone bull colossi stationed in its gateways. The two complete exemplars preserve a date. One (ex. 2) was inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni, governor of the city Carchemish (691), and the other (ex. 1) was inscribed in the eponymy of Gaḫilu, governor of the city Ḫatarikka (689). The inscription is commonly referred to as the "Chicago Prism" or "Taylor Prism" (or "Taylor Cylinder" in earlier literature). Ex. 1 is named after the city in which it now resides (Chicago, in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago); ex. 2 is named after Col. J. Taylor, who first acquired the object. The text has also been wrongly called by D.D. Luckenbill (and other scholars) the "Final Edition of the Annals."

21 Lacuna after ii′ 8′ Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing lines after ii′ 8′ (ii′ 9′–10′) contained *ul-tu* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_{7}$ *… ú-še-ṣa-am-ma* "I brought … out of the land Bīt-Yakīn and."

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number/ Source	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	A 2793	—	Purchased, but certainly from Nineveh, possibly from Nebi Yunus or Area SH	Cols. 7.3–8 wide; 38 high	i 1–vi 83, date	p
2	BM 91032	55-10-3,1	Purchased, but certainly from Nineveh, probably Nebi Yunus	Cols. 9 wide; 36.8 high	i 1–vi 83, date	c
3	BM 103218	1910-10-8,146	Purchased from I. Géjou	—	i 26–36, vi 24–42	c
4	SM 409	—	Probably Nineveh	—	v 41–54, vi 26–45	c
5	—	79-7-8,7	Nineveh, probably Nebi Yunus	Cols. 7 wide; 4 high	v 47–56, vi 46–51	c

CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number/ Source	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	BM 33019	78-8-28,1	From Miss Erskine (London)	Cols. 2.5 and 3.5 wide; 5.3 high	i 1–9, 68–76	c
2*	—	79-7-8,307	Nineveh, probably Nebi Yunus	Cols. 8 wide; 5.5 high	i 1–5, v 17–27, vi 11–20	c
3*	—	79-7-8,6	Nineveh, probably Nebi Yunus	Cols. 3.5 wide; 5 high	i 20–27, ii 21–30	c
4*	BM 138185	1932-12-12,912	Nineveh	Cols. 5 wide; 8 high	i 41–59, ii 21–37	c
5*	Sm 1026	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 3 and 8 wide; 12 high	i 81–ii 29, 83–iii 30	c
6*	—	80-7-19,317	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 1 and 2.4 wide; 3.2 high	iv 16–23, v 19?–21?	c
7*	—	80-7-19,4	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 5.5 and 2.2 wide; 5 high	iv 30–41, v 33–42	c
8*	Boston Museum of Fine Arts, unnumbered	—	—	Cols. 6.4 wide; 6 high	v 10–19, vi 16–25	c
9*	Scheil, Prisme p. 45	—	—	—	v 17–32	n
10*	BM 99327	Ki 1904-10-9,360	Nineveh	Cols. 3.3 and 3.2 wide; 4.5 high	v 36–45, vi 26–30	c

COMMENTARY

This inscription, like text no. 18 ex. 1 and text no. 23 ex. 1, was composed in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni (691; the king's 14th regnal year); we know from ex. 1 that this edition of Sennacherib's *res gestae* was inscribed on six-sided clay prisms at least until the month Du'ūzu (IV) in the eponymy of Gaḫilu (689;

the king's 16th regnal year). Although the month and day that text no. 18 ex. 1 and text no. 23 ex. 1 were inscribed are missing, both of those prisms were probably inscribed earlier in the year than ex. 1 of this text, which is dated to the 20th day of the month Addaru (XII). Because the building account of text no. 23 is shorter than that of this inscription, it is possible that that text was written before this one and that the building report of this edition is an expanded version of that passage. Of course, it is not impossible that text no. 23 is the later of the two inscriptions; cf. the commentary of that text and Frahm, Sanherib p. 106.

The text was intended for hexagonal clay prisms deposited in the armory (just like text no. 23) and it includes a short prologue, accounts of eight of Sennacherib's campaigns, and a lengthy and detailed account of the building and decoration of the *ekal kutalli* (the "Rear Palace"). The prologue and most of the military narration (reports of the first seven campaigns) duplicate those same passages in text no. 17 and *res gestae* inscribed on (six- and eight-sided) prisms in 693 (the king's 12th regnal year) and 692 (hiss 13th regnal year); reports of the sixth campaign (against the Chaldeans living in Elam and against Nergal-ušēzib) were first recorded in texts written in the eponymy of Iddin-aḫḫē (693) and those of the seventh campaign (against Elam) were first described in *res gestae* written in the eponymy of Zazāya (692). Accounts of the eighth campaign (the battle of Ḫalulê) were composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 691; for literary allusions to *Enūma eliš* in the account of the battle of Ḫalulê, see Weissert, HSAO 6 pp. 191–202. The building report may be an expanded version of that of text no. 23, or possibly an earlier, longer version of it. Additional information on the differences between the two editions is provided in the on-page notes.

Exs. 3–5 are regarded as certain exemplars of this inscription because they all come from hexagonal clay prisms and since they all preserve part of the same building report as exs. 1–2. However, exs. 1*–10* are regarded as of uncertain attribution since they do not preserve the building account and therefore could be duplicates of text no. 23. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 89) assigned 80-7-19,317 as a duplicate of text no. 18, but it is more likely a duplicate of this text or text no. 23 since it appears to be from a hexagonal, not an octagonal, prism; that piece is edited here as ex. 6*. A prism fragment published by V. Scheil (Prisme p. 45) could be a duplicate of text no. 18, this text, or text no. 23. Because we were unable to examine that piece, it is not known if it is part of a six- or eight-sided prism and thus it is arbitrarily edited here as ex. 9*. Moreover, its contents have not been included in the score; the variants noted by Scheil, however, are included in the minor variants. Should exs. 1*–10* be exemplars of text no. 23, then those fragments would preserve the following lines of that inscription: ex. 1* contains i 1–9 and 62–69; ex. 2* has i 1–4, v 9–19, and vi 8–16; ex. 3* preserves i 18–25 and ii 19–26; ex. 4* is inscribed with i 36–53 and ii 19–35; ex. 5* has i 75–ii 25 and ii 77–iii 27 written on it; ex. 6* contains iv 11–17 and v 11?–13?; ex. 7* has iv 24–35 and v 25–34; ex. 8* preserves v 3–11 and vi 13–16; ex. 9* is inscribed with v 9–24; and ex. 10* has v 27–37 and vi 22–26 written on it. Exs. 2* and 8* may be exemplars of this text rather than text no. 23 since they both include a reference to Nabû-šuma-iškun, a son of Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan), in the report of the eighth campaign, a detail omitted in text no. 23. However, one variant cannot be used to determine the attribution of these pieces with certainty.

J.H. Breasted recorded the purchase of the "Chicago Prism" (ex. 1) in a journal entry (April, 1920). He records: "I have come upon very important antiquities among the native dealers in Baghdad — especially a large six-sided baked clay prism, eighteen inches high, bearing the Royal Annals of Sennacherib. But many obstacles lie in the way of its purchase — the owner's exorbitant price, an export permit from the government, etc." (C. Breasted, Pioneer to the Past p. 275). R.C. Thompson (Iraq 7 [1940] p. 85) suggests that ex. 1 may have come from Area SH, rather than Nebi Yunus, since a considerable number of prisms and fragments were discovered just a few feet below the surface and thus many of the prisms and fragments sold on the market may have come from this area or a similar provenance. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 103) has already correctly pointed out that Thompson's suggested provenance for ex. 1 is not based on concrete evidence.

With regard to the discovery of ex. 2, there is no firm evidence for when and where Col. J. Taylor acquired it; see Pallis, Antiquity of Iraq pp. 69–70. A.H. Layard (Nineveh 2 p. 186; and Discoveries p. 345) suggests the object was found at Nebi Yunus; he says nothing about when or how it came into the possession of Col. Taylor. L.W. King (CT 26 p. 8) states that Col. J.E. Taylor (error for Col. J. Taylor) discovered the hexagonal prism at Nebi Yunus in 1830 and that it was purchased by the British Museum some 25 years later; according to Budge, Sir H. Rawlinson purchased the six-sided clay object on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum from Mrs. Taylor in July 1855. E.A.W. Budge (By Nile and Tigris 2 pp. 25–26) proposes that the object may have been purchased when Col. J. Taylor visited Nebi Yunus in 1830; he refutes F. Talbot's claim (JRAS 19 [1887] p. 135) that this prism was found at Kuyunjik. Budge also records that Rawlinson had a paper "rubbing"

made of all six sides in 1840 and that R. Ready made a plaster facsimile for the British Museum from those "rubbings."

K. Radner (personal communication) has recently identified a prism fragment in the Sulaimaniya Museum (SM 409) as a duplicate of this inscription and that piece is included here as ex. 4 courtesy of her. She will publish photographs and an edition of SM 409 in AfO 52 (forthcoming).

While one might prefer to use the "Taylor Prism" (ex. 2) as exemplar 1 and the master text because it is the earliest in date, the "Chicago Prism" (ex. 1) has been used instead since its line numbering, as given in Luckenbill's edition, has become the standard. The variants that Luckenbill gives for ex. 2 are from the copy in 1 R pls. 37–42. Many of those "variants" are in fact mistakes in the copy and not on the original prism; for example, see the numeral in i 36 and the on-page note to vi 67. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM.

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Figure 5. BM 91032 (text no. 22 ex. 2), the Taylor Prism of Sennacherib, which records eight military campaigns and the rebuilding of two wings of the armory. © Trustees of the British Museum.

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TEXT

Col. i

1) ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL GAL-*ú*
2) LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI
3) LUGAL *kib-rat* LÍMMU-*tim* RE.É.UM *it-pe-šu*
4) *mi-gir* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *na-ṣir kit-ti*
5) *ra-ʾi-im mi-šá-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti*
6) *a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti*
7) *eṭ-lum gít-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du*
8) *a-šá-red kal mal-ki rap-pu la-ʾi-iṭ*
9) *la ma-gi-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni*

i 1–9) Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), capable shepherd, favorite of the great gods, guardian of truth (i 5) who loves justice, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (and) strives after good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridle that controls the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning:

10) ^{d}*aš-šur* KUR-*ú* GAL-*ú* LUGAL-*ut la šá-na-an*
11) *ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma* UGU *gim-ri*
12) *a-šib pa-rak-ki ú-šar-ba-a* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia*
13) *ul-tu* A.AB.BA *e-le-ni-ti ša šá-lam* ^{d}UTU-*ši*
14) *a-di tam-tim šap-li-ti ša ṣi-it* ^{d}UTU-*ši*
15) *gim-ri ṣal-mat* SAG.DU *ú-šak-niš še-pu-ú-a*
16) *ù mal-ki šep-ṣu-ti e-du-ru ta-ḫa-zi*
17) *da-ád-me-šú-un iz-zi-bu-ma*
18) *ki-ma su-tin-ni*.MUŠEN *ni-gi-iṣ-ṣi*
19) *e-diš ip-par-šú a-šar la ʾa-a-ri*

i 10–19) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises. (i 15) He made all of the black-headed (people) from the Upper Sea of the Setting Sun to the Lower Sea of the Rising Sun bow down at my feet. Thus did recalcitrant rulers come to fear battle with me. While they were abandoning their settlements, they flew away alone like bats (living) in crevices to inaccessible place(s).

20) *i-na maḫ-re-e ger-ri-ia ša* ^{md}MES-A-SUM.NA
21) LUGAL KUR.*kár-*^{d}*dun-ía-àš a-di* ERIM.ḪI.A ELAM.MA.KI
22) *re-ṣi-šú i-na ta-mir-ti kiš*.KI *áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú*
23) *i-na* $MURUB_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri šu-a-tu e-zib* KARAŠ-*su*
24) *e-diš ip-par-šid-ma na-piš-tuš e-ṭí-ir*
25) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GIŠ.*ṣu-um-bi* ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ
26) *ša i-na qit-ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi ú-maš-ši-ru*
27) *ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a a-na* É.GAL-*šú ša qé-reb*
28) KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ḫa-diš e-ru-um-ma ap-te-ma*
29) É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR *ú-nu-ut* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR
30) NA_4 *a-qar-tu mim-ma šum-šú* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA
31) *la ni-bi ka-bit-tu* GUN MUNUS.ŠÀ.É.GAL.MEŠ-*šú*
32) LÚ.TIRUM.MEŠ LÚ.*man-za-az pa-ni* LÚ.NAR.MEŠ
33) MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ *si-ḫir-ti um-ma-a-ni*
34) *ma-la ba-šu-ú mut-tab-bi-lu-tú* É.GAL-*uš*
35) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu i-na e-muq* ^{d}*aš-šur*
36) EN-*ia* 75 URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ
37) *ša* KUR.*kal-di ù* 4 ME 20 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
38) *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-sún*
39) LÚ.*úr-bi* LÚ.*a-ra-mu* LÚ.*kal-du*

i 20–27a) On my first campaign, I brought about the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), together with the troops of (the land) Elam, his allies, in the plain of Kish. In the midst of that battle he abandoned his camp, fled alone, and (thereby) saved his life. (i 25) I seized the chariots, horses, wagons, (and) mules that he had abandoned in the thick of battle.

i 27b–35a) I joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then I opened his treasury and brought out gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, (i 30) precious stones, all kinds of possessions (and) property without number, a substantial tribute, (together with) his palace women, courtiers, attendants, male singers, female singers, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, and I counted (them) as booty.

i 35b–42) With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 75 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 420 small(er) settlements in their environs. I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans (i 40) who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Ḫursagkalama, Cutha, (and) Sippar, together with the guilty citizens,

i 1–iv 31 These lines generally duplicate text no. 15 i 1–v 17, text no. 16 i 1–v 32, and text no. 17 i 1–iv 60, apart from orthographic variants, for which see the on-page notes.
i 13 *šá-lam* ^{d}UTU-*ši* "Setting Sun": Text no. 15 i 19, text no. 16 i 20, and text no. 17 i 15 have *šul/šùl-mu* ^{d}UTU-*ši* "Setting Sun."
i 31 MUNUS.ŠÀ.É.GAL.MEŠ-*šú* "his palace women": Text no. 15 i 6′, text no. 16 i 43, and text no. 17 i 36 have MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL-*šú* "his palace women."
i 36 In ex. 2, the number of cities is 75, not 76 as stated in Luckenbill, Senn. p. 25 n. 1.

40) *ša qé-reb* UNUG.KI NIBRU.KI *kiš*.KI URU.*ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*
41) GÚ.DU$_8$.A.KI ZIMBIR.KI *a-di* DUMU.MEŠ URU
42) EN *ḫi-iṭ-ṭi ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*
43) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* LÚ.*tu-ʾu-mu-na*
44) LÚ.*ri-ḫi-ḫu* LÚ.*ia-daq-qu* LÚ.*ú-bu-du*
45) LÚ.*gib-re-e* LÚ.*ma-la-ḫu* LÚ.*gu-ru-mu*
46) LÚ.*ú-bu-lum* LÚ.*da-mu-nu* LÚ.*gam-bu-lum*
47) LÚ.*ḫi-in-da-ru* LÚ.*ru-ʾu-u-a* LÚ.*pu-qu-du*
48) LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-nu* LÚ.*ḫa-ga-ra-nu* LÚ.*na-ba-tu*
49) LÚ.*li-iʾ-ta-a-ú* LÚ.*a-ra-mu la kan-šu-ti*
50) *mit-ḫa-riš ak-šud*^{ud} 2 ME 8 LIM UN.MEŠ TUR GAL
51) NITA *ù* MUNUS ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ
52) ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ù ṣe-e-ni ša la ni-bi*
53) *šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu áš-lu-la a-na qé-reb* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
54) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ša* ^{md}MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ
55) LÚ.*qí-pi* URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-te* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni*
56) GAL.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ù ṣe-e-ni*
57) *ta-mar-ta-šú ka-bit-tu am-ḫur ba-ḫu-la-ti*
58) URU.*ḫi-rim-me* LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣi i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit-ma*
59) *e-du ul e-zib pag-ri-šu-un i-na ga-ši-ši*
60) *a-lul-ma si-ḫir-ti* URU *ú-šal-me na-gu-ú*
61) *šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aṣ-bat* 1-*en* GU$_4$
62) 10 UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ 10 ANŠE GIŠ.GEŠTIN 20 ANŠE ZÚ.LUM.MA
63) *re-še-ti-šú a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
64) EN.MEŠ-*ia ú-kin dà-ri-šam*

i 43–53) On my return march, I defeated all together the Tuʾumuna, Riḫiḫu, Yadaqqu, Ubudu, (i 45) Gibrê, Malaḫu, Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu, Gambulu, Ḫindaru, Ruʾuʾa, Puqudu, Ḫamrānu, Ḫagarānu, Nabatu, (and) Liʾtaʾu, insubmissive Arameans. (i 50) I carried off into Assyria a substantial booty (consisting of) 208,000 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number.

i 54–57a) In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audience gift from Nabû-bēl-šumāti, the official in charge of the city Ḫararatu: gold, silver, large *musukkannu*-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

i 57b–64) I put to the sword the population of the city Ḫirimmu, a dangerous enemy, and I did not spare a single one. (i 60) I hung their corpses on poles and placed (them) around the city. I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

65) *i-na* 2-*e ger-ri-ia* ^{d}*aš-šur be-lí ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma*
66) *a-na* KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i ù* KUR LÚ.*ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a*
67) *ša ul-tu ul-la a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-*ia la kit-nu-šú*
68) *lu al-lik qé-reb ḫur-šá-a-ni zaq-ru-ti*
69) A.ŠÀ *nam-ra-ṣi i-na* ANŠE.KUR.RA *ar-kab-ma*
70) GIŠ.GIGIR GÌR.II-*ia i-na ti-ik-ka-te ú-šá-áš-ši*
71) *áš-ru šup-šu-qu i-na* GÌR.II-*ia ri-ma-niš at-tag-giš*

i 65–71) On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and I marched to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians, who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, my ancestors. In the high mountains, difficult terrain, I rode on horseback and (i 70) had my personal chariot carried on (men's) necks. In very rugged terrain I roamed about on foot like a wild bull.

72) URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ* URU.*ḫa-ar-diš-pi*
73) URU.É-^{m}*ku-bat-ti* URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni*
74) *dan-nu-ti al-me* KUR-*ud* UN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
75) ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ù ṣe-e-ni*
76) *ul-tu qer-bi-šú-un ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*

i 72–80a) I surrounded (and) conquered the cities Bīt-Kilamzaḫ, Ḫardišpu, (and) Bīt-Kubatti, their fortified walled cities. I brought out of them people, horses, (i 75) mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats, and I counted (them) as booty. Moreover, I destroyed, devastated, (and) turned into ruins their small(er) settlements, which were without number. I burned

i 45 LÚ.*ma-la-ḫu* "the Malaḫu": Cf. text no. 1 lines 12 and 55, text no. 2 line 14, text no. 3 line 14, text no. 4 line 12, text no. 8 line 12, and text no. 9 line 12, where LÚ.*ma-la-ḫu* is written LÚ.*ma-li-ḫu* "the Maliḫu."

77) *ù* URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* TUR.MEŠ *ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú*
78) *ap-pul aq-qur ú-še-me kar-meš* É EDIN *kul-ta-ri*
79) *mu-šá-bi-šú-nu i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu-ma di-tal-liš*
80) *ú-še-me ú-ter-ma* URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ*
81) *šu-a-tu a-na* URU.*bir-tu-ti aṣ-bat*
82) UGU *ša* u_4*-um pa-ni* BÀD.MEŠ-*šú ú-dan-nin-ma*

Col. ii

1) UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia ina* ŠÀ *ú-še-šib*
2) UN.MEŠ KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i ù* KUR LÚ.*ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a*
3) *ša la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ip-par-šid-du*
4) *ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*i ú-še-ri-dam-ma*
5) *i-na* URU.*ḫar-diš-pi* URU.É-^{m}*ku-bat-ti ú-šar-me*
6) *i-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia* LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ar-rap-ḫa*
7) *am-nu-šú-nu-ti* NA_4.NA.RÚ.A *ú-še-piš-ma*
8) *li-i-tum ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II *ša* UGU-*šú-un*
9) *áš-tak-ka-nu ṣe-ru-uš-šú ú-šá-áš-ṭir-ma*
10) *i-na qer-bi* URU *ul-ziz pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma*
11) *a-na* KUR.*el-li-pi aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu*
12) *el-la-mu-ú-a* ^{m}*is-pa-ba-a-ra* LUGAL-*šu-un*
13) URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú*
14) *ú-maš-šir-ma a-na ru-qé-e-ti in-na-bit*
15) *gim-ri* KUR-*šú* DAGAL-*tim* GIM $MURU_9$ *as-ḫu-up*
16) URU.*mar-ú-biš-ti* URU.*ak-ku-ud-du* URU.MEŠ-*ni*
17) É LUGAL-*ti-šú a-di* 34 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
18) *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu al-me* KUR-*ud ap-pul aq-qur*
19) *i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu* UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *u* MUNUS
20) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ
21) GU_4.MEŠ *ù ṣe-e-ni a-na la mi-nam áš-lu-lam-ma*
22) *a-di la ba-ši-i ú-šá-lik-šu-ma ú-ṣa-ḫir* KUR-*su*
23) URU.*ṣi-ṣi-ir-tu* URU.*ku-um-ma-aḫ-lum* URU.MEŠ-*ni*
24) *dan-nu-ti a-di* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
25) KUR.É-^{m}*ba-ar-ru-ú na-gu-u a-na gi-mir-ti-šú*
26) *ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*šú ab-tuq-ma* UGU *mi-ṣir* KUR *aš-šur*
27) *ú-rad-di* URU.*el-en-za-áš a-na* URU LUGAL-*ú-ti*
28) *ù dan-na-at na-ge-e šu-a-tu aṣ-bat-ma*
29) MU-*šú maḫ-ra-a ú-na-kir-ma* URU.*kar-*^{md}30-PAP.MEŠ-SU
30) *at-ta-bi ni-bit-su* UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia*
31) *i-na lìb-bi ú-še-šib i-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia*
32) LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ḫar-ḫar am-nu-ma ú-rap-piš ma-a-ti*
33) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia ša* KUR.*ma-da-a-a ru-qu-te*
34) *ša i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-*ia ma-am-man la iš-mu-ú*
35) *zi-kir* KUR-*šú-un man-da-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu*

with fire pavilions (and) tents, their abodes, and reduced (them) to ashes.

i 80b–ii 10a) I made that city Bīt-Kilamzaḫ a fortress again (and) I strengthened its walls more than before, then (ii 1) I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I brought down from the mountains the people of the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians who had fled from my weapons and (ii 5) I made (them) dwell in the cities Ḫardišpu (and) Bīt-Kubatti. I placed them under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Arrapḫa. I had a stele made, had all the victorious conquests that I achieved over them written on it, and I erected (it) in (that) city.

ii 10b–19a) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road to the land Ellipi. Before my arrival, Ispabāra, their king, abandoned his fortified cities (and) his treasury and fled far away. (ii 15) I overwhelmed all of his wide land like a fog. I surrounded, conquered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities Mar'ubištu (and) Akkuddu, cities of his royal house, together with thirty-four small(er) settlements in their environs.
ii 19b–27a) I carried off people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats without number, then I brought him (Ispabāra) to nought and made his land smaller. I detached from his land the cities Ṣi(ṣ)ṣirtu (and) Kummaḫlum, fortified cities, together with the small(er) settlements in their environs (ii 25) (and) the district of the land Bīt-Barrû in its entirety, and I added (this area) to the territory of Assyria.

ii 27b–32) I took the city Elenzaš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and (ii 30) called it Kār-Sennacherib. I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I placed (it) under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Ḫarḫar, and (thus) enlarged my land.

ii 33–36) On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, (ii 35) of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down to the yoke of my

am-ḫur
36) *a-na ni-ri be-lu-ti-ia ú-šak-ni-su-nu-ti*

37) *i-na šal-ši ger-ri-ia a-na* KUR.*ḫat-ti lu al-lik*
38) ^{m}*lu-li-i* LUGAL URU.*ṣi-du-un-ni pul-ḫi me-lam-me*
39) *be-lu-ti-ia is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma a-na ru-uq-qí*
40) *qa-bal tam-tim in-na-bit-ma šad-da-šú e-mid*
41) URU.*ṣi-du-un-nu* GAL-*ú* URU.*ṣi-du-un-nu* TUR
42) URU.É-*zi-it-ti* URU.*ṣa-ri-ip-tu* URU.*ma-ḫal-li-ba*
43) URU.*ú-šu-ú* URU.*ak-zi-bi* URU.*ak-ku-ú*
44) URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ *a-šar ri-i-ti*
45) *ù maš-qí-ti* É *tuk-la-te-šú ra-šub-bat* GIŠ.TUKUL ^{d}*aš-šur*
46) EN-*ia is-ḫu-pu-šú-nu-ti-ma ik-nu-šú še-pu-ú-a*
47) ^{m}*tu-ba-aʾ-lum i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL-*ú-ti*
48) UGU-*šú-un ú-še-šib-ma* GUN *man-da-tu be-lu-ti-ia*
49) *šat-ti-šam la ba-aṭ-lu ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú*
50) *ša* ^{m}*mi-in-ḫi-im-mu* URU.*sam-si-mu-ru-na-a-a*
51) ^{m}*tu-ba-aʾ-lum* URU.*ṣi-du-un-na-a-a*
52) ^{m}*ab-di-li-iʾ-ti* URU.*a-ru-da-a-a*
53) ^{m}*ú-ru-mil-ki* URU.*gu-ub-la-a-a*
54) ^{m}*mi-ti-in-ti* URU.*as-du-da-a-a*
55) ^{m}*bu-du*-DINGIR KUR.É-^{m}*am-ma-na-a-a*
56) ^{m}*kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi* KUR.*ma-ʾa-ba-a-a*
57) ^{md}*a-a-ram-mu* KUR.*ú-du-um-ma-a-a*
58) LUGAL.MEŠ KUR MAR.TU.KI *ka-li-šú-un* IGI.SÁ-*e šad-lu-ti*
59) *ta-mar-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu a-di* 4-*šú a-na maḫ-ri-ia*
60) *iš-šu-nim-ma iš-ši-qu* GÌR.II-*ia ù* ^{m}*ṣi-id-qa-a*
61) LUGAL URU.*is-qa-al-lu-na ša la ik-nu-šú*
62) *a-na ni-ri-ia* DINGIR.MEŠ É AD-*šú šá-a-šú* DAM-*su*
63) DUMU.MEŠ-*šú* DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* NUMUN É AD-*šú*
64) *as-su-ḫa-ma a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-ra-áš-šú*
65) ^{m}LUGAL-*lu-dà-ri* DUMU ^{m}*ru-kib-ti* LUGAL-*šú-nu maḫ-ru-ú*
66) UGU UN.MEŠ URU.*is-qa-al-lu-na áš-kun-ma*
67) *na-dan* GUN *kàd-re-e be-lu-ti-ia e-mid-su-ma*
68) *i-šá-a-aṭ ab-šá-a-ni i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia*
69) URU.É-*da-gan-na* URU.*ia-ap-pu-ú*
70) URU.*ba-na-a-a-bar-qa* URU.*a-zu-ru* URU.MEŠ-*ni*
71) *ša* ^{m}*ṣi-id-qa-a ša a-na* GÌR.II-*ia ár-ḫiš*
72) *la ik-nu-šú al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*
73) LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ *ù* UN.MEŠ URU.*am-qar-ru-na*
74) *ša* ^{m}*pa-di-i* LUGAL-*šú-nu* EN *a-de-e ù ma-mit*
75) *ša* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *bi-re-tu* AN.BAR *id-du-ma*
76) *a-na* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú* KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a*
77) *id-di-nu-šú nak-riš a-na an-zil-li i-pu-šú*

lordship.

ii 37–46) On my third campaign, I marched to the land Ḫatti. Fear of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed Lulî, the king of the city Sidon, and (ii 40) he fled afar into the midst of the sea and disappeared. The awesome terror of the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed the cities Great Sidon, Lesser Sidon, Bīt-Zitti, Ṣarepta, Maḫalliba, Ušû, Akzibu, (and) Acco, his fortified cities (and) fortresses, an area of pasture(s) (ii 45) and water-place(s), resources upon which he relied, and they bowed down at my feet.

ii 47–49) I placed Tu-Baʾlu on the royal throne over them and imposed upon him tribute (and) payment (in recognition) of my overlordship (to be delivered) yearly (and) without interruption.

ii 50–60a) As for Min(u)ḫimmu of the city Samsimuruna, Tu-Baʾlu of the city Sidon, Abdi-Liʾti of the city Arwad, Ūru-Milki of the city Byblos, Mitinti of the city Ashdod, (ii 55) Būdi-il of the land Bīt-Ammon, Kammūsu-nadbi of the land Moab, Aya-rāmu of the land Edom, all of the kings of the land Amurru, they brought extensive gifts, *four times* (the normal amount), as their substantial audience gift before me and kissed my feet.

ii 60b–64) Moreover, (as for) Ṣidqâ, the king of the city Ashkelon who had not bowed down to my yoke, I forcibly removed the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, (and other) offspring of his father's house and took him to Assyria.

ii 65–68a) I set Šarru-lū-dāri, son of Rūkibtu, their former king, over the people of the city Ashkelon and imposed upon him the payment of tribute (and) gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship so that he (now) pulls my yoke.

ii 68b–72) In the course of my campaign, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Bīt-Daganna, Joppa, (ii 70) Banayabarqa, (and) Azuru, the cities of Ṣidqâ that had not submitted to me quickly.

ii 73–81) (As for) the governors, the nobles, and the people of the city Ekron who had thrown Padî, their king who was bound by treaty and oaths (ii 75) to Assyria, into iron fetters and who had handed him over to Hezekiah of the land Judah in a hostile manner, they became frightened on account of the villainous

ii 76 ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú* "Hezekiah": Ex. 2 has ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-ia-ú*.

78) *ip-làḫ lib-ba-šú-un* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.*mu-ṣu-ri*
79) LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
80) *ša* LUGAL KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫi e-mu-qí la ni-bi*
81) *ik-te-ru-nim-ma il-li-ku re-ṣu-su-un*
82) *i-na ta-mir-ti* URU.*al-ta-qu-ú*
83) *el-la-mu-ú-a si-id-ru šit-ku-nu*

Col. iii

1) *ú-šá-ʾa-lu* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú-un i-na tukul-ti* ^{d}*aš-šur*
2) EN-*ia it-ti-šú-un am-da-ḫi-iṣ-ma áš-ta-kan*
3) BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú-un* LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù* DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL
4) KUR.*mu-ṣu-ra-a-a a-di* LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša* LUGAL KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫi*
5) *bal-ṭu-su-un i-na* $MURUB_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri ik-šu-da*
6) ŠU.II-*a-a* URU.*al-ta-qu-ú* URU.*ta-am-na-a*
7) *al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-sún a-na* URU.*am-qar-ru-na*
8) *aq-rib-ma* LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ *ša ḫi-iṭ-ṭu*
9) *ú-šab-šu-ú a-duk-ma i-na di-ma-a-ti*
10) *si-ḫir-ti* URU *a-lul pag-ri-šú-un* DUMU.MEŠ URU
11) *e-piš an-ni ù gíl-la-ti a-na šal-la-ti am-nu*
12) *si-it-tu-te-šú-nu la ba-bil ḫi-ṭi-ti*
13) *ù gul-lul-ti ša a-ra-an-šú-nu la ib-šu-ú*
14) *uš-šur-šú-un aq-bi* ^{m}*pa-di-i* LUGAL-*šú-nu*
15) *ul-tu qé-reb* URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu ú-še-ṣa-am-ma*
16) *i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *be-lu-ti* UGU-*šú-un ú-še-šib-ma*
17) *man-da-at-tu be-lu-ti-ia ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú*
18) *ù* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú* KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a*
19) *ša la ik-nu-šú a-na ni-ri-ia* 46 URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti*
20) É BÀD.MEŠ *ù* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
21) *ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú i-na šuk-bu-us a-ram-me*
22) *ù qit-ru-ub šu-pi-i mit-ḫu-uṣ zu-uk* GÌR.II
23) *pil-ši nik-si ù kal-ban-na-te al-me* KUR-*ud*
24) 2 ME LIM 1 ME 50 UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *ù* MUNUS
25) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ
26) GU_4.MEŠ *ù ṣe-e-ni ša la ni-bi ul-tu qer-bi-šú-un*
27) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu šá-a-šú* GIM MUŠEN *qu-up-pi*
28) *qé-reb* URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú*
29) *e-sír-šú* URU.ḪAL.ṢU.MEŠ UGU-*šú ú-rak-kis-ma*
30) *a-ṣe-e* KÁ.GAL URU-*šú ú-ter-ra ik-ki-bu-uš* URU.MEŠ-*šú*
31) *ša áš-lu-la ul-tu qé-reb* KUR-*šú ab-tuq-ma*
32) *a-na* ^{m}*mi-ti-in-ti* LUGAL URU.*as-du-di*
33) ^{m}*pa-di-i* LUGAL URU.*am-qar-ru-na ù* ^{m}GISSU-EN
34) LUGAL URU.*ḫa-zi-ti ad-din-ma ú-ṣa-aḫ-ḫir* KUR-*su*
35) *e-li* GUN *maḫ-ri-ti na-dan šat-ti-šú-un*

acts they had committed. They formed a confederation with the kings of Egypt (and) the archers, chariots, (and) horses (ii 80) of the king of the land Meluḫḫa, forces without number, and they came to their aid.

ii 82–iii 6a) In the plain of the city Eltekeh, they sharpened their weapons while drawing up in battle-line before me. (iii 1) With the support of the god Aššur, my lord, I fought with them and defeated them. In the thick of battle, I captured alive the Egyptian charioteers and princes (lit. "the sons of the king"), together with the charioteers of the king of the land Meluḫḫa.

iii 6b–14a) I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Eltekeh (and) Tamnâ. I approached the city Ekron and I killed the governors (and) nobles who had committed crime(s) and (iii 10) hung their corpses on towers around the city; I counted the citizens who had committed the criminal acts as booty; (and) I commanded that the rest of them, (those) who were not guilty of crimes or wrongdoing, (to) whom no penalty was due, be allowed to go free.

iii 14b–17) I brought out Padî, their king, from the city Jerusalem and placed (him) on the lordly throne over them, then I imposed upon him payment (in recognition) of my overlordship.

iii 18–27a) Moreover, (as for) Hezekiah of the land Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke, I surrounded (and) conquered forty-six of his fortified cities, (iii 20) fortresses, and small(er) settlements in their environs, which were without number, by having ramps trodden down and battering rams brought up, the assault of foot soldiers, sapping, breaching, and siege engines. I brought out of them 200,150 people, young (and) old, male and female, (iii 25) horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number, and I counted (them) as booty.

iii 27b–37a) As for him (Hezekiah), I confined him inside the city Jerusalem, his royal city, like a bird in a cage. I set up blockades against him and (iii 30) made him dread exiting his city gate. I detached from his land the cities of his that I had plundered and I gave (them) to Mitinti, the king of the city Ashdod, Padî, the king of the city Ekron, and Ṣilli-Bēl, the king of the city Gaza, and (thereby) made his land smaller. (iii 35) To the former tribute, their annual giving, I added the payment (of) gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship and imposed (it) upon them (text: "him").

36) *man-da-at-tu kàd-re-e be-lu-ti-ia ú-rad-di-ma*
37) *ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú šu-ú* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú*
38) *pul-ḫi me-lam-me be-lu-ti-ia is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma*
39) LÚ.*úr-bi ù* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ-*šú* SIG_5.MEŠ *ša a-na dun-nun*
40) URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú ú-še-ri-bu-ma*
41) *ir-šu-ú til-la-a-ti it-ti* 30 GUN KÙ.GI
42) 8 ME GUN KÙ.BABBAR *ni-siq-ti gu-uḫ-li*
43) *ták-kàs-si* NA_4.AN.ZA.GUL.ME GAL.MEŠ GIŠ.NÁ.MEŠ ZÚ
44) GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ *né-me-di* ZÚ KUŠ AM.SI ZÚ AM.SI
45) GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG *mim-ma šum-šú ni-ṣir-tu ka-bit-tu*
46) *ù* DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL-*šú* LÚ.NAR.MEŠ
47) MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ *a-na qé-reb* NINA.KI URU *be-lu-ti-ia*
48) EGIR-*ia ú-še-bi-lam-ma a-na na-dan man-da-at-te*
49) *ù e-peš* ARAD-*ú-ti iš-pu-ra rak-bu-šú*

iii 37b–49) As for him, Hezekiah, fear of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed him and, after my (departure), he had the auxiliary forces and his elite troops whom (iii 40) he had brought inside to strengthen the city Jerusalem, his royal city, and who had provided support, along with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, choice antimony, large blocks of ..., ivory beds, armchairs of ivory, elephant hide(s), elephant ivory, (iii 45) ebony, boxwood, every kind of valuable treasure, as well as his daughters, his palace women, male singers, (and) female singers brought into Nineveh, my capital city, and he sent a mounted messenger of his to me to deliver (this) payment and to do obeisance.

50) *i-na* 4-*e ger-ri-ia* ^{d}*aš-šur be-lí ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma*
51) *um-ma-na-te-ia gap-šá-te ad-ke-ma a-na* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$
52) *a-la-ku aq-bi i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia*
53) *ša* ^{m}*šu-zu-bi* LÚ.*kal-dà-a-a a-šib qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me*
54) *i-na* URU.*bi-it-tu-ú-tu áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú*
55) *šu-ú ḫur-ba-šú* MÈ-*ia* UGU-*šú im-qut-ma*
56) *it-ru-ku lib-bu-šú ki-ma az-za-ri e-diš ip-par-šid-ma*
57) *ul in-na-mir a-šar-šú pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma*
58) *a-na* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$ *aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu*
59) *šu-ú* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA *ša i-na a-lak ger-ri-ia*
60) *maḫ-re-e* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú áš-ku-nu-ma ú-par-ri-ru*
61) *el-lat-su ri-gim* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-ti*
62) *ù ti-ib* MÈ-*ia ez-zi e-dúr-ma*
63) DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-rak* KUR-*šú i-na* KI.TUŠ-*šú-nu id-ke-ma*
64) *qé-reb* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ú-šar-kib-ma a-na* URU.*na-gi-te-raq-qí*
65) *ša qa-bal tam-tim iṣ-ṣu-riš ip-pa-riš* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú*
66) NUMUN É AD-*šú ša ú-maš-ši-ru a-ḫi tam-tim*
67) *a-di si-it-ti* UN.MEŠ KUR-*šú ul-tu* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$
68) *qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me u ap-pa-ra-a-te ú-še-ṣa-am-ma*

iii 50–57a) On my fourth campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me so that I mustered my numerous troops and ordered the march to the land Bīt-Yakīn. In the course of my campaign, I defeated Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk), a Chaldean who lives in the marshes, at the city Bittūtu. (iii 55) As for him, terror of doing battle with me fell upon him and his heart pounded. He fled alone like a lynx and his (hiding) place could not be found.

iii 57b–69a) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road to the land Bīt-Yakīn. He — Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), whom (iii 60) I had defeated and whose forces I had scattered during my first campaign — became frightened by the clangor of my mighty weapons and my fierce battle array, then dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of his land from their abodes, and loaded (them) onto boats. (iii 65) He flew away like a bird to the city Nagīte-raqqi, which is in the midst of the sea. I brought his brothers, the seed of his father's house, whom he had abandoned at the shore of the sea, together with the rest of the people of his land, out of the land Bīt-Yakīn, which is in the swamps and marshes, and I counted (them) as booty.

iii 36–49 Cf. text no. 19 i′ 1′–14′, which duplicates Smith Bull 4 (3 R pl. 12) and which contains an abbreviated report of the third campaign. For details, see the on-page notes to that inscription.
iii 50–52 Cf. text no. 19 i′ 15′–16′: [*i-na* 4-*e ger-ri-ia a-na* KUR.É-^{m}]^{r}*ia*$^{\neg}$-*kin*$_7$ [*lu al-li-ik*] "[On my fourth campaign, I marched to the land Bīt]-Yakīn." That inscription has the same account of the fourth campaign as Smith Bull 4 (3 R pl. 12).
iii 63–64 Text no. 15 exs. 2 and 11, text no. 16, text no. 17, and text no. 21 omit DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-rak* KUR-*šú i-na* KI.TUŠ-*šú-nu id-ke-ma qé-reb* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ú-šar-kib-ma* "he dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of his land from their abodes, and loaded (them) onto boats."
iii 64 URU.*na-gi-te-raq-qí* "the city Nagīte-raqqi": Cf. text no. 17 iv 4, which has KUR.*na-gi-a-te-ra-aq-qí* "the land Nagīte-raqqi."

69) *šal-la-tiš am-nu ú-ter-ma* URU.MEŠ-*šú ap-pul aq-qur*
70) *ú-še-me kar-meš* UGU EN *sa-li-me-šú* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
71) *na-mur-ra-tum at-bu-uk i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia*
72) ^{md}*aš-šur-na-din-*MU DUMU *reš-tu-ú tar-bit bir-ki-ia*
73) *i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *be-lu-ti-šú ú-še-šib-ma*
74) DAGAL-*tum* KUR EME.GI$_7$ *u* URI.KI *ú-šad-gil pa-nu-uš-šú*

iii 69b–71a) Once again I destroyed (and) devastated his cities, (and) turned (them) into ruins. I poured out awe-inspiring brilliance upon his ally, the king of the land Elam.
iii 71b–74) On my return march, I placed Aššur-nādin-šumi, my first-born son (whom I) raised on my (own) knee, on his lordly throne and entrusted him with the wide land of Sumer and Akkad.

75) *i-na* 5 *ger-ri-ia ba-ḫu-la-te* URU.*tu-mur-ri*
76) URU.*šá-ru-um* URU.*e-za-ma* URU.*kib-šú* URU.*ḫal-bu-da*
77) URU.*qu-u-a* URU.*qa-na ša* GIM *qin-ni* TI$_8$.MUŠEN *a-šá-red*
78) MUŠEN.ḪI.A *ṣe-er zuq-ti* KUR.*ni-pur* KUR-*i mar-ṣi*
79) *šu-bat-sún šit-ku-na-at-ma la kit-nu-šú a-na ni-ri*
80) *i-na* GÌR.II KUR.*ni-pur ka-ra-ši ú-šá-áš-kin-ma*
81) *it-ti* LÚ.*qur-bu-ti* GÌR.II-*ia na-as-qu-ti*

iii 75–80) On my fifth campaign: The population of the cities Tumurrum, Šarum, Ezāma, Kibšu, Ḫalbuda, Qūa, (and) Qana, whose dwellings are situated like the nests of eagles, the foremost of birds, on the peak of Mount Nipur, a rugged mountain, and who had not bowed down to the yoke — (iii 80) I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mount Nipur.

Col. iv
1) *ù* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-*ia la ga-me-lu-ti*
2) *a-na-ku* GIM AM *ek-di pa-nu-uš-šú-un aṣ-bat*
3) *ḫur-ri na-ḫal-li na-at-bak* KUR-*i me-le-e*
4) *mar-ṣu-ti i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *áš-ta-am-di-iḫ*
5) *a-šar a-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *šup-šu-qu i-na* GÌR.II-*ia áš-taḫ-*<*ḫi*>-*iṭ*
6) GIM *ar-me a-na zuq-ti šá-qu-ti ṣe-ru-uš-šú-un*
7) *e-li a-šar bir-ka-a-a ma-na-aḫ-tu i-šá-a*
8) *ṣe-er* NA$_4$ KUR-*i ú-šib-ma* A.MEŠ KUŠ.*na-a-di ka-ṣu-te*

iii 81–iv 9a) Like a fierce wild bull, with my select bodyguard and my merciless combat troops, I took the lead of them (the soldiers in my camp). I proceeded through the gorges of the streams, the outflows of the mountains, (and) rugged slopes in (my) chair. (iv 5) Where it was too difficult for (my) chair, I leapt forward on my (own) two feet like a mountain goat. I ascended the highest peaks against them. Where my knees became tired, I sat down upon the mountain rock and drank cold water from a water skin to (quench) my thirst.

9) *a-na ṣu-um-me-ia lu áš-ti i-na* ŠU.SI.MEŠ
10) *ḫur-šá-a-ni ar-de-šú-nu-ti-ma áš-ta-kan*
11) *taḫ-ta-šú-un* URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* KUR-*ma áš-lu-la šal-la-sún*
12) *ap-pul aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu pa-an ni-ri-ia*

iv 9b–12a) I pursued them on the peaks of the mountains and defeated them. I conquered, plundered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire their cities.
iv 12b–23a) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road against Maniye, the king of the city Ukku (and) an insubmissive mountain-dweller. (iv 15) Before my time, none of the former kings of the past had marched through the untrodden paths (and) difficult trails on account of the rugged mountains. I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mount Anara and Mount Uppa, mighty mountains, and I myself, in an armchair, (iv 20) with my crack combat troops, entered their narrow passes with great difficulty and ascended with a struggle the steep mountain peaks.

13) *ú-ter-ma ṣe-er* ^{m}*ma-ni-ia-e* LUGAL URU.*uk-ki*
14) *šad-da-a-a-e la kan-še aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu*
15) *ur-ḫi la pe-tu-ti ṭu-di pa-áš-qu-ti ša la-pa-an*
16) KUR.MEŠ *mar-ṣu-ti ul-la-nu-ú-a qé-reb-šú-un*
17) *ma-am-man la il-li-ku* LUGAL.MEŠ *pa-ni maḫ-ru-ti*
18) *i-na* GÌR.II KUR.*a-na-ra ù* KUR.*up-pa šad-di-i dan-nu-ti*
19) *ka-ra-ši ú-šá-áš-kin-ma a-na-ku i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *né-me-di*
20) *it-ti* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *ta-ḫa-zi-ia gít-ma-lu-ti*
21) *i-na ne-re-bi-šú-un pi-qu-ti šu-nu-ḫi-iš*
22) *e-ru-um-ma mar-ṣi-iš e-te-el-la-a* ŠU.SI.MEŠ KUR-*i*

iv 20b–22a Text no. 19 ii′ 5′–6′ omits *gít-ma-lu-ti i-na ne-re-bi-šú-un pi-qu-ti šu-nu-ḫi-iš e-ru-um-ma* "(my) crack (combat troops), I entered their narrow passes with great difficulty and" between LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-*ia* "my fighting troops" and *mar-ṣi-iš* "with a struggle."

23) *pa-áš-qa-a-te šu-ú* ^{m}*ma-ni-ia-e tur-bu-u'*
24) GÌR.II ERIM.ḪI.A-*ia e-mur-ma* URU.*uk-ku* URU LUGAL-*ti-šu*
25) *e-zib-ma a-na ru-qé-e-ti in-na-bit* URU.*uk-ku*
26) *al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su mim-ma šum-šu* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA
27) *ni-ṣir-ti* É.GAL-*šú ul-tu qer-bé-e-šu*
28) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu ù* 33 URU.MEŠ-*ni*
29) *ša pa-a-ṭi na-gi-šú* KUR-*ma* UN.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ
30) *ù ṣe-e-ni ul-tu qer-bi-šú-un áš-lu-la*
31) *ap-pu-ul aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*

iv 23b–28a) He, Maniye, saw the dust cloud (stirred up) by the feet of my troops, then he abandoned the city Ukku, his royal city, and fled afar. I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the city Ukku. I brought out of it every kind of possession (and) property, the treasures of his palace, and I counted (it) as booty.

iv 28b–31) Moreover, I conquered thirty-three cities on the borders of his district and carried off from them people, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats. (Then) I destroyed (them), devastated (them), (and) burned (them) with fire.

32) *i-na* 6 *ger-ri-ia si-it-ti* UN.MEŠ KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$
33) *ša la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-te* GIM *sér-re-me*
34) *ig-ru-ru* DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-ra*ḳ KUR-*šú-un i-na* KI.TUŠ-*šú-nu id-ku-ma*
35) *tam-tum* GAL-*tum ša ṣi-it* ^{d}UTU-*ši e-bi-ru-ma*
36) *i-na* URU.*na-gi-ti ša* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *id-du-ú šu-bat-sún*
37) *i-na* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ KUR.*ḫat-ti tam-tum lu e-bir* URU.*na-gi-tú*
38) URU.*na-gi-tú-di-i'-bi-na a-di* KUR.*ḫi-il-mu* KUR.*pil-la-tú*
39) *ù* KUR.*ḫu-pa-pa-nu na-ge-e ša* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI KUR-*ud*

iv 32–39) On my sixth campaign: The rest of the people of the land Bīt-Yakīn, who had groveled like onagers before my mighty weapons, dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of their land from their abodes, (iv 35) then crossed the Great Sea of the Rising Sun and set up their residences in the city Nagītu of the land Elam — I crossed over the sea in boats of the land Ḫatti. I conquered the cities Nagītu (and) Nagītu-di'bina, together with the lands Ḫilmu, Pillatu, and Ḫupapanu, districts of the land Elam.

40) UN.MEŠ KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$ *a-di* DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu ù* UN.MEŠ
41) *ša* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *áš-lu-lam-ma la e-zi-ba*
42) *mul-taḫ-ṭu qé-reb* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ú-šar-kib-ma*
43) *a-na a-ḫa-an-na-a ú-še-bi-ra-ma ú-šá-aṣ-bi-ta*
44) *ḫar-ra-an* KUR *aš-šur*.KI URU.MEŠ *ša qé-reb na-ge-e*
45) *šá-tu-nu ap-pul aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu a-na* DU_6 *u kar-me*

iv 40–46a) I carried off the people of the land Bīt-Yakīn, together with their gods and the people of the king of the land Elam, and I did not leave a (single) escapee. I loaded (them) onto boats and brought (them) to this side (of the sea), then I made (them) take the road to Assyria. I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities that are in those districts. I turned (them) into a mound of ruins (lit. "a mound and ruins").

46) *ú-ter i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* ^{m}*šu-zu-bu*
47) DUMU KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ša i-na e-ši-ti ma-a-te be-lu-tu*
48) KUR EME.GI_7 *u* URI.KI *ra-ma-nu-uš ú-ter-ru*

iv 46b–53) On my return march, in a pitched battle, I defeated Šūzubu (Nergal-ušēzib), a citizen of Babylon who had taken the lordship of the land of Sumer and Akkad for himself during the confusion in the land.

iv 23b–24a Instead of *tur-bu-u'* GÌR.II ERIM.ḪI.A-*ia e-mur-ma*, "he saw the dust cloud (stirred up) by the feet of my troops," text no. 19 ii′ 7′–8′ has *a-lak-ti ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma* "he heard about the advance of my expeditionary force."
iv 25b–31 Instead of URU.*uk-ku al-me … i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu* "the city Ukku I conquered … (and) burned with fire," text no. 19 ii′ 9′b–13′a has *e-ru-um-ma a-na qé-reb* É.GAL-*šú mim-ma šum-šú* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA *la ni-bi áš-lu-la ta-mar-ta-šú ka-bit-tu* URU.MEŠ-*šú ap-pul aq-qur ina* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-*[*mu*] *ki-ma* DU_6 *a-bu-bi ú-še-me* "I entered his palace and, as his substantial audience gift, I carried off every kind of possession (and) property, (which) were without number. I destroyed, devastated, (and) bur[ned] with fire his cities, (and) made (them) like ruin hills (created by) the Deluge."
iv 28 33 URU.MEŠ-*ni* "thirty-three cities": Cf. text no. 17 iv 58, which has 35 URU.MEŠ "thirty-five cities."
iv 29 *na-gi-šú* "his district": Cf. text no. 17 iv 58, which has *li-me-ti-šú* "its environs." ANŠE.MEŠ "donkeys": Omitted in text no. 17 iv 59.
iv 32–53 Reports of the sixth campaign (against the Chaldeans living in Elam and against Nergal-ušēzib) were first recorded in texts written in the eponymy of Iddin-aḫḫē, governor of Dūr-Šarrukīn (693). Cf. the longer account in text no. 20 and Smith Bull 4 lines 48–102a (3 R pls. 12–13). Those accounts were abbreviated either in 692, in 691, or in both 692 and 691.
iv 34 KI.TUŠ-*šú-nu* "their abodes": According to C. Bezold (Schrader, KB 2 p. 100), one exemplar has BÁRA-*šú-nu* "their daises." All preserved exemplars have either KI.TUŠ-*šú-nu* or *šub-ti-šú-nu*.
iv 36 URU.*na-gi-ti* "the city Nagītu": The name of the city is Nagīte-raqqi in iii 64.
iv 38 KUR.*pil-la-tú* "the land Pillatu": Ex. 2 has URU.*pil-la-tu* "the city Pillatu."

49) *i-na* MÈ EDIN BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú áš-kun bal-ṭu-su*
i-na ŠU.II
50) *aṣ-bat-su šum-man-nu ù bi-re-tu* AN.BAR
ad-di-šu-ma
51) *a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-ra-áš-šú* LUGAL
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ša* Á.II-*šú*
52) *is-ḫu-ru-ma il-li-ku re-ṣu-su* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú*
áš-kun
53) ILLAT.MEŠ-*šú ú-sap-pi-iḫ-ma ú-par-ri-ir*
pu-ḫur-šú

(iv 50) I captured him alive, bound him with tethering ropes and iron fetters, and brought him to Assyria. I defeated the king of the land Elam, who had aligned himself with him and come to his aid. I dispersed his forces and scattered his assembled host.

54) *i-na* 7-*e ger-ri-ia* ^{d}*aš-šur be-lí*
ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma
55) *a-na* KUR.*e-lam-ti lu al-lik* URU.É-^{m}*ḫa-'i-i-ri*
56) URU.*ra-ṣa-a* URU.MEŠ *ša mi-ṣir* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
57) *ša i-na tar-ṣi* AD-*ia e-la-mu-ú e-ki-mu da-na-niš*
58) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-sún*
59) ERIM.MEŠ *šu-lu-ti-ia ú-še-rib qé-reb-šú-un a-na*
mi-ṣir
60) KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-ter-ra-ma* ŠU.II LÚ.GAL
URU.ḪAL.ṢU BÀD.DINGIR.KI
61) *am-nu* URU.*bu-bé-e* URU.*dun-ni-*^{d}UTU
URU.É-^{m}*ri-si-ia*
62) URU.É-*aḫ-la-me-e* URU.*du-ru*
URU.*dan-nat-*^{m}*su-la-a-a*
63) URU.*ši-li-ib-tu* URU.É-^{m}*a-ṣu-si*
URU.*kar-*^{m}NUMUN-BA-*šá*
64) URU.É-^{m}*gi-iṣ-ṣi* URU.É-^{m}*kàt-pa-la-ni*
URU.É-^{m}*im-bi-ia*
65) URU.*ḫa-ma-a-nu* URU.É-^{m}*ar-ra-bi* URU.*bu-ru-tu*
66) URU.*dim-tú-ša-*^{m}*su-la-a-a*
URU.*dim-tú-ša-*^{md}DUMU-É-KAR-*ir*
67) URU.*ḫar-ri-áš-la-ke-e* URU.*rab-ba-a-a*
68) URU.*ra-a-su* URU.*ak-ka-ba-ri-na*
URU.DU_6-^{m}*ú-ḫu-ri*

iv 54–61a) On my seventh campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and (iv 55) I marched to the land Elam. In the course of my campaign, I conquered (and) plundered the cities Bīt-Ḫa'iri (and) Raṣā, cities on the border of Assyria that the Elamites had taken away by force in the time of my ancestor(s). I had my garrisons stationed inside them. (iv 60) I brought (those cities) back inside the border of Assyria and placed (them) under the authority of the garrison commander of Dēr.
iv 61b–69a) The cities Bubê, Dunni-Šamaš, Bīt-Risiya, Bīt-Aḫlamê, Dūru, Dannat-Sulāya, Šilibtu, Bīt-Aṣusi, Kār-Zēra-iqīša, Bīt-Giṣṣi, Bīt-Katpalāni, Bīt-Imbiya, (iv 65) Ḫamānu, Bīt-Arrabi, Burutu, Dimtu-ša-Sulāya, Dimtu-ša-Mār-bīti-eṭir, Ḫarri-ašlakê, Rabbāya, Rāsu, Akkabarina, Tīl-Uḫuri, Ḫamrānu, Nadītu,

69) URU.*ḫa-am-ra-nu* URU.*na-di-tu a-di* URU.MEŠ-*ni*
70) *ša né-re-bi ša* URU.É-^{m}*bu-na-ki*
URU.DU_6-^{d}*ḫu-um-bi*
71) URU.*dim-tú-ša-*^{m}*du-me*-DINGIR URU.É-^{m}*ú-bi-ia*
72) URU.*ba-al-ti-li-šir* URU.*ta-qab-li-šir*
73) URU.*ša-na-qi-da-te* URU.*ma-su-tú-šap-li-ti*
74) URU.*sa-ar-ḫu-de-ri* URU.*a-lum-ša*-GAŠAN-É
75) URU.É-^{m}PAP.MEŠ-SUM.NA URU.*il-te-ú-ba*
76) 34 URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti a-di* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
77) *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú*
78) *al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-sún ap-pul aq-qur*
79) *i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu qu-tur naq-mu-ti-šú-nu*
80) GIM $MURU_9$ *kab-ti pa-an* AN-*e rap-šu-ti*
81) *ú-šak-ti-im iš-me-ma ki-šit-ti* URU.MEŠ-*šú*

iv 69b–81a) together with the cities of the passes, namely Bīt-Bunaki, Tīl-Ḫumbi, Dimtu-ša-Dume-ili, Bīt-Ubiya, Baltī-līšir, Taqab-līšir, Ša-nāqidāte, Masūtu-šaplīti, Sarḫudēri, Ālum-ša-Bēlet-bīti, (iv 75) Bīt-Aḫḫē-iddina, (and) Ilteuba — I surrounded, conquered, plundered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire (those) thirty-four fortified cities, together with the small(er) settlements in their environs, which were without number. I made the smoke from their conflagration cover the wide heavens like a heavy cloud.

Col. v
1) ^{m}NÍG.DU-^{d}*na-ḫu-un-du* LÚ.*e-la-mu-ú*
2) *im-qut-su ḫat-tum si-it-ti* URU.MEŠ-*šú*

iv 81b–v 5) Kudur-Naḫundu (Kudur-Naḫḫunte), the Elamite, heard about the conquest of his cities and fear fell upon him. He brought (the people of) the rest of his cities into fortresses. He abandoned the

iv 54–v 16 Reports of the seventh campaign (against Elam) were first recorded in texts written in the eponymy of Zazāya, governor of Arpad (692). At present, no text of Sennacherib from that year is known and thus the earliest record of that campaign comes from 691.
iv 63 URU.*kar-*^{m}NUMUN-BA-*šá* "the city Kār-Zēra-iqīša": Ex. 2 has URU.*kar-*^{m}MU-BA-*šá* "the city Kār-Šuma-iqīša"; according to M. Worthington (Textual Criticism p. 117) this error is a *lapsus styli*, in which a similar sign is substituted, here MU for NUMUN.

3) *a-na dan-na-a-te ú-še-rib šu-ú* URU.*ma-dak-tu*
4) URU LUGAL-*ti-šú e-zib-ma a-na* URU.*ḫa-i-da-la*
5) *ša qé-reb* KUR.MEŠ SÙ.MEŠ *iṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu*
6) *a-na* URU.*ma-dak-ti* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú a-la-ku aq-bi*
7) ITI.*tam-ḫi-ri* EN.TE.NA *dan-nu e-ru-ba-am-ma*
8) *šá-mu-tum ma-at-tum ú-šá-az-ni-na* ŠÈG.MEŠ-*šá*
9) ŠÈG.MEŠ *ù šal-gi na-aḫ-lu na-at-bak* KUR-*i a-du-ra*
10) *pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma a-na* NINA.KI *aṣ-ṣa-bat*
11) *ḫar-ra-nu i-na* u_4-*me-šu-ma i-na qí-bit* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia*
12) ^{m}NÍG.DU-^{d}*na-ḫu-un-du* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI 3 ITI.MEŠ
13) *ul ú-mal-li-ma i-na* u_4-*me la ši-im-ti-šú*
14) *ur-ru-ḫi-iš im-tu-ut* EGIR-*šú* ^{m}*um-man-me-na-nu*
15) *la ra-áš ṭè-e-me ù mil-ki*
16) ŠEŠ-*šú dup-pu-us-su-ú i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA-*šú ú-šib-ma*

v 6–11a) I ordered the march to the city Madaktu, his royal city. In the month Tamḫīru, bitter cold set in and a severe rainstorm sent down its rain. I was afraid of the rain and snow in the gorges, the outflows of the mountains, (so) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road to Nineveh.

v 11b–16) At that time, by the command of the god Aššur, my lord, Kudur-Naḫundu (Kudur-Naḫḫunte), the king of the land Elam, did not last three months and suddenly died a premature death. After him, Umman-menanu (Ḫumban-menanu), (v 15) who does not have sense or insight, his younger brother, sat on his throne.

17) *i-na* 8-*e ger-ri-ia* EGIR ^{m}*šu-zu-bi is-se-ḫu-ma*
18) DUMU.MEŠ KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI GAL$_5$.LÁ.MEŠ *lem-nu-ti* KÁ.GAL.MEŠ URU
19) *ú-di-lu ik-pu-ud lib-ba-šú-nu a-na e-peš* GIŠ.LÁ
20) ^{m}*šu-zu-bu* LÚ.*kal-dà-a-a eṭ-lum dun-na-mu-ú*
21) *ša la i-šu-ú bir-ki* LÚ.ARAD *da-gíl pa-an* LÚ.EN.NAM
22) URU.*la-ḫi-ri* LÚ.*a-ra-me ḫal-qu mun-nab-tú a-mir da-me*
23) *ḫab-bi-lu ṣe-ru-uš-šú ip-ḫu-ru-ma qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me*
24) *ú-ri-du-ma ú-šab-šu-u si-ḫu a-na-ku ni-tum al-me-šú-ma*
25) *nap-šá-tuš ú-si-qa la-pa-an ḫat-ti ù né-eb-re-te*
26) *a-na* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *in-na-bit ki-i ri-kil-ti*
27) *ù gíl-la-ti ṣe-ru-uš-šú ba-ši-i ul-tu* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
28) *i-ḫi-šam-ma qé-reb šu-an-na*.KI *e-ru-ub* LÚ.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ
29) *a-na la si-ma-ti-šú i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *ú-še-ši-bu-šú*
30) *be-lut* KUR EME.GI$_7$ *ù* <<KUR>> URI.KI *ú-šad-gi-lu pa-ni-šú*

v 17–24a) On my eighth campaign, after Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk) had rebelled and the citizens of Babylon, evil *gallû*-demons, had locked the city gates, they plotted to wage war. (v 20) Arameans, fugitives, runaways, murderers, (and) robbers rallied around Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk), a Chaldean, a person of lowly status, a coward (lit. "who has no knees"), (and) a servant who belonged to the governor of the city Laḫīru, and they went down into the marshes and incited rebellion.

v 24b–30) I besieged him and put him in dire straits. On account of fear and hunger, he fled to the land Elam. When there were conspiracy and treachery against him, he hurried out of the land Elam and entered Šuanna (Babylon). The Babylonians inappropriately placed him (back) on the throne (and) entrusted him with the lordship of the land of Sumer and Akkad.

31) É NÍG.GA *ša é-sag-íl ip-tu-ma* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR
32) *ša* ^{d}EN *u* ^{d}*zar-pa-ni-tum* NÍG.ŠU É DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu ú-še-ṣu-ni*
33) *a-na* ^{m}*um-man-me-na-nu* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ša la i-šu-ú*
34) *ṭè-e-mu ù mil-ku ú-še-bi-lu-uš ṭa-a'-tú*
35) *pu-uḫ-ḫir um-man-ka di-ka-a* KARAŠ-*ka*
36) *a-na* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ḫi-šam-ma i-da-a-ni i-zi-iz-ma*

v 31–37a) They (the Babylonians) opened the treasury of Esagil and took out the gold (and) silver of the god Bēl (Marduk) and the goddess Zarpanītu, the property of the temple of their gods. They sent it as a bribe to Umman-menanu (Ḫumban-menanu), the king of the land Elam, who does not have sense or insight, (saying): (v 35) "Gather your army, muster your forces, hurry to Babylon, and align yourself with us! Let us put our trust in you."

v 17–vi 35 Reports of the eighth campaign (the battle of Ḫalulê) are first recorded in texts written in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni, governor of the city Carchemish (691), the year that this text, text no. 18 ex. 1, and text no. 23 ex. 1 were written. For literary allusions to *Enūma eliš* in this account, see Weissert, HSAO 6 pp. 191–202.

37) *tu-kul-ta-ni lu at-ta šu-ú* LÚ.*e-la-mu-ú*
38) *ša i-na a-lak ger-ri-ia maḫ-ri-ti ša* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
39) URU.MEŠ-*šú ak-šu-du-ma ú-ter-ru a-na kar-me*
40) *lib-bu-uš ul iḫ-su-us ṭa-aʾ-tú*
41) *im-ḫur-šú-nu-ti-ma* ERIM.ḪI.A-*šú* KARAŠ-*su ú-pa-ḫir-ma*
42) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.*ṣu-um-bi e-šu-ra* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
43) ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ *is-ni-qa ṣi-in-di-šú* KUR.*par-su-áš*
44) KUR.*an-za-an* KUR.*pa-še-ru* KUR.*el-li-pi* LÚ.*ia-as-ìl*
45) LÚ.*la-kab-ra* LÚ.*ḫa-ar-zu-nu* LÚ.*du-um-mu-qu*
46) LÚ.*su-la-a-a* LÚ.*sa-am-ú-na* DUMU ^{md}MES-A-SUM.NA
47) KUR.É-^{m}*a-di-ni* KUR.É-^{m}*a-muk-ka-na* KUR.É-^{m}*šil-la-na*
48) KUR.É-^{m}*sa-a-la* UD.UD.AG.KI URU.*la-ḫi-ru* LÚ.*pu-qu-du*
49) LÚ.*gam-bu-lum* LÚ.*ḫa-la-tum* LÚ.*ru-ʾu-ú-a*
50) LÚ.*ú-bu-lum* LÚ.*ma-la-ḫu* LÚ.*ra-pi-qu*
51) LÚ.*ḫi-in-da-ru* LÚ.*da-mu-nu kit-ru* GAL-*ú*
52) *ik-te-ra it-ti-šú gi-ip-šu-su-un ú-ru-uḫ*
53) KUR URI.KI *iṣ-ba-tu-nim-ma a-na* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *te-bu-ni*
54) *a-di* ^{m}*šu-zu-bi* LÚ.*kal-dà-a-a* LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
55) *a-na a-ḫa-meš iq-ru-bu-ma pu-ḫur-šú-nu in-nen-du*
56) *ki-ma ti-bu-ut a-ri-bi ma-aʾ-di ša pa-an šat-ti*
57) *mit-ḫa-riš a-na e-peš tuq-ma-te te-bu-ni ṣe-ru-u-a*
58) SAḪAR.ḪI.A GÌR.II-*šú-nu ki-ma* MURU$_9$ *kab-ti*
59) *ša dun-ni e-ri-ia-ti pa-an* AN-*e rap-šu-te ka-tim*
60) *el-la-mu-ú-a ina* URU.*ḫa-lu-le-e ša ki-šad* ÍD.IDIGNA
61) *šit-ku-nu si-dir-ta pa-an maš-qí-ia ṣab-tu-ma*
62) *ú-šá-ʾa-lu* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú-un a-na-ku a-na* ^{d}*aš-šur*
63) ^{d}30 ^{d}UTU ^{d}EN ^{d}MUATI ^{d}U.GUR ^{d}INANNA *ša* NINA.KI
64) ^{d}INANNA *ša* URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR DINGIR.MEŠ *ti-ik-li-ia*
65) *a-na ka-šá-di* LÚ.KÚR *dan-ni am-ḫur-šú-nu-ti-ma*
66) *su-pe-e-a ur-ru-ḫi-iš iš-mu-ú il-li-ku*
67) *re-ṣu-ti la-ab-biš an-na-dir-ma at-tal-bi-šá*

v 37b–43a) That Elamite, whose cities I had conquered and turned into ruins during a previous campaign to the land Elam, (v 40) accepted the bribe from them without thinking, then gathered his troops (and) his forces, inspected (his) chariots (and) wagons, (and) checked his teams (of) horses (and) mules.

v 43b–52a) The lands Parsuaš, Anzan, Pašeru, (and) Ellipi, the people of Yasil, (v 45) Lakab(e)ra, Ḫarzunu, Dummuqu, Sulāya, (and) Samʾuna, (who was) a son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), the lands Bīt-Adini, Bīt-Amukāni, Bīt-Šilāni, Bīt-Sāla (Bīt-Saʾalli), Larak, the city Laḫīru, the people (of the tribes of the) Puqudu, Gambulu, Ḫalatu, Ruʾuʾa, (v 50) Ubulu, Malaḫu, Rapiqu, Ḫindaru, (and) Damunu, a large host, formed a confederation with him.

v 52b–59) In their multitude, they took the road to Akkad and, as they were advancing towards Babylon, they met up with Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk), a Chaldean (who is) the king of Babylon, and banded their forces together. Like a spring invasion of a swarm of locusts, they were advancing towards me as a group to do battle. The dust of their feet covered the wide heavens like a heavy cloud in the deep of winter.

v 60–62a) While drawing up in battleline before me at the city Ḫalulê, which is on the bank of the Tigris River, (and) keeping me from the water source, they sharpened their weapons.

v 62b–67a) I myself prayed to the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabû, Nergal, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela, the gods who support me, (v 65) for victory over (my) strong enemy and they immediately heeded my prayers (and) came to my aid.

v 67b–73) I raged up like a lion, then put on armor

v 44 LÚ.*ia-as-ìl* "the people of Yasil": For the reading of the name, see Borger, ZA 62 (1972) p. 136.
v 45 LÚ.*la-kab-ra* "the people Lakab(e)ra": Ex. 2 has LÚ.*la-kab-eri*, which D.D. Luckenbill (Senn. p. 43 n. 4) incorrectly read as LÚ.*la-kab-ri*. LÚ.*du-um-mu-qu* "the the people Dummuqu": Ex. 2 has URU.*du-um-mu-qu* "the city Dummuqu."
v 46 LÚ.*su-la-a-a* LÚ.*sa-am-ú-na* "the people Sulaya (and) Samʾuna": Ex. 2 has URU.*su-la-a-a* URU.*sa-am-ú-na* "the cities Sulaya (and) Samʾuna."
v 55 *iq-ru-bu-ma* "they met up together and": Cf. CAD Q p. 234 sub *qerēbu* 3e, which suggests that *ana aḫāmeš qerēbu* means "to conclude an alliance" in this context. Cf. also CAD K p. 195 sub *karābu* 2c, where this word is transliterated as *ik-ru-bu-ma* and translated as "they exchanged greetings (with Šūzubu)"; *adi* "to" would be an unusual preposition to use in such a context.

68) *si-ri-ia-am ḫu-li-ia-am si-mat ṣi-il-ti*
69) *a-pi-ra ra-šu-ú-a i-na* GIŠ.GIGIR MÈ-*ia*
70) *ṣir-ti sa-pi-na-at za-ʾi-i-ri i-na ug-gat*
71) *lib-bi-ia ar-ta-kab ḫa-an-ṭiš* GIŠ.PAN *dan-na-tú*
72) *ša* ^{d}*aš-šur ú-šat-li-ma i-na* ŠU.II-*ia aṣ-bat*
73) GIŠ.*šil-ta-ḫu pa-ri-iʾ nap-šá-ti at-muḫ rit-tu-u-a*
74) *ṣe-er gi-mir um-ma-na-te na-ki-ri lem-nu-ti*
75) u_4*-mì-iš ṣar-piš al-sa-a* GIM ^{d}IŠKUR *áš-gu-um*
76) *i-na qí-bit* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN GAL EN-*ia a-na šid-di u pu-ti*
77) GIM *ti-ib me-ḫe-e šam-ri a-na* LÚ.KÚR *a-zi-iq*
78) *i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia ù ti-ib* MÈ-*ia ez-zi*
79) *i-rat-su-un a-né-eʾ-ma suḫ-ḫur-ta-šú-nu áš-kun*
80) ERIM.ḪI.A *na-ki-ri i-na uṣ-ṣi mul-mul-li*
81) *ú-šá-qir-ma gim-ri* ADDA.MEŠ-*šú-nu ú-pal-li-šá*
82) UD-*zi-zi-iš* ^{md}*ḫu-um-ban-un-da-šá* LÚ.NÍMGIR
83) *ša* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *eṭ-lum pit-qu-du mu-ma-ʾe-er*
84) ERIM.ḪI.A-*šú tu-kul-ta-šú* GAL-*ú a-di* LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*šú*
85) *ša* GÍR *šib-bi* KÙ.GI *šit-ku-nu*
86) *ù i-na* ḪAR.MEŠ *as-pi* KÙ.GI *ru-uš-ši-i*
87) *ruk-ku-sa rit-ti-šú-un ki-ma šu-ú-ri*
88) *ma-ru-ti ša na-du-ú šum-man-nu*

(and) placed a helmet suitable for combat on my head. (v 70) In my anger, I rode quickly in my exalted battle chariot, which lays enemies low. I took in my hand the mighty bow that the god Aššur had granted to me (and) I grasped in my hand an arrow that cuts off life.

v 74–82a) I roared loudly like a storm (and) thundered like the god Adad against all of the troops of the wicked enemies. By the command of the god Aššur, the great lord, my lord, I blew like the onset of a severe storm against the enemy on (their) flanks and front lines. With the weapons of the god Aššur, my lord, and my fierce battle array, I turned them back and made them retreat. (v 80) I shot the troops of the enemy with *uṣṣu*-arrows (and) *mulmullu*-arrows, and pierced all of their corpses like ...
v 82b–vi 1) I quickly slaughtered and defeated Ḫumban-undaša, the herald of the king of the land Elam, a trusted man who leads his troops, his main support, together with his magnates, who wear gold (decorated) belt-daggers and have reddish gold sling straps fastened to their forearms, like fattened bulls restrained with fetters.

Col. vi

1) *ur-ru-ḫi-iš ú-pal-liq-šú-nu-ti-ma áš-ku-na taḫ-ta-šú-un*
2) *ki-šá-da-te-šú-nu ú-na-kis as-liš aq-ra-a-ti*
3) *nap-šá-te-šú-nu ú-par-ri-iʾ qù-ùʾ-iš ki-ma* ILLU
4) *gap-ši ša šá-mu-tum si-ma-ni ù-mun-ni-šú-nu ú-šar-da-a*
5) *ṣe-er er-ṣe-ti šá-di-il-ti la-as-mu-ti*
6) *mur-ni-is-qi ṣi-mit-ti ru-ku-bi-ia i-na da-me-šú-nu*
7) *gap-šu-ti i-šal-lu-ú* ^{d}ÍD-*iš ša* GIŠ.GIGIR MÈ-*ia*
8) *sa-pi-na-at rag-gi ù ṣe-ni da-mu u par-šú*
9) *ri-it-mu-ku ma-gar-ru-uš pag-ri qu-ra-di-šú-nu*
10) *ki-ma ur-qí-ti ú-mal-la-a* EDIN *sa-ap-sa-pa-te*
11) *ú-na-kis-ma bal-ta-šú-un a-bu-ut ki-ma bi-ni*
12) *qiš-še-e si-ma-ni ú-na-kis qa-ti-šú-un*
13) ḪAR.MEŠ *as-pi* KÙ.GI KI.SAG *eb-bi šá rit-ti-šú-nu*
14) *am-ḫur i-na nam-ṣa-ri zaq-tu-ti ḫu-ṣa-an-ni-šú-nu*
15) *ú-par-ri-iʾ* GÍR.MEŠ *šib-bi* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR *šá* MURUB$_4$.MEŠ-*šú-nu*
16) *e-kim si-it-ti* LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*šú a-di*

vi 2–12) I slit their throats like sheep (and thus) cut off their precious lives like thread. Like a flood in full spate after a seasonal rainstorm, I made their blood flow (vi 5) over the broad earth. The swift thoroughbreds harnessed to my chariot plunged into floods of their blood (just) like the river ordeal. The wheels of my war chariot, which lays criminals and villains low, were bathed in blood and gore. (vi 10) I filled the plain with the corpses of their warriors like grass. I cut off (their) lips and (thus) destroyed their pride. I cut off their hands like the *stems* of cucumbers in season.

vi 13–16a) I received gold (and) shining silver sling straps as their wrist-trappings (and) slashed off their belts with sharp swords. I took away gold (and) silver (decorated) belt-daggers as their waist-trappings.

vi 16b–19a) (As for) the rest of his magnates, includ-

v 75 u_4*-mì-iš ṣar-piš* "loudly like a storm": Ex. 2 has *ṣar-piš* u_4*-mì-iš*.
v 82–83 LÚ.NÍMGIR *ša* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI "the herald of the king of the land Elam": Text no. 23 v 71 has LÚ.*tur-ta-nu-šú* "his field marshal."
v 82 UD-*zi-zi-iš* "...": The reading and meaning are unknown. See von Soden, AHw p. 1318 sub *tamzīziš* and CAD T p. 168 sub *tamziziš*.
v 84 *tu-kul-ta-šú* GAL-*ú* "his main support": One expects a feminine, not a masculine, adjective to follow *tu-kul-ta-šú*. The gender discrepancy could suggest that GAL-*ú* is a title independent of *tu-kul-ta-šú* "his support (and) officer."
vi 16–17 Text no. 23 vi 13 omits *a-di* ^{md}MUATI-MU-GAR-*un* DUMU ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA "including Nabû-šuma-iškun, a son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan)." The inclusion of this passage in exs. 2* and 8* may suggest that these fragments are inscribed with copies of this inscription, and not of text no. 23. A firm attribution, however, cannot be made on one variant; cf., for example, text no. 15 iv 31′–32′, where some exemplars omit the reference to the gods being dislodged from their abodes by Marduk-apla-iddina II.

md MUATI-MU-GAR-*un*
17) DUMU md AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA *ša la-pa-an* MÈ-*ia ip-la-ḫu*
18) *id-ku-ú* Á.II-*šú-un bal-ṭu-su-un ina* MURUB$_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri*
19) *it-mu-ḫa* ŠU.II-*a-a* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *a-di* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*ši-na*
20) *ša i-na qit-ru-ub* MÈ *dan-ni ra-ki-bu-šin de-ku-ma*
21) *ù ši-na muš-šu-ra-ma ra-ma-nu-uš-šin*
22) *it-ta-na-al-la-ka mit-ḫa-riš ú-ter-ra*
23) *a-di* 2 KASKAL.GÍD GE$_6$ *il-li-ku da-ak-šú-nu ap-ru-us*
24) *šu-ú* m *um-ma-an-me-na-nu* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
25) *a-di* LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI LÚ.*na-sik-ka-ni ša* KUR.*kal-di*
26) *a-li-kut* Á.II-*šú ḫur-ba-šú* MÈ-*ia ki-ma-le-e*
27) *zu-mur-šú-un is-ḫu-up* GIŠ.*za-ra-te-šú-un ú-maš-še-ru-ma*
28) *a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-*šú-nu pag-ri* ERIM.ḪI.A-*šú-nu*
29) *ú-da-ʾi-i-šú e-ti-qu ki-i ša at-mi* TU.MUŠEN
30) *kuš-šu-di i-tar-ra-ku lib-bu-šú-un ši-na-te-šú-un*
31) *ú-ṣar-ra-pu qé-reb* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu ú-maš-še-ru-ni*
32) *zu-ú-šú-un a-na ra-da-di-šú-nu* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ
33) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*ia ú-ma-ʾe-er* EGIR-*šú-un*
34) *mun-na-rib-šú-nu ša a-na nap-šá-a-te ú-ṣu-ú*
35) *a-šar i-kaš-šá-du ú-ra-sa-bu i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL

ing Nabû-šuma-iškun, a son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), who had raised their arms because they were terrified of doing battle with me, I captured them alive in the thick of battle.

vi 19b–23) I brought back all together the chariots along with their horses, whose drivers had been killed in the thick of (that) mighty battle and which had themselves been released so that they galloped about on their own. When the second double-hour of the night had passed, I stopped their slaughter.

vi 24–29a) (As for) him, Umman-menanu (Ḫumban-menanu), the king of the land Elam, along with the king of Babylon (and) the sheikhs of Chaldea who marched at his side, terror of doing battle with me overwhelmed them like *alû*-demons. They abandoned their tents and, in order to save their lives, they trampled the corpses of their troops as they pushed on.

vi 29b–35) Their hearts throbbed like the pursued young of pigeons, they passed their urine hotly, (and) released their excrement inside their chariots. I ordered my chariots (and) horses to pursue them. Wherever they caught (them), they killed with the sword the runaways amongst them, who had fled for (their) lives.

36) *i-na u$_4$-me-šu-ma ul-tu* É.GAL MURUB$_4$ URU *ša* NINA.KI
37) *a-na ri-mit* LUGAL-*ti-ia ú-šak-li-lu*
38) *a-na tab-ra-a-te kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ *lu-le-e ú-ma-lu-ši*
39) É.GAL *ku-tal-li ša a-na šu-te-šur ka-ra-ši*
40) *pa-qa-a-di* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *sa-na-qí mim-ma šum-šú*
41) *ú-še-pi-šú* LUGAL.MEŠ *a-li-kut maḫ-ri* AD.MEŠ-*ia*
42) *tam-lu-šá ul ib-ši šu-bat-sa ṣu-uḫ-ḫu-rat-ma*
43) *la nu-ku-lat e-piš-taš la-ba-riš u$_4$-me tem-me-en-šá*
44) *e-niš-ma iš-da-a-šá ir-ma-a i-qu-pa re-šá-a-šá*
45) É.GAL *šá-a-tu a-na si-ḫir-ti-šá aq-qur*
46) *ki-šub-bu-ú ma-aʾ-du ul-tu qé-reb ú-šal-li*

vi 36–38) At that time, after I had completed the palace in the citadel of Nineveh for my royal residence (and) had filled it with luxuriousness to be an object of wonder for all of the people:

vi 39–44) The Rear Palace that earlier kings, my ancestors, had had built for the proper running of the military camp, (vi 40) the care of horses, (and) the overseeing of everything — its terrace did not exist, its site had become too small, and its construction was inexpert. With the passage of time, its base had fallen into disrepair, then its foundations had become loose (and) its superstructure had collapsed.
vi 45–51a) I tore down that palace in its entirety. I took much fallow land from the meadow and plain of

vi 26 *ki-ma-le-e* "like *alû*-demons": CAD A/1 p. 376 *alû* A and CAD L p. 228 sub *lû* B regard this as a sandhi writing for *ki-ma a-le-e*. W. von Soden (AHw p. 560 sub *lû* I), R. Borger (BiOr 26 [1969] p. 75b), E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 105), and P. Talon (Annales Assyriennes p. 120) disagree; they all suggest *ki-ma le-e* "like bulls."
vi 36–73a This building report may be an expanded version of the account of the rebuilding of the armory in text no. 23. Because the dates of exs. 1 and 2 of that inscription are not sufficiently preserved, and the fact that ex. 2 was inscribed in Intercalary Addaru (XII$_2$), it is not impossible that the building report of text no. 23 is an abbreviated version of this account of construction at Nineveh. For further details, see the commentary of text no. 23.
vi 36b–38 Text no. 23 vi 31 omits *ul-tu* É.GAL *... ú-ma-lu-ši* "after ... the palace ... I had filled it ..."
vi 39 Cf. text no. 23 vi 31, which adds *ša* NINA.KI "of Nineveh" after É.GAL *ku-tal-li* "Rear Palace."
vi 41 Text no. 23 vi 34 places *ú-še-pi-šú* "they had had built" after AD.MEŠ-*ia* "my ancestors."
vi 43 Text no. 23 vi 35 omits *la nu-ku-lat e-piš-taš* "its construction was inexpert."
vi 46 *ki-šub-bu-ú* "fallow land": Text no. 23 vi 38 has *qaq-qa-ru* "land."

47) *ù ta-mir-ti* URU GIM *a-tar-tim-ma lu aṣ-ba-ta*
48) *i-na muḫ-ḫi lu ú-rad-di maš-kán* É.GAL *maḫ-ri-ti*
49) *e-zib-ma i-na qaq-qa-ri ú-šal-li ša ul-tu*
50) *mal-di* ÍD *aṣ-ba-ta tam-la-a uš-mal-li* 2 ME *ti-ib-ki*
51) *a-na e-la-ni ú-šaq-qí re-e-su ina* ITI *še-me-e*
52) u_4*-mu mit-ga-ri ṣe-er tam-le-e šá-a-tu*
53) *i-na nik-lat lib-bi-ia* É.GAL NA_4*.pi-i-li*
54) *ù* GIŠ*.ere-ni né-peš-ti* KUR*.ḫat-ti ù* É.GAL
55) *ṣi-ir-tu ep-šet* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ša* UGU *maḫ-ri-ti*
56) *ma-aʾ-diš šu-tu-rat ra-ba-ta ù nak-lat*
57) *i-na ši-pir* LÚ.ŠITIM.GAL*-le-e en-qu-ti*

the city as an addition (and) I added (it) to (the site). I abandoned the site of the former palace and filled in a terrace in the area of the meadow that I had taken from the river bank. I raised its superstructure 200 courses of brick high.

vi 51b–58a) In a favorable month, on an auspicious day, upon that terrace, with my innate expertise, I had a palatial wing of limestone and cedar in the style of the land Ḫatti and (vi 55) a magnificent palatial wing of Assyrian workmanship, which greatly surpassed the previous one in size and expertise, built through the craft of well-trained master builders, for my lordly residence.

58) *a-na mu-šab be-lu-ti-ia ú-še-piš* GIŠ.ÙR.MEŠ
59) GIŠ*.ere-ni ṣi-ru-ti tar-bit* KUR*.ḫa-ma-nim* KUR*-i el-li*
60) *ú-šat-ri-ṣa e-li-šin* GIŠ.IG.MEŠ *li-ia-ri*
61) *me-ser* URUDU *nam-ri ú-rak-kis-ma ú-rat-ta-a*
62) KÁ.MEŠ*-šin i-na* NA_4*.pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e*
63) *ša i-na er-ṣe-et* URU*.ba-la-ṭa-a in-nam-ru*
64) ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ *ṣi-ru-ti ú-še-piš-ma im-na*
65) *ù šu-me-la ú-šá-aṣ-bi-ta* SI.GAR*-šin a-na šu-te-šur*
66) *ṣal-mat* SAG.DU *pa-qa-di mur-ni-is-qí* ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ *a-ga-li-i*
67) *til-li* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ*.at-ta-ra-te e-req-qí iš-pa-a-te*
68) *til-pa-na-a-te ù uṣ-ṣi mim-ma šum-šú ú-nu-ut* MÈ
69) *na-aṣ-ma-di* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ *šá e-mu-qí*
70) *ra-ba-a-te i-šu-ú šuk-nu-še a-na ni-ri ki-sal-la-šá*

vi 58b–65a) I roofed them with magnificent beams of cedar grown on Mount Amanus, the holy mountain. I fastened bands of bright copper on doors of white cedar and I installed (them) in their gates. I had magnificent bull colossi fashioned from white limestone that was discovered in the territory of the city Balāṭāya and on the right and left I made (them) hold their door bolts.

vi 65b–71a) I greatly enlarged its outer courtyard for the proper administration of the black-headed (people), the inspection of thoroughbred horses, mules, *agālu*-donkeys, military equipment, chariots, carts, wagons, quivers, *bows*, and *uṣṣu*-arrows, every type of implement of war, (and) the submission of teams of horses (and) mules, which have great strength, to the yoke.

71) KÁ*-nu-ú ma-gal uš-rab-bi* É.GAL *šá-a-tú ul-tú uš-še-šá*
72) *a-di na-bur-ri-šá ar-ṣip ú-šak-lil* MU.SAR*-e*
73) *ši-ṭir* MU*-ia i-na qer-bi-šá áš-kun a-na ár-kàt* UD.MEŠ

vi 71b–73a) I built (and) completed that palace from its foundations to its battlements. I deposited in it inscribed objects bearing my name.

vi 73b–80a) In the future, one of the kings, my descendants, whom the god Aššur and the goddess

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vi 47 GIM *a-tar-tim-ma* "as an addition": Text no. 23 vi 38 places *kīma atartimma* before *qaq-qa-ru ma-*[*aʾ*]*-du* "m[u]ch land," rather than after *ta-mir-ti* URU "the plain of the city." *lu aṣ-ba-ta* "I took": Cf. text no. 23 vi 39, which omits *lu*.

vi 48 *lu ú-rad-di* "I added": Ex. 2 has *lu uš-rad-di* "I added" and text no. 23 vi 39 has *uš-rad-di* "I added." *maš-kán* É.GAL "the site of the palace": Text no. 23 vi 40 has *qaq-qar* É.GAL "the site of the palace."

vi 49b–50a *i-na qaq-qa-ri … aṣ-ba-ta* "in the area … I had taken": Text no. 23 vi 40b–41a has *i-na qaq-qa-ri ša ul-tu qé-reb ú-šal-*[*li*] ⌜*aṣ*⌝*-ba-ta* "in the area that I had taken from the mead[ow]."

vi 53–57 Cf. text no. 23 vi 44, which has É.GAL *ra-bi-tum ša ṣe-er* ⌜*maḫ*⌝*-*[*ri*]*-ti ma-aʾ-diš šu-tu-rat* "a large palatial wing, which greatly surpassed the previ[ou]s one" in lieu of *i-na nik-lat lib-bi-ia …* LÚ.ŠITIM.GAL*-le-e en-qu-ti* "with my innate expertise … the craft of well-trained master builders." Text no. 23 describes the construction of only one wing of the armory, while this inscription describes that of two wings. This may be an indication that that text is the earlier of the two inscriptions.

vi 59 Text no. 23 vi 46 omits *tar-bit* KUR*.ḫa-ma-nim* KUR*-i el-li* "grown on Mount Amanus, the holy mountain."

vi 60, 62, and 65 *e-li-šin* "over them," KÁ.MEŠ*-šin* "their gates," and SI.GAR*-šin* "their door bolts": Cf. text no. 23 vi 46, 47, and 50, which have *e-*⌜*li*⌝*-šá* "over it," KÁ.MEŠ*-šá* "its gates," and *si-ga-ar-šá* "its door bolt(s)."

vi 62 Text no. 23 vi 48 omits *i-na* "from" before NA_4*.pi-i-lu pe-ṣu-ú* "white limestone."

vi 64 ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ *ṣi-ru-ti* "magnificent bull colossi": Text no. 23 vi 49 has ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA "a bull colossus."

vi 65b–71a Text no. 23 omits *a-na šu-te-šur … ma-gal uš-rab-bi* "I greatly enlarged … for the proper administration …," the passage recording the enlargement and the importance of the Rear Palace's outer courtyard. This may be an indication that that text is the earlier of the two inscriptions.

74) *i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-*ia ša* ^{d}*aš-šur ù* ^{d}INANNA
75) *a-na* RE.É.UM KUR *ù* UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šú*
76) *e-nu-ma* É.GAL *šá-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫu*
77) NUN *ar-ku-ú an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-diš* MU.SAR-*e*
78) *ši-ṭir* MU-*ia li-mur-ma* Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU.SISKUR
79) *liq-qí a-na áš-ri-šu lu-ter* ^{d}*aš-šur ù* ^{d}INANNA
80) *ik-ri-bi-šú i-šem-mu-u mu-nak-kir šiṭ-ri-ia*
81) *ù* MU-*ia* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN GAL AD DINGIR.MEŠ
82) *nak-riš li-zi-is-su* GIŠ.GIDRU *ù* GIŠ.GU.ZA
83) *li-kim-šu-ma lis-ki-pa* BALA-*šú*

Ištar name for shepherding the land and people — when that palace becomes old and dilapidated, may a future ruler renovate its dilapidated section(s). May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur and the goddess Ištar will (then) hear his prayers.

vi 80b–83) (As for) the one who alters my inscription or my name, may the god Aššur, the great lord, the father of the gods, become angry with him as if (he were) an enemy. May he take away (his) scepter and (his) throne from him and overthrow his dynasty.

Date ex. 1

84A) ITI.ŠU.NUMUN.NA *li-mu* ^{m}*ga-ḫi-lu*
85A) LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ḫa-ta-rík-ka*

Date ex. 1

vi 84A–85A) Du'ūzu (IV), eponymy of Gaḫilu, governor of the city Ḫatarikka (689).

Date ex. 2

84B) ITI.ŠE.KIN.TAR UD.20.KAM *li-mu* ^{m}EN-IGI-*a-ni*
85B) LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*gar-ga-*^{r}*miš*^{1}

Date ex. 2

vi 84B–85B) Addaru (XII), twentieth day, eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni, governor of the city Carchemish (691).

23

A nearly complete hexagonal clay prism and a small fragment from another prism, both presumably from Nineveh, are inscribed with a near duplicate of text no. 22. This inscription contains the same prologue and military narration as the previous text, but its building report has a shorter description of the rebuilding of the armory, which Sennacherib refers to as the *ekal kutalli* (the "Rear Palace"). This report records the construction of only one wing of the building and its decoration, which included large limestone bull colossi stationed in its gateways; text no. 22 describes the building of two wings, one in the Syrian style and one in the Assyrian style, and a large outer courtyard. Both exemplars partially preserve dates. One prism (ex. 1) was written in an unknown month in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni, governor of the city Carchemish (691), and the other (ex. 2) was inscribed in Intercalary Addaru (XII_2) of an unknown year. The inscription is commonly referred to as the "Jerusalem Prism"; ex. 1 is named after the city in which it now resides (Jerusalem, the Israel Museum).

22 vi 74 This inscription and text no. 23 vi 54 add Ištar to this part of the advice to future rulers. Cf., for example, text no. 4 line 93 and text no. 17 viii 78, where only Aššur is mentioned.
22 vi 77 NUN *ar-ku-ú* "a future ruler": This inscription and text no. 23 vi 56 add *rubû arkû* "a future ruler" to the advice section. Cf., for example, text no. 4 line 94 and text no. 17 viii 82.
22 vi 80b–83 Text no. 23, like most of Sennacherib's foundation inscriptions (text nos. 1–8 and 15–18), does not include an admonition against the removal of a royal inscription. Text nos. 10 and 12 (and probably also text no. 11), however, include such advice.

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	Israel Museum 71.72.249	—	Acquired from Sotheby's	Cols. 9.2 wide; 32 high	i 1–vi 59, date	p
2	BM 134449a	1932-12-12,444a	Nineveh	Cols. 3.4 and 3 wide; 8 high	v 48–63, vi 48–59, date	c

COMMENTARY

This inscription, like text no. 18 ex. 1 and text no. 22 ex. 2, was composed in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni (691; the king's 14th regnal year). Because neither exemplar preserves a complete date, it is uncertain if this text was written prior to or after text no. 22. P. Ling-Israel (Studies Artzi p. 214 n. 11 and p. 220) suggests that ex. 1 of this text was written before text no. 22 ex. 2, which is dated to the 20th day of the month Addaru (XII), and proposes that that copy of text no. 23 was "not accepted as an official copy" and that text no. 22 ex. 2 was inscribed immediately after it. Ling-Israel elaborated further on the proposed relationship of the two inscriptions: "The major differences between the prisms are limited to the 'Building Inscription' (*ekal kutalli* section). Here, the scribe uses a less literary style than his fellow scribes who wrote the other two texts. The brevity of his version was not caused by lack of space. It was perhaps due to his different scribal education, and his different aims and conceptions. It is quite possible that the brevity and imperfection of his 'Building Inscription' was the major cause for the rejection of *his* eight-campaign version by the official royal scribal tradition. For two years later (in 689 B.C.E.), when a new copy of the text was commissioned, it was the version of another prism (namely, that of the Taylor Prism) which was selected as a model, and not his." S.J. Lieberman (JAOS 112 [1992] p. 689) very tentatively reads the month the prism was inscribed in as ⌜ITI.BÁR.ZAG.GAR⌝, "the month Nisannu (I)," which, if correct, would clearly place the date of ex. 1 of this text much earlier than text no. 22 ex. 2; cf. also his remarks on the quote above. We cannot, however, confirm Lieberman's reading from the published photographs of the object; see also Frahm, Sanherib p. 106. E. Frahm raises the possibility that ex. 1 (Israel Museum 71.72.249) may have been inscribed at the same time as ex. 2 (BM 134449a), which is dated to Intercalary Addaru (XII_2) of an unknown year, and therefore the prisms were inscribed one month later than text no. 22 ex. 2. Frahm rightly notes that there is no known evidence for Intercalary Addaru (XII_2) in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni (691). There is no reason, however, to assume that ex. 1 and ex. 2 were written at the same time. Comparison of the building reports of this inscription and text no. 22 suggests to us that this inscription may have been the earlier of the two prism inscriptions, namely since this inscription describes the construction of only one wing of the armory, rather than two wings and an outer courtyard. Thus, the report of the armory's construction in text no. 22 may be a later, expanded version of the building report of ex. 1 of this text. Because we lack firm evidence, we cannot exclude the possibility that text no. 22 ex. 2 is earlier than ex. 1 of this text. Should this prove to be the case, then the building report of this text would be a later, abridged version of the building report of text no. 22.

The text, which was intended for hexagonal clay prisms deposited in the armory (just like text no. 22), includes a short prologue, accounts of eight of Sennacherib's campaigns, and an account of the building and decoration of a wing of the *ekal kutalli* (the "Rear Palace"). Additional information on the differences between this inscription and text no. 22 is provided in the on-page notes.

BM 134449a (ex. 2) duplicates only a small portion of ex. 1. Although it follows very closely the building report and concluding formulae of this text, the piece is not sufficiently preserved to be absolutely certain that it preserves a copy of this text, rather than another inscription written ca. 691–689. Following Frahm (Sanherib p. 105), BM 134449a is edited here as if it were a certain exemplar.

In addition to these two exemplars, there are ten other prism fragments that may preserve copies of this text. These are edited as exs. 1*–10* of text no. 22. See the catalogue and commentary of that text for further details.

The provenance of ex. 1 is presumed to be Nineveh. It was purchased by the Israel Museum from Sotheby's (8 December 1970; lot no. 148) at the recommendation of A. Shaffer; that purchase was made possible by the contributions of Mrs. M. Sacher (London) and Mrs. J. Ungeleider (New York). Ex. 2 was discovered at Nineveh by R.C. Thompson, but its find spot was not recorded.

Ex. 1 is the master text. Since ex. 2 preserves only a small portion of the text, a partial score (v 48–63 and vi 48–61) is provided on the CD-ROM. Restorations are based on text no. 22.

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2008 Cogan, Raging Torrent p. 110 fig. 13 (ex. 1, photo)
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TEXT

Col. i

1) ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL GAL ⌜LUGAL⌝ [*dan-nu*]
2) LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti* LUGAL ⌜KUR⌝ *aš-šur*.KI LUGAL *kib-rat* LÍMMU-[*tim*]
3) RE.É.UM *it-pe-šú mi-gir* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.[MEŠ]
4) ⌜*na*⌝-[*ṣir kit-ti*] ⌜*ra-ʾi*⌝-[*im*] ⌜*mi-šá*⌝-[*ri*]
5) [*e-piš ú-sa*]-*a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ut a*-[*ki-i*]
6) ⌜*sa*⌝-[*ḫi-ru*] *dam-qa-a-ti eṭ-lum gít-ma-*⌜*lum*⌝
7) *zi-ka-ru qar-du a-šá-red kal ma-al-ki*
8) *rap-pu la-ʾi-iṭ la ma-gi-ri*
9) *mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni* ^{d}*aš-šur* KUR-*ú* GAL-*ú*
10) LUGAL-*ut la šá-na-an ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma*
11) UGU *gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki ú-šar-ba-a* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia*
12) *ul-tu* A.AB.BA *e-le-ni-ti ša šá-lam* ^{d}UTU-*ši*
13) *a-di tam-tim šap-li-ti ša ṣi-it* ^{d}UTU-*ši*
14) *gim-ri ṣal-mat* SAG.DU *ú-šak-niš še-pu-ú-a*
15) *ù ma-al-ki šep-ṣu-ti e-du-ru ta-ḫa-zi*
16) *da-ád-me-šú-un iz-zi-bu-ma ki-ma su-tin-ni*.MUŠEN
17) *ni-gi-iṣ-ṣi e-diš ip-par-šú a-šar la ʾa-a-ri*

i 1–9a) Sennacherib, great king, [strong] king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the fou[r] quarters (of the world), capable shepherd, favorite of the grea[t] gods, guar[dian of truth] who lov[es] justi[ce, (i 5) renders assis]tance, goes to the aid of the w[eak], (and) str[ives after] good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridle that controls the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning:

i 9b–17) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises. He made all of the black-headed (people) from the Upper Sea of the Setting Sun to the Lower Sea of the Rising Sun bow down at my feet. (i 15) Thus did recalcitrant rulers come to fear battle with me. While they were abandoning their settlements, they flew away alone like bats (living) in crevices to inaccessible place(s).

18) *i-na maḫ-re-e ger-ri-ia ša* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-⌜IBILA-SUM⌝.NA
19) LUGAL KUR.*kár-*^{d}*dun-ía-áš a-di* ERIM.ḪI.A ELAM.MA.KI [*re*]-*ṣi-šú*
20) *i-na ta-mir-ti kiš*.KI *áš-ta-kan* ⌜BAD_5⌝.BAD_5-*šú*
21) *i*-[*na*] ⌜$MURUB_4$ *tam-ḫa*⌝-[*ri*] *šu-a-tu e-zib*
22) ⌜KARAŠ⌝-*su e-*⌜*diš*⌝ [*ip*]-⌜*par-šid*⌝-*ma* ⌜*na*⌝-*piš-tuš e-ṭí-ir* GIŠ.[GIGIR.MEŠ] ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
23) GIŠ.*ṣu-um-bi* ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ *ša i-na qit-ru-ub*
24) *ta-ḫa-zi ú-maš-ši-ru ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a*
25) *a-na* É.GAL-*šú ša qé-reb* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ḫa-diš*

i 18–24) On my first campaign, I brought about the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), together with the troops of (the land) Elam, his [al]lies, (i 20) in the plain of Kish. [I]n the midst of that batt[le] he abandoned his camp, [f]led alone, and (thereby) saved his life. I seized the [chariots], horses, wagons, (and) mules that he had abandoned in the thick of battle.

i 25–31a) I joyfully entered his palace, which is in

i 1–vi 31 These lines generally duplicate text no. 22 i 1–vi 35, apart from orthographic variants, for which see the on-page notes. See also the on-page notes to v 71 and vi 13.

Figure 6. Israel Museum 71.72.249 (text no. 23 ex. 1), the Jerusalem Prism of Sennacherib, which records eight military campaigns and the rebuilding of one wing of the armory. © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

e-ru-um-ma

26) *ap-te-ma* É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR *ú-ʳnu-ut* KÙʾ.GI KÙ.BABBAR

27) NA_4 *a-qar-tu mim-ma šum-šú* NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA [*la*] *ni-bi*

28) *ka-bit-tu* GUN MUNUS.ŠÀ.É.GAL.MEŠ-*šú* LÚ.TIRUM.MEŠ

29) LÚ.*man-za-az pa-ni* LÚ.NAR.MEŠ MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ [*si-ḫir*]-*ti*

30) *um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú mut-tab-bi-lu-*[*tú*] É.GAL-*uš*

31) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu i-na e-muq* ^{d}*aš-*[*šur*] EN-*ia*

32) 75 URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni ša* [KUR].*kal-di*

Babylon, then I opened his treasury and brought out gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, precious stones, all kinds of possessions (and) property with[out] number, a substantial tribute, (together with) his palace women, courtiers, attendants, male singers, female singers, [all] of (i 30) the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attend[ants], and I counted (them) as booty.

i 31b–37) With the strength of the god Aš[šur], my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 75 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 420 small(er) settlements in their environs. (i 35) I

33) *ù* 4 ME 20 URU.MEŠ-*ni* TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
34) *al-me ak-šud*^{ud} *áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*
35) LÚ.*úr-bi* LÚ.*a-ra-mu* LÚ.*kal-du ša qé-reb* [UNUG].KI
36) NIBRU.KI *kiš*.KI URU.*ḫur-sag-kalam-ma* GÚ.DU$_8$.A.KI ⌜ZIMBIR⌝.KI
37) *a-di* DUMU.MEŠ URU EN *ḫi-iṭ-ṭi ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-*[*tiš am*]-*nu*
38) *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* LÚ.*tu-ʾu-mu-na* LÚ.[*ri-ḫi*]-*ḫu*
39) LÚ.*ia-daq-qu* LÚ.*ú-bu-du* LÚ.*gib-*[*re-e*]
40) LÚ.*ma-la-ḫu* LÚ.*gu-ru-mu* LÚ.[*ú-bu-lum*]
41) LÚ.*da-mu-nu* LÚ.*gam-bu-lum* [LÚ.*ḫi*]-*in-*[*da-ru*]
42) LÚ.*ru-ʾu-ú-a* LÚ.*pu-qu-du* LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-nu*
43) LÚ.*ḫa-ga-ra-nu* LÚ.*na-ba-tu* LÚ.*li-iʾ-ta-ú*
44) LÚ.*a-ra-mu la kan-šu-ti* [*mit-ḫa*]-*riš ak-šud*^{ud}
45) 2 ME 8 LIM UN.MEŠ TUR GAL [NITA] *ù* MUNUS ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
46) ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ù ṣe-e-ni*
47) *ša la ni-bi šal-la-⌜tu ka⌝-bit-tú áš-lu-la a-na qé-reb* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
48) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ša* ^{md}MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ
49) LÚ.*qí-*[*pi* URU].*ḫa-ra-ra-ti* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR
50) GIŠ.*mu-*[*suk-kan-ni*] GAL.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ
51) *ù ṣe-e-ni ta-mar-ta-šú ka-bit-tu am-ḫur*
52) [*ba-ḫu*]-⌜*la*⌝-*ti* URU.*ḫi-rim-me* LÚ.KÚR *ak-ṣi*
53) [*i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL].MEŠ *ú-šam-*[*qit-ma*] *e-du ul e-zib*
54) [*pag*]-⌜*ri*⌝-*šu-un i-na ga-ši-ši a-lul-ma*
55) [*si*]-*ḫir-ti* URU *ú-šal-me na-gu-ú šu-a-tu*
56) *a-na eš-šu-ti aṣ-bat* [1]-*en* GU$_4$ 10 UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ
57) 10 ANŠE GIŠ.GEŠTIN 20 ANŠE [ZÚ.LUM].MA *re-še-te-⌜šú⌝*
58) *a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni* KUR *aš-šur*.KI EN.MEŠ-*ia ú-kin dà-ri-šam*

i 38–47) On my return march, I defeated [all toget]her the Tuʾumuna, [Riḫi]ḫu, Yadaqqu, Ubudu, Gib[rê], (i 40) Malaḫu, Gurumu, [Ubulu], Damunu, Gambulu, [Ḫ]in[daru], Ruʾuʾa, Puqudu, Ḫamrānu, Ḫagarānu, Nabatu, (and) Liʾtaʾu, insubmissive Arameans. (i 45) I carried off into Assyria a substantial booty (consisting of) 208,000 people, young (and) old, [male] and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number.

i 48–51) In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audience gift from Nabû-bēl-šumāti, the official in [charge of the city] Ḫararatu: gold, silver, (i 50) large *mu*[*sukkannu*]-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

i 52–58) I pu[t to the sword the popul]ation of the city Ḫirimmu, a dangerous enemy, [and] I did not spare a single one. I hung their [corp]ses on poles and (i 55) placed (them) [aro]und the city. I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity [on]e ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of [dat]es as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

59) *i-na* 2-*e ger-ri-ia* ^{d}*aš-*[*šur be*]-*lí ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma*
60) *a-na* KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i ù* KUR LÚ.*ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a*
61) *ša ul-tu ul-la a-na* [LUGAL].MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia*
62) *la kit-nu-šú lu al-lik qé-*[*reb ḫur-šá-a*]-*ni zaq-ru-ti*
63) A.ŠÀ *nam-ra-ṣi i-na* [ANŠE.KUR.RA] *ar-kab-ma*
64) GIŠ.GIGIR GÌR.II-*ia i-na ti-ik-ka-⌜a-ti⌝ ú-šá-áš-ši*
65) *áš-ru šup-šu-qu i-na* GÌR.II-*ia ri-ma-niš at-tag-giš*

i 59–65) On my second campaign, the god Aš[šur], my [lor]d, encouraged me and I marched to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians, who since time immemorial had not submitted to [the kin]gs, my ancestors. I[n the] high [mountai]ns, difficult terrain, I rode on [horseback] and had my personal chariot carried on (men's) necks. (i 65) In very rugged terrain I roamed about on foot like a wild bull.

66) URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-aḫ* URU.*ḫa-ar-*[*diš*]-*pi* URU.É-^{m}*ku-bat-ti*
67) [URU].MEŠ-*ni-šú-nu* É BÀD.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti al-me* KUR-*ud*
68) UN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.[MEŠ] ANŠE.MEŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ

i 66–73) I surrounded (and) conquered the cities Bīt-Kilamzaḫ, Ḫar[diš]pu, (and) Bīt-Kubatti, their fortified walled [cit]ies. I brought out of th[e]m people, horses, mule[s], donkeys, oxen, [and] sheep and goats, and (i 70) I counted (them) [as bo]oty. Moreover, I destroyed, deva[stated, (and) tu]rned into ruins [their] small(er)

69) [*ù*] *ṣe-e-ni ul-tu qer-bi-*[*šú*]*-un ú-še-ṣa-am-ma*
70) [*šal*]-˹*la*˺*-tiš am-nu ù* URU.MEŠ*-ni-*[*šú-nu*] ˹TUR˺.MEŠ *ša ni-ba*
71) [*la*] *i-šu-ú ap-pu-ul aq-*[*qur ú*]*-še-me kar-meš*
72) É EDIN *kul-ta-ri mu-*[*šá-bi*]*-šú-nu*
73) *i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu-ma di-*[*tal-liš*] *ú-še-me*
74) *ú-ter-ma* URU.É-^{m}*ki-lam-za-*[*aḫ*] *šu-a-tu*
75) *a-na* URU.*bir-tu-ti aṣ-bat* UGU [*ša* u_4]*-um pa-ni*
76) [BÀD].MEŠ*-šú ú-dan-nin-ma* UN.MEŠ KUR.[KUR] *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II*-ia*
77) *i-na lìb-bi ú-še-šib* UN.MEŠ KUR LÚ.*kaš-ši-i*

Col. ii

1) *ù* KUR LÚ.*ia-su-bi-gal-la-*[*a-a*]
2) *ša la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ*-ia ip-par-*[*šid-du*]
3) *ul-tu qé-reb* KUR*-i ú-še-ri-*[*dam-ma*]
4) [*i-na*] ˹URU˺.*ḫar-diš-pi* URU.É-^{m}*ku-bat-ti ú-šar-me*
5) [*i*]*-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG*-ia* LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ar-rap-ḫa*
6) *am-nu-šu-nu-ú-ti* NA_4.NA.RÚ.A *ú-še-piš-ma*
7) *li-i-tum ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II *ša* UGU*-šú-un áš-tak-ka-nu*
8) *ṣe-ru-uš-šú ú-šá-áš-ṭir-ma i-na qer-bi* URU *ul-ziz*
9) *pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma a-na* KUR.*el-li-pi*
10) *aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu el-la-mu-ú-a* ^{m}*is-pa-ba-a-ra*
11) [LUGAL]*-šú-un* URU.MEŠ*-šú dan-nu-ti* É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú*
12) [*ú*]*-maš-šir-ma a-na ru-qé-e-ti in-na-bit*
13) ˹*gim-ri*˺ KUR*-šú* DAGAL*-tim* GIM $MURU_9$ *as-ḫu-up*
14) URU.[*mar*]*-ú-biš-ti* URU.*ak-ku-ud-du* URU.MEŠ*-ni*
15) É ˹LUGAL*-ti*˺*-šú a-di* 34 URU.MEŠ*-ni* TUR.MEŠ
16) *ša li-*[*me*]*-ti-šú-nu al-me* KUR*-ud ap-pul aq-qur*
17) *i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.[BAR] *aq-mu* UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA *ù* MUNUS
18) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ
19) GU_4.MEŠ *ù* [*ṣe*]*-e-ni a-na la mi-nam áš-lu-*˹*lam-ma*˺
20) *a-di la ba-ši-i ú-šá-lik-šu-ma ú-ṣa-aḫ-ḫir* ˹KUR˺*-su*
21) URU.*ṣi-ṣi-ir-*˹*tu* URU˺.[*ku-um-ma*]-˹*aḫ*˺-[*lum*] URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti*
22) *a-di* URU.MEŠ*-ni* ˹TUR˺.[MEŠ] ˹*ša*˺ *li-me-ti-šú-nu*
23) KUR.É-^{m}*ba-ar-ru-*[*ú na-gu*]*-ú a-na* [*gi-mir*]*-ti-šú*
24) *ul-tu qé-reb* KUR*-šú ab-*˹*tuq-ma* UGU *mi*˺*-*[*ṣir* KUR *aš*]-˹*šur*˺.KI
25) *ú-rad-di* URU.*el-en-za-áš a-*˹*na* URU˺ [LUGAL*-ú*]-˹*ti*˺
26) *ù dan-na-at na-ge-e šu-a-tu* [*aṣ-bat-ma*]
27) MU*-šú maḫ-ra-a ú-na-kir-ma* URU.*kar-*^{md}EN.ZU-˹ŠEŠ.MEŠ˺*-*SU
28) *at-ta-bi ni-bit-su* UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-[*ia*]

settlements, which were with[out] number. I burned with fire pavilions (and) tents, their ab[odes], and reduced (them) to a[shes].

i 74–ii 8) I made that city Bīt-Kilamza[ḫ] a fortress again (and) I strengthened its [wall]s more [than be]fore, then I settled therein the people of the la[nds] that I had conquered. I brought [down] from the mountains the people of the land of the Kassites (ii 1) and the land of the Yasubigall[ians] who had fl[ed] from my weapons [and] I made (them) dwell [in the] cities Ḫardišpu (and) Bīt-Kubatti. (ii 5) I placed them [un]der the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Arrapḫa. I had a stele made, had all the victorious conquests that I achieved over them written on it, and I erected (it) in (that) city.

ii 9–17a) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and took the road to the land Ellipi. Before my arrival, Ispabāra, their [king, ab]andoned his fortified cities (and) his treasury and fled far away. I overwhelmed all of his wide land like a fog. I surrounded, conquered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fi[re] the cities [Mar']ubištu (and) Akkuddu, cities of (ii 15) his royal house, together with thirty-four small(er) settlements in their en[vir]ons.

ii 17b–25a) I carried off people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and [sheep] and goats without number, then (ii 20) I brought him (Ispabāra) to nought and made his land smaller. I detached from his land the cities Ṣi(ṣ)ṣirtu (and) [Kumm]aḫ[lum], fortified cities, together with the small(er) settlement[s] in their environs (and) [the district] of the land Bīt-Barrû in its [entire]ty, and I added (this area) to the terri[tory of As]syria.

ii 25b–30) [I took] the city Elenzaš as a [roy]al city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and called it Kār-Sennacherib. I settled therein the people of the lands that [I] had conquered. [I pla]ced (it) under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Ḫarḫar, and (thus) enlarged my land.

29) *i-na lìb-bi ú-še-šib i-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia*
30) LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ḫar-ḫar* [*am*]-*nu-ma ú-rap-piš ma-a-ti*
31) *i-na ta-a-ar-ti-ia* [*ša*] KUR.*ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ti*
32) *ša i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.ᶠMEŠ-*ia*ᵀ *ma-am-man la iš-mu-ú*
33) *zi-kir* KUR-*šú-un man-da-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu am-ḫur*
34) *a-na ni-ri be-lu-ti-ia ú-šak-ni-su-nu-ti*

ii 31–34) On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down to the yoke of my lordship.

35) *i-na* [*šal-ši*] ᶠ*ger*ᵀ-*ri-ia* [*a*]-ᶠ*na*ᵀ KUR.*ḫa-at-ti lu al-lik*
36) ᵐ*lu-li-i* LUGAL URU.*ṣi*-[*du*]-*un-ni pul-ḫi me-lam-me*
37) *be-lu-ti-ia is-ḫu-pu-šú-*[*ma*] *a-*ᶠ*na ru-uq-qí*ᵀ MURUB$_4$ *tam-*ᶠ*tim*ᵀ
38) *in-na-bit-ma* KUR-*šú e-mid* URU.*ṣi-du-*ᶠ*un*ᵀ-[*nu* GAL-*ú*]
39) URU.*ṣi-du-un-nu ṣe-eḫ-ru* URU.É-[*zi*]-ᶠ*it*ᵀ-*ti*
40) URU.*ṣa-ri-ip-tu* URU.*ma-ḫal-li-ba* URU.*ú-šu-ú*
41) URU.*ak-zi-bi* URU.*ak-ku-ú* URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti*
42) [É] ᶠBÀDᵀ.MEŠ *a-šar ri-i-ti ù* [*maš-qí*]-ᶠ*ti*ᵀ É *tuk-la-ti-šú*
43) *ra-*ᶠ*šub-bat*ᵀ GIŠ.TUKUL ᵈ*aš-šur* EN-ᶠ*ia*ᵀ [*is-ḫu-pu*]-ᶠ*šú-nu-ti*ᵀ-*ma*
44) *ik-nu-*ᶠ*šú še*ᵀ-*pu-ú-a* ᵐ*tu-*ᶠ*ba*ᵀ-[*aʾ-lum i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL-*ú-ti*]
45) UGU-*šú-*[*un*] *ú-še-šib-ma* ᶠGUNᵀ [*man-da-tu be-lu-ti-ia*]
46) *šat-ti-*[*šam la*] *ba-aṭ-lu ú-*[*kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú*]
47) *ša* ᵐ[*mi*]-ᶠ*in-ḫi*ᵀ-[*im*]-*mu* URU.*sam-*ᶠ*si*ᵀ-[*mu-ru-na-a-a*]
48) ᵐ*tu-ba-aʾ-lu* URU.*ṣi-du-*ᶠ*un-na*ᵀ-[*a-a*]
49) ᵐ*ab-*ᶠ*di*ᵀ-*li-iʾ-*[*ti*] URU.*a-ru-da-*[*a-a*]
50) ᵐ[*ú-ru*]-*mil-*[*ki*] URU.*gu-ub-la-a-a*
51) ᵐ[*mi*]-ᶠ*ti*ᵀ-*in-ti* URU.*as-du-da-a-a*
52) ᵐ*bu-du*-DINGIR KUR.É-ᵐ*am-ma-na-a-a*
53) ᵐ*kam-mu-su-na-*[*ad*]-*bi* KUR.*ma-ʾa-ba-a-a*
54) ᵐᵈ*a-a-ram-mu* [KUR].*ú-du-um-ma-a-a*
55) ᶠLUGALᵀ.MEŠ-*ni* KUR MAR.TU.KI *ka-*ᶠ*li*ᵀ-[*šú-un*] ᶠIGIᵀ.SÁ-*e šad-lu-ti*
56) [*ta-mar*]-*ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu a-di* 4-[*šú a-na*] ᶠ*maḫ*ᵀ-*ri-ia*

ii 35–44a) On my [third] campaign, I marched [t]o the land Ḫatti. Fear of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed Lulî, the king of the city Si[d]on, [and] he fled afar into the midst of the sea and disappeared. The awesome terror of the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, [overwhelmed] the cities [Great] Sido[n], Lesser Sidon, Bīt-[Z]itti, (ii 40) Ṣarepta, Maḫalliba, Ušû, Akzibu, (and) Acco, his fortified cities (and) [fort]resses, an area of pasture(s) and [wat]er-place(s), resources upon which he relied, and they bowed down at my feet.

57) [*iš*]-*šu-nim-ma iš-ši-qu* GÌR.II-*ia* [*ù* ᵐ*ṣi*]-ᶠ*id*ᵀ-*qa-a*
58) LUGAL URU.*is-qa-al-lu-na ša la ik-nu-*ᶠ*šú*ᵀ [*a-na ni-ri-ia*]
59) DINGIR.MEŠ É AD-*šú šá-a-šú* DAM-*su* DUMU.MEŠ-ᶠ*šú*ᵀ [DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú*]
60) ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* NUMUN É AD-*šú as-su-ḫa-am-ma a-na* KUR *aš-*[*šur*.KI]

ii 44b–46) I placed Tu-Ba[ʾlu on the royal throne] over th[em] and im[posed upon him] tribute (and) [payment (in recognition) of my overlordship] (to be delivered) year[ly] (and) with[out] interruption.

ii 47–57a) [As for M]in(u)ḫ[im]mu of the city Sam-si[muruna], Tu-Baʾlu [of] the city Sidon, Abdi-Liʾ[ti of] the city Arwad, (ii 50) [Ūru]-Mil[ki] of the city Byblos, [Mit]inti of the city Ashdod, Būdi-il of the land Bīt-Ammon, Kammūsu-na[d]bi of the land Moab, Aya-rāmu of [the land] Edom, (ii 55) all [of] the kings of the land Amurru, [they br]ought extensive gifts, *four* [*times*] (the normal amount), as their substantial [audience g]ift before me and kissed my feet.

61) *ú-ra-áš-šú* ᵐLUGAL-*lu-dà-ri* DUMU ᵐ*ru-kib-ti*
62) LUGAL-*šú-nu maḫ-ru-ú* UGU UN.MEŠ URU.*is-qa-al-lu-na*
63) *áš-kun-ma na-dan* GUN *kàd-re-e be-lu-ti-ia*
64) *e-mid-su-ú-ma i-šá-a-aṭ ab-šá-a-ni*

ii 57b–61a) [Moreover, (as for) Ṣ]idqâ, the king of the city Ashkelon who had not bowed down [to my yoke], I forcibly removed the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, his sons, [his daughters], (ii 60) his brothers, (and other) offspring of his father's house and took him to As[syria].

ii 61b–64) I set Šarru-lū-dāri, son of Rūkibtu, their former king, over the people of the city Ashkelon and imposed upon him the payment of tribute (and) gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship so that he (now) pulls my yoke.

65) *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia* URU.É-*da-gan-na*

ii 65–68) In the course of my campaign, I surrounded,

66) URU.*ia-ap-pu-ú* URU.*ba-na-a-a-bar-qa* URU.*a-zu-ru*
67) URU.MEŠ-*ni ša* ^{m}*ṣi-id-qa-a ša a-na* GÌR.II-*ia ár-ḫiš*
68) *la ik-nu-šú al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*
69) LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ *ù* UN.MEŠ URU.*am-qar-ru-na*
70) *ša* ^{m}*pa-di-i* LUGAL-*šú-nu* EN *a-de-e ù ma-mit ša* KUR *aš-šur*.KI
71) *bi-re-tu* AN.BAR *id-du-ma a-na* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú*
72) KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a id-di-nu-šú nak-*[*riš*]
73) *a-na an-zil-li i-pu-šú ip-làḫ lib-ba-*⌜*šú*⌝-[*un*]
74) LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.*mu-ṣu-ri* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN GIŠ.[GIGIR.MEŠ]
75) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ša* LUGAL KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫa e-mu-qí* [*la ni-bi*]
76) *ik-te-ru-nim-ma il-li-ku re-*⌜*ṣu*⌝-*su-un*
77) *i-na ta-mir-ti* URU.*al-ta-qu-ú* [*el-la*]-*mu-ú-a*
78) *si-id-ru šit-ku-nu ú-šá-'a-*[*lu* GIŠ].⌜TUKUL⌝.MEŠ-*šú-un*

Col. iii

1) [*i*]-⌜*na*⌝ *tukul-ti* ^{d}*aš-šur* ⌜EN⌝-[*ia it-ti-šú-un*]
2) [*am*]-*da-ḫi-iṣ-ma áš-*⌜*ta*⌝-[*kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú-un*]
3) [LÚ].⌜EN⌝ GIŠ.GIGIR.⌜MEŠ⌝ *ù* DUMU.MEŠ [LUGAL KUR.*mu-ṣu-ra-a-a*]
4) [*a*]-*di* ⌜LÚ⌝.[EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ] ⌜*ša*⌝ LUGAL [KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫi*] ⌜*bal*⌝-*ṭu-su-un*
5) *i-na* $MURUB_4$ *tam-*⌜*ḫa-ri*⌝ *ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a* URU.*al-ta-qu-ú*
6) URU.*ta-am-na-a al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*
7) *a-na* URU.*am-qar-ru-na aq-rib-ma* LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ
8) *ša ḫi-iṭ-ṭu ú-šab-šu-ú a-duk-ma i-na di-ma-a-ti*
9) *si-ḫir-ti* URU *a-lul pag-ri-šú-un* DUMU.MEŠ URU *e-piš an-ni*
10) *ù gíl-la-ti a-na šal-la-ti am-nu si-it-tu-te-*[*šú-nu*]
11) *la ba-bil ḫi-ṭi-ti ù gul-lul-ti ša a-ra-*⌜*an*⌝-[*šú*]-⌜*nu*⌝
12) *la ib-šu-ú uš-šur-šú-un aq-*[*bi*] ^{m}*pa-di-i* LUGAL-[*šú-nu*]
13) *ul-tu qé-reb* URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu ú-še-ṣa-*[*am-ma*]
14) *i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *be-lu-ti* UGU-*šú-un ú-še-*[*šib-ma*]
15) *man-da-at-tu be-lu-ti-ia ú-kin ṣe-*⌜*ru*⌝-[*uš*]-*šú*
16) *ù* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú* KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a ša* ⌜*la*⌝ [*ik*]-*nu-šú*
17) *a-na ni-ri-ia* 46 URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É BÀD.MEŠ-*ni*
18) *ù* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu ša ni-*[*ba*] ⌜*la*⌝ *i-šu-ú*
19) *i-na šuk-bu-us a-ram-me ù qit-ru-*[*ub*] *šu-pi-i*
20) *mit-ḫu-uṣ zu-uk* GÌR.II *pil-ši nik-si* [*ù kal*]-⌜*ban*⌝-*na-ti*
21) *al-me* KUR-*ud* 2 ME LIM 1 ME 50 UN.MEŠ TUR

conquered, (and) plundered the cities Bīt-Daganna, Joppa, Banayabarqa, (and) Azuru, the cities of Ṣidqâ that had not submitted to me quickly.

ii 69–76) (As for) the governors, the nobles, and the people of the city Ekron (ii 70) who had thrown Padî, their king who was bound by treaty and oaths to Assyria, into iron fetters and who had handed him over to Hezekiah of the land Judah in a hostile [manner, t]hey became frightened on account of the villainous acts they had committed. They formed a confederation with the kings of Egypt (and) the archers, ch[ariots], (ii 75) (and) horses of the king of the land Meluḫḫa, forces [without number], and they came to their aid.

ii 77–iii 5a) In the plain of the city Eltekeh, they sharpen[ed] their weapons while drawing up in battle-line [bef]ore me. (iii 1) [Wi]th the support of the god Aššur, [my] lord, [I fo]ught [with them] and de[feated them]. In the thick of battle, I captured alive [the Egyptian] charioteers and prin[ces (lit. "the sons of the king"), to]gether with the [charioteers of] the king of [the land Meluḫḫa].

iii 5b–12a) I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Eltekeh (and) Tamnâ. I approached the city Ekron and I killed the governors (and) nobles who had committed crime(s) and hung their corpses on towers around the city; I counted the citizens who had committed (iii 10) the criminal acts as booty; (and) I com[manded] that the rest [of them], (those) who were not guilty of crimes or wrongdoing, (to) whom no penalty was due, be allowed to go free.

iii 12b–15) I brought [out] Padî, [their] king, from the city Jerusalem [and] pla[ced] (him) on the lordly throne over them, [then] I imposed up[on h]im payment (in recognition) of my overlordship.

iii 16–24a) Moreover, (as for) Hezekiah of the land Judah, who had not [sub]mitted to my yoke, I surrounded (and) conquered forty-six of his fortified cities, fortresses, and small(er) settlements in their environs, which were without num[ber], by having ramps trodden down and battering rams brought [up], (iii 20) the assault of foot soldiers, sapping, breaching, [and sie]ge engines. I brought out [of] them 200,150 people, young (and) ol[d, male] and female, horses, mules, donkeys, c[amel]s, oxen, and sheep and goats, which

˹GAL˺ [NITA] *ù* MUNUS
22) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ˹ANŠE˺.[GAM.MAL].˹MEŠ˺ GU_4.MEŠ
23) *ù ṣe-e-ni ša la ni-bi ul-˹tu˺* [*qer*]-˹*bi*˺*-šú-un*
24) *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu šá-a-šú* [GIM MUŠEN] ˹*qu*˺*-up-pi*
25) *qé-reb* URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu* URU ˹LUGAL-*ti*˺*-šú e-sír-šú*
26) URU.ḪAL.ṢU.MEŠ UGU-*šú ú-rak-kis-*[*ma*] *a-ṣe-e* KÁ.GAL URU-*šú*
27) [*ú*]-˹*ter*˺*-ra ik-ki-bu-uš* URU.MEŠ-*šú ša áš-lu-la*
28) [*ul-tu qé-reb*] ˹KUR˺*-šú ab-tuq-*[*ma*] *a-na* ^{m}*mi-ti-in-ti*
29) [LUGAL URU.*as-du-di* ^{m}*pa*]-˹*di*˺*-i* LUGAL URU.*am-qar-ru-na*
30) *ù* ^{m}GISSU-[EN LUGAL URU.*ḫa*]-˹*zi*˺*-ti ad-din-ma ú-ṣa-aḫ-ḫir* KUR-*su*
31) *e-li* GUN ˹*maḫ*˺-[*ri-ti na*]-˹*dan*˺ *šat-ti-šú-un man-da-at-tu*
32) *kàd-re-e be-lu-*[*ti-ia ú*]*-rad-di-ma ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú-un*
33) *šu-ú* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-*[*a-ú pul*]-˹*ḫi*˺ *me-lam-me be-lu-ti-ia*
34) *is-ḫu-pu-šú-ma* ˹LÚ˺.[*úr-bi*] *ù* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ-*šú* SIG_5.MEŠ
35) *ša a-na dun-nu-*[*un* URU.*ur*]*-sa-li-im-mu* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú*
36) *ú-še-ri-bu-ma ir-*[*šu-ú til*]*-la-a-ti it-ti* 30 GUN KÙ.GI
37) 8 ME GUN KÙ.BABBAR *ni-*[*siq-ti gu*]-˹*uḫ*˺*-li ták-kàs-si* NA_4.AN.ZA.GUL.ME GAL.MEŠ
38) GIŠ.NÁ.MEŠ ZÚ GIŠ.˹GU˺.[ZA.MEŠ *né*]-˹*me*˺*-di* ZÚ KUŠ AM.SI ZÚ AM.SI
39) GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG *mim-ma šum-*[*šú ni*]-˹*ṣir*˺*-tu ka-bit-tú ù* DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú*
40) MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL-*šú* LÚ.˹NAR˺.[MEŠ] MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ *a-na qé-reb* NINA.KI
41) URU *be-lu-ti-ia* ˹EGIR˺-[*ia ú-še*]-˹*bi*˺*-lam-ma a-na na-dan*
42) *man-da-at-ti ù e-˹peš˺* [ARAD-*ú*]*-ti iš-pu-ra rak-bu-šú*

were without number, and I counted (them) as booty.

iii 24b–32) As for him (Hezekiah), I confined him inside the city Jerusalem, his royal city, [like a bird in] a cage. I set up blockades against him [and m]ade him dread exiting his city gate. I detached [from] his land the cities of his that I had plundered [and] I gave (them) to Mitinti, [the king of the city Ashdod, Pa]dî, the king of the city Ekron, (iii 30) and Ṣilli-[Bēl, the king of the city Ga]za, and (thereby) made his land smaller. To the for[mer] tribute, their annual [gi]ving, I added the payment (of) gifts (in recognition) of [my] overlord[ship] and imposed (it) upon them.

iii 33–42) As for him, Hezeki[ah, fea]r of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed him and, after [my] (departure), [he had] the [auxiliary forces] and his elite troops (iii 35) whom he had brought inside to strength[en the city Jeru]salem, his royal city, and who had pro[vided sup]port, along with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, ch[oice an]timony, large blocks of ..., ivory beds, arm[chairs] of ivory, elephant hide(s), elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, every kin[d of] valuable [trea]sure, as well as his daughters, (iii 40) his palace women, male singer[s], (and) female singers [bro]ught into Nineveh, my capital city, and he sent a mounted messenger of his to me to deliver (this) payment and to do [obeisan]ce.

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43) *i-na* 4-*e ger-ri-ia* [^{d}*aš-šur*] *be-lí ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma*
44) *um-ma-na-te-ia gap-šá-a-˹te˺* [*ad*]-˹*ke*˺*-ma a-na* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$
45) *a-la-ku aq-bi i-na me-*[*ti-iq*] *ger-ri-ia ša* ^{m}*šu-zu-bi*
46) LÚ.*kal-dà-a-a a-*[*šib qé-reb* ÍD.*a*]-˹*gam*˺*-me i-na* URU.*bi-it-tu-tu*
47) *áš-ta-kan* ˹BAD_5˺.[BAD_5-*šú šu-ú ḫur-ba*]-*šú ta-ḫa-zi-ia* UGU-*šú*
48) *im-˹qut˺-*[*ma it-ru-ku lib*]-˹*bu*˺*-šú ki-ma*
49) *az-za-ri e-diš ip-*[*par-šid-ma ul*] ˹*in*˺*-na-mir a-šar-šú*
50) *pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-*[*ter*]*-ma a-na* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$

iii 43–49) On my fourth campaign, [the god Aššur], my lord, encouraged me so that [I mus]tered my numerous troops and (iii 45) ordered the march to the land Bīt-Yakīn. In the cou[rse of] my campaign, I defea[ted] Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk), a Chaldean who [lives in the] marshes, at the city Bittūtu. [As for him, terror] of doing battle with me fell upon him [and] his [he]art [pounded]. He [fled] alone like a lynx [and] his (hiding) place could [not] be found.

iii 50–60a) I [turned] around (lit. "I [turned] the

51) *aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu šu-ú* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA
52) *ša i-na a-lak ger-ri-ia maḫ-re-e* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú áš-ku-nu-ma*
53) *ú-par-ri-ru el-lat-*[*su*] ⌜*ri*⌝-*gim* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-ti*
54) *ù ti-ib ta-ḫa-zi-*⌜*ia ez*⌝-*zi e-dur-ma* DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-rak* KUR-*šú*
55) *i-na* KI.⌜TUŠ⌝-*šú-nu* ⌜*id*⌝-[*ke-ma qé-reb*] GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ú-šar-kib-ma*
56) [*a-na* URU.*na-gi-te-raq-qí ša qa-bal*] ⌜*tam*⌝-*tim iṣ-ṣu-riš*
57) [*ip-pa-riš* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* NUMUN É AD-*šú ša ú-maš-ši-ru a*]-*ḫi tam-tim*
58) [*a-di si-it-ti* UN.MEŠ KUR-*šú ul-tu* KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$]
59) [*qé-reb*] ÍD.*a*-[*gam-me u ap-pa-ra-a-te ú-še*]-*ṣa-am-ma*
60) [*šal*]-*la-tiš am-nu ú*-[*ter-ma* URU.MEŠ-*šú*] ⌜*ap*⌝-*pul aq-qur*
61) *ú-še-me kar-meš* UGU EN *sa-li-me-šú* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
62) *na-mur-ra-tum at-*[*bu-uk i-na*] ⌜*ta*⌝-*a-ar-ti-ia*
63) ^{md}*aš-šur-na-din*-MU DUMU [*reš-tu-ú*] *tar-bit bir-ki-ia*
64) *i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *be-*[*lu-ti-šú*] *ú-še-šib-ma*
65) DAGAL-*tum* KUR ⌜EME⌝.[GI_7 *u* URI].KI *ú-šad-gil pa-nu-uš-šú*

front of my yoke") and took the road to the land Bīt-Yakīn. He — Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), whom I had defeated and [whose] forces I had scattered during my first campaign — became frightened by the clangor of my mighty weapons and my fierce battle array, then (iii 55) dis[lodged] the gods of the (full) extent of his land from their abodes, [and] loaded (them) [onto] boats. [He flew away] like a bird [to the city Nagīte-raqqi, which is in the midst of] the sea. [I br]ought [his brothers, the seed of his father's house, whom he had abandoned at the] shore of the sea, [together with the rest of the people of his land, out of the land Bīt-Yakīn, which is in] the sw[amps and marshes], and I counted (them) [as bo]oty.

iii 60b–62a) On[ce again] I destroyed (and) devastated [his cities], (and) turned (them) into ruins. I po[ured out] awe-inspiring brilliance upon his ally, the king of the land Elam.

iii 62b–65) [On] my return march, I placed Aššur-nādin-šumi, my [first-born] son (whom I) raised on my (own) knee, on [his] lo[rdly] throne and entrusted him with the wide land of Su[mer and Akka]d.

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66) *i-na* 5 *ger-ri-*⌜*ia ba*⌝-*ḫu-la-ti* URU.*tu-mur-ri*
67) URU.*šá-ru-um* URU.[*e-za*]-*ma* URU.*kib-šú* URU.*ḫal-bu-da* URU.*qu-ú-a*
68) URU.*qa-na ša* ⌜GIM⌝ [*qin*]-*ni* TI_8.MUŠEN *a-šá-red* MUŠEN.ḪI.A
69) [*ṣe-er*] *zuq-ti* KUR.[*ni*]-*pur* KUR-*i mar-ṣi šu-bat-su-un*
70) [*šit-ku*]-*na*-[*at-ma*] *la kit-nu-šú a-na ni-i-ri*
71) [*i-na* GÌR.II KUR.*ni-pur*] ⌜*ka*⌝-*ra-ši ú-šá-áš-kin-ma*
72) [*it-ti* LÚ.*qur*]-⌜*bu*⌝-*ti* GÌR.II-*ia na-as-qu-ú-ti*
73) [*ù* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ] *ta-ḫa-zi-ia la ga-me-lu-ti*
74) [*a-na-ku* GIM AM] *ek-di pa-nu-uš-šú-un aṣ-bat*
75) *ḫur-ri* ⌜*na*⌝-[*ḫal-li*] ⌜*na*⌝-*at-bak šad-di-i me-le-e*
76) *mar-ṣu-ti i-*⌜*na* GIŠ⌝.GU.ZA *áš-ta-am-di-iḫ*

iii 66–71) On my fifth campaign: The population of the cities Tumurrum, Šarum, [Ezā]ma, Kibšu, Ḫalbuda, Qūa, (and) Qana, whose dwellings [are] situ[ated] like [the nes]ts of eagles, the foremost of birds, [on] the peak of Mount [Ni]pur, a rugged mountain, [and] who had not bowed down to the yoke — I had my camp pitched [at the foot of Mount Nipur].

Col. iv

1) [*a-šar a-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *šup-šu-qu i-na* GÌR.II-*ia áš-taḫ-ḫi*]-⌜*iṭ*⌝
2) [GIM *ar-me a-na zuq-ti šá-qu-ti ṣe-ru-uš-šú*]-⌜*un*⌝
3) [*e-li a-šar bir-ka-a-a ma-na-aḫ-tu i-šá-a ṣe-er* NA_4 KUR-*i ú-šib*]-⌜*ma*⌝
4) A.MEŠ KUŠ.*na-a-di* [*ka-ṣu-te a-na ṣu-um-me-ia lu áš-ti*]
5) *i-na* ŠU.SI.MEŠ *ḫur-šá-a-ni* ⌜*ar*⌝-[*de*]-⌜*šú*⌝-*nu-ti-ma áš-*⌜*ta*⌝-[*kan*]
6) *taḫ-ta-*⌜*šú-un*⌝ URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* KUR-[*ud*]-*ma*

iii 72–iv 4) [Like a] fierce [wild bull, with] my select [body]guard [and] my merciless combat [troops], I took the lead of them (the soldiers in my camp). I proceeded through the gorges of the str[eams], the outflows of the mountains, (and) rugged slopes in (my) chair. (iv 1) [Where it was too difficult for (my) chair, I leapt forw]ard [on my (own) two feet like a mountain goat. I ascended the highest peaks against them. Where my knees became tired, I sat down upon the mountain rock] and [drank cold] water from a water skin [to (quench) my thirst].

iv 5–7a) I pu[rsu]ed them on the peaks of the mountains and defe[at]ed them. I conquer[ed], plundered, destroyed, [devastated], (and) burned with fire their

áš-lu-la šal-la-sún

7) *ap-pul* [*aq-qur*] *i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu pa-an ni-ri-ia*
8) *ú-ter-*[*ma*] *ṣe-er* ^{m}*ma-ni-ia-e* LUGAL URU.*uk-ki*
9) *šad-da-a-a-e la kan-še aṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu*
10) *ur-ḫi la pe-tu-ti ṭu-ú-di pa-áš-qu-ú-ti*
11) *ša la-pa-an* KUR.MEŠ *mar-ṣu-ti ul-la-nu-ú-a*
12) *qé-reb-šú-*[*un*] ⌜*ma*⌝*-am-man la il-li-ku* LUGAL.MEŠ *pa-ni maḫ-ru-ti*
13) *i-na* GÌR.II KUR.*a-na-ra ù* KUR.*up-pa* KUR.MEŠ-*e dan-nu-ti*
14) KARAŠ *ú-šá-áš-kin-ma a-*⌜*na*⌝*-ku i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA ⌜*né*⌝-[*me-di*]
15) *it-ti* ⌜LÚ.ERIM⌝.MEŠ *ta-ḫa-*[*zi*]-⌜*ia*⌝ [*gít*]-⌜*ma*⌝*-lu-ú-ti*
16) *i-na ne-re-bi-šú-un pi-*⌜*qu-ti*⌝ *šu-nu-ḫi-iš e-ru-um-ma*
17) *mar-ṣi-iš e-te-el-la-a* [ŠU].SI.MEŠ KUR-*i pa-áš-qa-a-ti*

iv 7b–17) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") [and] took the road against Maniye, the king of the city Ukku (and) an insubmissive mountain-dweller. (iv 10) Before my time, none of the former kings of the past had marched through the untrodden paths (and) difficult trails on account of the rugged mountains. I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mount Anara and Mount Uppa, mighty mountains, and I myself, in an armcha[ir], (iv 15) with my [cra]ck com[bat] troops, entered their narrow passes with great difficulty and ascended with a struggle the steep mountain [pe]aks.

18) *šu-ú* ^{m}*ma-*[*ni*]-⌜*ia*⌝*-e tur-bu-*[*u*ʾ] GÌR.II ERIM.ḪI.A-*ia e-mur-ma*
19) URU.*uk-ku* [URU LUGAL]-⌜*ti*⌝*-šú e-zib-ma a-na ru-qé-ti in-na-bit*
20) URU.*uk-ku* [*al-me* KUR]-⌜*ud*⌝ *áš-lu-la šal-la-su*
21) *mim-ma šum-šu* [NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA *ni*]-⌜*ṣir*⌝*-ti* É.GAL-*šú*
22) *ul-tu* ⌜*qer*⌝-[*bé-e-šu ú-še-ṣa*]-⌜*am*⌝*-ma šal-la-ti-iš am-nu*

iv 18–22) He, Ma[ni]ye, saw the dust cloud (stirred up) [by] the feet of my troops, then he abandoned the city Ukku, his [roy]al [city], and fled afar. (iv 20) I [surrounded, conquer]ed, (and) plundered the city Ukku. [I brought] out [of it] every kind of [possession (and) property, the tre]asures of his palace, and I counted (it) as booty.

23) *ù* 33 URU.[MEŠ-*ni ša pa-a*]-⌜*ṭi*⌝ *na-gi-šú ak-šud*^{ud}*-ma*
24) UN.MEŠ ANŠE.⌜MEŠ⌝ [GU_4.MEŠ *ù*] *ṣe-e-ni ul-tu qer-bi-šú-un*
25) *áš-lu-la ap-*⌜*pu*⌝*-*[*ul*] *aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*

iv 23–25) Moreover, I conquered thirty-three cit[ies on the borders] of his district and carried off from them people, donkeys, [oxen, and] sheep and goats. (Then) I destroy[ed] (them), devastated (them), (and) burned (them) with fire.

26) *i-na* 6 *ger-*⌜*ri*⌝*-*[*ia*] ⌜*si*⌝*-it-ti* UN.MEŠ KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$
27) *ša la-pa-an* GIŠ.⌜TUKUL⌝.[MEŠ]-⌜*ia*⌝ *dan-nu-ti* GIM *sér-re-me ig-ru-ru*
28) DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-rak* KUR-*šú-un i-na šub-ti-šú-nu id-ku-ma*
29) *tam-tim* GAL-*tum* [*ša*] ⌜*ṣi*⌝*-it* ^{d}UTU-*ši e-bi-ru-ma*
30) *i-na* URU.*na-gi-ti ša* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *id-du-ú šu-bat-sún*
31) *i-na* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ KUR.*ḫat-*[*ti*] *tam-tim lu e-bir* URU.*na-gi-tu*
32) URU.*na-gi-tu-di-*[*iʾ-bi*]*-na a-di* KUR.*ḫi-il-mu* KUR.*pil-la-tú*
33) *ù* KUR.*ḫu-pa-pa-nu* ⌜*na-ge*⌝*-e ša* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI KUR-*ud*

iv 26–33) On [my] sixth campaign: The rest of the people of the land Bīt-Yakīn, who had groveled like onagers before my mighty weapon[s], dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of their land from their abodes, then crossed the Great Sea [of] the Rising Sun and (iv 30) set up their residences in the city Nagītu of the land Elam — I crossed over the sea in boats of the land Ḫat[ti]. I conquered the cities Nagītu (and) Nagītu-d[iʾbi]na, together with the lands Ḫilmu, Pillatu, and Ḫupapanu, districts of the land Elam.

34) UN.MEŠ KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$ [*a-di*] DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu ù* UN.MEŠ
35) *ša* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *áš-*[*lu*]-⌜*lam*⌝*-ma la e-zi-ba mul-taḫ-ṭu*
36) *qé-reb* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ú-*⌜*šar-kib*⌝*-ma a-na a-ḫa-an-na-a*
37) *ú-še-bi-ram-ma ú-šá-*[*aṣ*]*-bi-ta ḫar-ra-an* KUR

iv 34–39) I carr[ied] off the people of the land Bīt-Yakīn, [together with] their gods and the people (iv 35) of the king of the land Elam, and I did not leave a (single) escapee. I loaded (them) onto boats and brought (them) to this side (of the sea), then I made (them) [ta]ke the road to Assyria. I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities that are

aš-šur.KI

38) URU.MEŠ-*ni ša qé-reb na-*[*ge*]*-e šá-tu-nu ap-pul aq-qur*

39) *i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu a-na* DU_6 *ù kar-me ú-ter*

40) *i-na* ⌜*ta*⌝-[*a-a*]-⌜*ar*⌝-*ti-ia* ^{m}*šu-zu-bu* DUMU KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI

41) *ša i-na e-*[*ši-ti*] KUR *be-*[*lu*]*-ut* KUR EME.GI_7 *ù* URI.KI

42) *ra-ma-nu-uš ú-ter-ru i-*[*na*] ⌜*ta*⌝-*ḫa-az* EDIN BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú áš-kun*

43) *bal-ṭu-su i-na* ŠU.II *aṣ-bat-*[*su*] ⌜*šum*⌝-*man-nu ù bi-re-tú* AN.BAR

44) *ad-di-šu-ma a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI [*ú-ra*]*-áš-šú* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI

45) *ša* Á.II-*šú is-ḫu-ru-ma il-*⌜*li*⌝-[*ku*] *re-ṣu-su* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú áš-kun*

46) ILLAT.MEŠ-*šú ú-sap-pi-iḫ-*[*ma*] *ú-par-ri-ir pu-ḫur-šú*

in those distr[ict]s. I turned (them) into a mound of ruins (lit. “a mound and ruins”).

iv 40–46) On my re[turn ma]rch, i[n] a pitched battle, I defeated Šūzubu (Nergal-ušēzib), a citizen of Babylon who had taken the lor[ds]hip of the land of Sumer and Akkad for himself during the [confusion in] the land. I captured [him] alive, bound him with tethering ropes and iron fetters, and [broug]ht him to Assyria. I defeated the king of the land Elam, (iv 45) who had aligned himself with him and co[me to] his aid. I dispersed his forces [and] scattered his assembled host.

47) *i-na* 7*-e ger-ri-ia* ^{d}*aš-*[*šur be*]*-lí ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma*

48) *a-na* KUR.*e-lam-ti lu al-lik* URU.[É-^{m}]*ḫa-ʾi-i-ri* URU.*ra-ṣa-a*

49) URU.MEŠ-*ni ša mi-ṣir* KUR *aš-šur*.KI [*ša i*]*-na tar-ṣi* AD-*ia*

50) *e-la-mu-ú e-ki-mu da-na-*⌜*niš i-na*⌝ *me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia*

51) *ak-šud*^{ud}*-ma áš-lu-la šal-la-*⌜*sún* LÚ⌝.ERIM.MEŠ *šu-lu-ti-ia*

52) *ú-še-rib qé-reb-šú-un a-na mi-ṣir* ⌜KUR⌝ *aš-šur*.KI *ú-ter-ram-ma*

iv 47–53a) On my seventh campaign, the god Aš[šur], my [lor]d, encouraged me and I marched to the land Elam. In the course of my campaign, I conquered and plundered the cities [Bīt]-Ḫaʾiri (and) Raṣā, cities on the border of Assyria [that] (iv 50) the Elamites had taken away by force [i]n the time of my ancestor(s). I had my garrisons stationed inside them. I brought (those cities) back inside the border of Assyria and [pla]ced (them) under the authority of the garrison commander of Dēr.

53) ŠU.II LÚ.GAL URU.ḪAL.ṢU BÀD.DINGIR.KI [*am*]-⌜*nu*⌝ URU.*bu-bé-e*

54) URU.*dun-ni-*^{d}UTU URU.É-*ri-si-*⌜*ia* URU⌝.É-*aḫ-la-me-e*

55) URU.*du-ru* URU.*dan-nat-*^{m}*su-*⌜*la*⌝-[*a-a* URU].*ši-li-ib-tu*

56) [URU].É-*a-ṣu-si* URU.*kar*-NUMUN-BA-[*šá* URU].É-*gi-iṣ-ṣi*

57) URU.É-^{m}[*kàt-pa*]-⌜*la-ni* URU.É-*im-bi*⌝-*ia* ⌜URU.*ḫa-ma*⌝-[*a-nu*]

58) URU.É-⌜*ar*⌝-*ra-bi* URU.*bu-ru-tu* URU.*di-in-tu-ša-*^{m}*su-*[*la-a-a*]

59) URU.[*di*]-⌜*in*⌝-*tu-šá-*^{md}DUMU-É-KAR-*ir* URU.*ḫar-ri-áš-la-ke-*[*e*]

60) URU.*rab-ba-a-a* URU.*ra-a-su* URU.*ak-ka-ba-ri-na*

61) URU.DU_6-*ú-ḫu-ri* URU.*ḫa-am-ra-nu* URU.*na-di-i-*⌜*tu*⌝

iv 53b–61) The cities Bubê, Dunni-Šamaš, Bīt-Risiya, Bīt-Aḫlamê, (iv 55) Dūru, Dannat-Sulā[ya], Šilibtu, Bīt-Aṣusi, Kār-Zēra-iqī[ša], Bīt-Giṣṣi, Bīt-[Katpa]lāni, Bīt-Imbiya, Ḫamā[nu], Bīt-Arrabi, Burutu, Dimtu-ša-Su[lāya, D]imtu-ša-Mār-bīti-eṭir, Ḫarri-ašlak[ê], (iv 60) Rabbāya, Rāsu, Akkabarina, Tīl-Uḫuri, Ḫamrānu, Nadītu,

62) *a-di* URU.MEŠ-*ni ša né-re-bi ša* URU.É-*bu-na-*[*ki*]

63) URU.DU_6-*ḫu-um-bi* URU.*di-in-tu-ša-*^{m}*du-*⌜*me*⌝-[DINGIR]

64) URU.É-*ú-bi-ia* URU.*bal-ti-li-šir* URU.*ta-qab-li-šir*

65) URU.*ša-na-qi-da-a-ti* URU.*ma-su-tú-šap-*⌜*li*⌝-[*ti*]

66) URU.*sa-ar-ḫu-de-e-ri* URU.*a-lum-ša-*^{m}⌜GAŠAN⌝-[É]

67) URU.É-^{m}PAP.MEŠ-SUM.NA URU.*il-te-ú-*[*ba*]

iv 62–71) together with the cities of the passes, namely Bīt-Buna[ki], Tīl-Ḫumbi, Dimtu-ša-Dume-[ili], Bīt-Ubiya, Baltī-līšir, Taqab-līšir, (iv 65) Ša-nāqidāte, Masūtu-šaplī[ti], Sarḫudēri, Ālum-ša-Bēlet-[bīti], Bīt-Aḫḫē-iddina, (and) Ilte[uba] — I surrounded, conquered, plun[dered], destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire (those) thirty-four fortified cities, together with the small(er) settlements in [th]eir

68) 34 URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti a-di* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-*[*me-ti-šú*]-⌜*nu*⌝
69) *ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú al-me* KUR-*ud áš-lu-la* [*šal*]-*la-*[*sún*]
70) *ap-pul aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu qu-tur na-*[*aq*]-*mu-*⌜*ti*⌝-[*šú-nu*]
71) GIM $MURU_9$ *kab-ti pa-an* AN-*e rap-šu-ti* [*ú*]-⌜*šak*⌝-*ti-*⌜*im*⌝
72) *iš-me-ma ki-šit-ti* URU.MEŠ-*šú* ^{m}*ku-dur-*[^{d}*na*]-⌜*ḫu*⌝-*un-du*
73) *e-la-mu-ú im-qut-su ḫat-tum si-*⌜*it*⌝-[*ti*] URU.MEŠ-*šú*
74) *a-na dan-na-ti ú-še-rib šu-ú* URU.[*ma*]-*dak-ti*
75) URU LUGAL-*ti-šú e-zib-ma a-na* URU.*ḫa-*[*i*]-*da-la*
76) *ša qé-reb šad-di-i* SÙ.MEŠ *iṣ-ṣa-*⌜*bat ḫar*⌝-*ra-nu*
77) *a-na* URU.*ma-dak-ti* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú a-*[*la*]-*ku aq-bi*
78) ITI.*tam-ḫi-ri* EN.TE.NA *dan-nu* [*e*]-⌜*ru*⌝-*ba-am-ma*

iv 72–76) Kudur-[Na]ḫundu (Kudur-Naḫḫunte), the Elamite, heard about the conquest of his cities and fear fell upon him. He brought (the people of) the rest [of] his cities into fortresses. He abandoned the city [Ma]daktu, his royal city, and took the road to the city Ḫa[y]dala, which is in the distant mountains.

iv 77–v 3) I ordered the [ma]rch to the city Madaktu, his royal city. In the month Tamḫīru, bitter cold [set] in and (v 1) a severe rainstorm sent down its rain. [I] was afraid of the rain and snow in the gorges, the outflows of the mounta[ins], (so) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and to[ok] the road to Nineveh.

Col. v
1) *šá-mu-tum ma-at-tum ú-šá-az-ni-na* ŠÈG.MEŠ-*šá*
2) ŠÈG.MEŠ *ù šal-gu* ⌜*na*⌝-*aḫ-lu na-at-bak* KUR-[*i a*]-⌜*du-ra*⌝
3) *pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma a-na* NINA.KI ⌜*aṣ*⌝-[*ṣa-bat ḫar-ra*]-⌜*nu*⌝
4) *i-na* u_4-*me-šu-ma i-na* [*qí*]-*bit* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia* ^{m}NÍG.DU-^{d}*na-ḫu-un-*⌜*du*⌝
5) LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI 3 ⌜ITI.MEŠ *ul*⌝ *ú-ma-al-li-ma*
6) *i-na* u_4-*um la* NAM-*šú ur-ru-ḫi-iš im-tu-ut*
7) EGIR-*šú* ^{m}*um-ma-an-me-na-nu la ra-áš ṭè-me ù mil-ki*
8) ŠEŠ-*šú dup-pu-us-su-ú i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA-*šú ú-šib-ma*

v 4–8) At that time, by [the com]mand of the god Aššur, my lord, Kudur-Naḫundu (Kudur-Naḫḫunte), the king of the land Elam, did not last three months and suddenly died a premature death. After him, Umman-menanu (Ḫumban-menanu), who does not have sense or insight, his younger brother, sat on his throne.

9) *i-na* 8-*e ger-ri-ia* EGIR ^{m}*šu-zu-bi is-se-ḫu-ma*
10) DUMU.MEŠ KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI GAL_5.LÁ.MEŠ *lem-nu-ti* KÁ.GAL.MEŠ URU
11) *ú-di-lu ik-pu-ud lib-ba-*[*šú*]-*nu a-na e-peš* GIŠ.LÁ
12) ^{m}*šu-zu-bu* LÚ.*kal-dà-a-a* [*eṭ*]-*lum dun-na-mu-ú*
13) *ša la i-šu-ú bir-ki* ARAD *da-*[*gíl*] ⌜*pa*⌝-*an* LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*la-ḫi-ri*
14) LÚ.*a-ra-me ḫal-qu mun-nab-tu* [*a*]-⌜*mir*⌝ *da-me ḫab-bi-lu*
15) *ṣe-ru-uš-šú ip-ḫu-ru-ma qé-reb* ÍD.*a-gam-me ú-ri-du-ma*
16) *ú-šab-šu-ú si-ḫu a-*⌜*na*⌝-[*ku*] ⌜*ni*⌝-*tum al-me-šu-ma*
17) *nap-šá-tuš ú-si-qa la-pa-an* ⌜*ḫat-ti*⌝ *ù né-eb-re-ti*
18) *a-na* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *in-na-bit ki-i ri-kil-*⌜*ti*⌝ [*ù gíl-la*]-⌜*ti*⌝
19) *ṣe-ru-uš-šú ba-ši-i ul-tu* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI [*i-ḫi-šam-ma*]
20) *qé-reb šu-an-na*.KI *e-ru-ub* LÚ.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ
21) *a-na la si-ma-ti-šú i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *ú-še-ši-bu-šu*
22) *be-lu-ut* KUR EME.GI_7 *ù* URI.KI *ú-šad-gi-lu*

v 9–16a) On my eighth campaign, after Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk) had rebelled and (v 10) the citizens of Babylon, evil *gallû*-demons, had locked the city gates, th[ey] plotted to wage war. Arameans, fugitives, runaways, [mu]rderers, (and) robbers rallied around Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk), a Chaldean, [a per]son of lowly status, a coward (lit. "who has no knees"), (and) a servant [who] belonged to the governor of the city Laḫīru, and they went down into the marshes and incited rebellion.

v 16b–22) I besieged him and put him in dire straits. On account of fear and hunger, he fled to the land Elam. When there were conspiracy [and treache]ry against him, [he hurried] out of the land Elam [and] (v 20) entered Šuanna (Babylon). The Babylonians inappropriately placed him (back) on the throne (and) entrusted him with the lordship of the land of Sumer and Akkad.

pa-ni-šú

23) É NÍG.GA *ša é-sag-íl ip-tu-ma* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR
24) *ša* ^{d}EN ^{d}*zar-pa-ni-tum* NÍG.ŠU É DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu ú-še-ṣu-ni*
25) *a-na* ^{m}*um-ma-an-me-na-nu* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ša la i-šu-ú*
26) *ṭè-e-mu ù mil-ku ú-še-bi-lu-uš ṭa-aʾ-tu*
27) *pu-uḫ-ḫi-ir um-man-ka di-ka-a* KARAŠ-*ka a-na* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
28) *ḫi-šam-ma i-da-a-ni i-zi-iz-ma tu-kul-ta-ni lu at-ta*

v 23–28) They (the Babylonians) opened the treasury of Esagil and took out the gold (and) silver of the god Bēl (Marduk) (and) the goddess Zarpanītu, the property of the temple of their gods. (v 25) They sent it as a bribe to Umman-menanu (Ḫumban-menanu), the king of the land Elam, who does not have sense or insight, (saying): "Gather your army, muster your forces, hurry to Babylon, and align yourself with us! Let us put our trust in you."

29) *šu-ú* LÚ.ELAM.MA.KI-*ú ša i-na a-lak ger-ri-ia*
30) *maḫ-ri-ti ša* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI URU.MEŠ-*šú ak-šud-du-ma*
31) *ú-ter-ru a-na kar-me lib-bu-uš ul iḫ-su-us*
32) *ṭa-aʾ-tú im-ḫur-šú-nu-ti-ma* ERIM.ḪI.A-*šú* KARAŠ-*su*
33) *ú-pa-ḫir-ma* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.*ṣu-um-bi e-šu-ra*
34) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ *is-ni-qa ṣi-in-di-šú*

v 29–34) That Elamite, whose cities I had conquered and turned into ruins during a previous campaign to the land Elam, accepted the bribe from them without thinking, then gathered his troops (and) his forces, inspected (his) chariots (and) wagons, (and) checked his teams (of) horses (and) mules.

35) KUR.*par-su-áš* KUR.*an-za-an* KUR.*pa-ši-ru* KUR.*el-li-pi*
36) LÚ.*ia-as-ìl* LÚ.*la-kab-ra* LÚ.*ḫa-ar-zu-nu*
37) URU.*du-um-mu-qu* URU.*su-la-a* URU.*sa-am-ú-na*
38) DUMU ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA KUR.É-^{m}*a-di-ni* KUR.É-^{m}*a-muk-ka-na*
39) KUR.É-^{m}*šil-la-na* KUR.É-^{m}*sa-a-la* UD.UD.AG.KI URU.*la-ḫi-ru*
40) LÚ.*pu-qu-du* LÚ.*gam-bu-lum* LÚ.*ḫa-la-tu* LÚ.*ru-ʾu-ú-a*
41) LÚ.*ú-bu-lu* LÚ.*ma-la-ḫu* LÚ.*ra-pi-qu* LÚ.*ḫi-in-da-ru*
42) LÚ.*da-mu-nu kit-ru* GAL-*ú ik-te-ra it-ti-šú*

v 35–42) The lands Parsuaš, Anzan, Pašeru, (and) Ellipi, the people of Yasil, Lakab(e)ra, Ḫarzunu, Dummuqu, Sulāya, (and) Samʾuna, (who was) a son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), the lands Bīt-Adini, Bīt-Amukāni, Bīt-Šilāni, Bīt-Sāla (Bīt-Saʾalli), Larak, the city Laḫīru, (v 40) the people (of the tribes of the) Puqudu, Gambulu, Ḫalatu, Ruʾuʾa, Ubulu, Malaḫu, Rapiqu, Ḫindaru, (and) Damunu, a large host, formed a confederation with him.

43) *gi-ip-šu-us-su-un ú-ru-uḫ* KUR URI.KI
44) *iṣ-ba-tu-nim-ma a-na* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *te-bu-ú-ni*
45) *a-di* ^{m}*šu-zu-bi* LÚ.*kal-dà-a-a* LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
46) *a-na a-ḫa-meš iq-ru-bu-ma pu-ḫur-šú-nu in-nen-du*
47) *ki-ma ti-bu-ut a-ri-bi ma-aʾ-di ša pa-an šat-ti*
48) *mit-ḫa-riš a-na e-peš tuq-ma-ti te-bu-ni ṣe-ru-ú-a*
49) SAḪAR.ḪI.A GÌR.II-*šú-nu* GIM MURU$_9$ *kab-ti ša dun-ni e-ri-ia-ti*

v 43–50a) In their multitude, they took the road to Akkad and, as they were advancing towards Babylon, they met up with Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk), a Chaldean (who is) the king of Babylon, and banded their forces together. Like a spring invasion of a swarm of locusts, they were advancing towards me as a group to do battle. The dust of their feet covered the wide heavens like a heavy cloud in the deep of winter.

50) *pa-an* AN-*e rap-šu-ti ka-ti-im el-la-mu-ú-a*
51) *i-na* URU.*ḫa-lu-le-e i-na ki-šad* ÍD.IDIGNA *šit-ku-nu si-dir-ta*
52) *pa-an maš-qí-ia ṣab-tu-ma ú-šá-ʾa-lu* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú-un*

v 50b–52) While drawing up in battleline before me at the city Ḫalulê, (which is) on the bank of the Tigris River, (and) keeping me from the water source, they sharpened their weapons.

53) *a-na-ku a-na* ^{d}*aš-šur* ^{d}30 ^{d}UTU ^{d}EN ^{d}MUATI ^{d}U.GUR
54) ^{d}INANNA *ša* NINA.KI ^{d}INANNA *ša* URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR DINGIR.MEŠ *ti-ik-li-ia*
55) *a-na ka-šá-di* LÚ.KÚR *dan-ni*

v 53–56) I myself prayed to the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabû, Nergal, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela, the gods who support me, (v 55) for victory over (my) strong enemy and they immediately heeded my prayers (and) came to my aid.

am-ḫur-šú-nu-ti-ma
56) *su-⌜pe-e⌝-a ur-ru-ḫi-iš iš-mu-ú il-li-ku re-ṣu-ti*
57) *la-ab-biš ⌜an-na⌝-dir-ma at-tal-bi-šá si-ri-ia-am*
58) *ḫu-li-ia-am si-mat ṣi-il-ti a-pi-ra ra-šu-ú-a*
59) *i-na* GIŠ.GIGIR *ta-ḫa-zi-ia ⌜ṣir⌝-[ti] sa-pi-na-at za-ʾi-i-ri*
60) *i-na ug-gat lib-bi-ia ar-⌜ta-kab⌝ ḫa-an-ṭiš*
61) GIŠ.PAN *dan-na-tum ša* ^{d}*aš-šur ú-šat-li-ma i-na* ŠU.II-*ia aṣ-bat*
62) GIŠ.*šil-ta-ḫu pa-ri-iʾ nap-šá-ti at-muḫ rit-tu-ú-a*
63) *ṣe-er gi-mir um-ma-na-ti na-ki-ri lem-nu-ti*
64) *u*$_4$*-mì-iš ṣar-piš al-sa-a* GIM ^{d}IŠKUR *áš-gu-um*
65) *i-na qí-bit* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN GAL EN-*ia a-na šid-di ù pu-ti*
66) *ki-ma ti-ib me-ḫe-e šam-ri a-na* LÚ.KÚR *a-zi-iq*
67) ⌜*i-na*⌝ GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ^{d}⌜*aš-šur*⌝ EN-*ia ù ti-ib ta-ḫa-zi-ia ez-zi*
68) [*i-rat-su-un*] *a-né-eʾ-ma suḫ-ḫur-ta-šú-nu áš-kun*
69) [ERIM.ḪI.A] ⌜*na*⌝-*ki-ri i-na uṣ-ṣi mul-mul-li ú-šá-qir-ma*
70) *gi-mir* ADDA.MEŠ-*šú-nu ú-pal-li-šá* UD-*zi-zi-iš*
71) ^{md}*ḫu-um-ba-an-un-da-šá* LÚ.*tur-ta-nu-šú eṭ-lu pit-qu-du*
72) *mu-ma-ʾe-er um-ma-ni-šú tu-kul-ta-šú* GAL-*ú*
73) *a-di* LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*šú ša* GÍR *šib-bi* KÙ.GI *šit-ku-nu*
74) *ù i-na* ḪAR.MEŠ *as-pi* KÙ.GI *ru-uš-ši-i*
75) *ruk-ku-sa rit-ti-šú-un ki-ma šu-ú-ri ma-ru-ti*
76) *ša na-du-ú šum-man-nu ur-ru-ḫi-iš ú-pal-liq-šú-nu-ti-ma*
77) *áš-ku-na taḫ-ta-šú-un ki-šá-⌜da-te⌝-šú-nu ú-na-kis as-li-iš*
78) *aq-ra-ti nap-šá-te-šú-nu ú-par-ri-iʾ qù-ùʾ-iš*

Col. vi
1) GIM ILLU *gap-ši* [*ša*] *šá-mu-tum si-ma-ni ù-mun-ni-šú-nu*
2) *ú-šar-da-a* [*ṣe-er*] *er-ṣe-ti šá-di-il-ti*
3) *la-as-mu-ti* [*mur-ni-is*]-*qi ṣi-mit-ti ru-ku-bi-ia*
4) [*i-na da-me-šú-nu gap-šu*]-⌜*ti*⌝ *i-šal-lu-ú* ^{d}ÍD-*iš*
5) *ša* GIŠ.GIGIR *ta-ḫa-zi-ia* [*sa-pi*]-⌜*na*⌝-*at rag-gi ù ṣe-ni*
6) *da-mu ù par-šú ri-it-mu-ku ma-gar-ru-uš*
7) *pag-ri qu-ra-di-šú-nu ki-ma* [*ur-qí-ti*] *ú-mal-la-a* EDIN
8) *sa-ap-sa-pa-ti ú-na-kis-⌜ma bal⌝-ta-šú-un a-bu-ut*
9) *ki-ma bi-ni qiš-še-e si-ma-ni ú-na-kis qa-ti-šú-un*
10) ḪAR.MEŠ *as-pi* KÙ.GI KI.SAG ⌜*eb-bi*⌝ *šá rit-ti-šú-nu am-ḫur*
11) *i-na nam-ṣa-ri zaq-tu-ti ḫu-*[*ṣa-an*]-*ni-šú-nu ú-par-ri-iʾ*

v 57–62) I raged up like a lion, then put on armor (and) placed a helmet suitable for combat on my head. (v 60) In my anger, I rode quickly in my exal[ted] battle chariot, which lays enemies low. I took in my hand the mighty bow that the god Aššur had granted to me (and) I grasped in my hand an arrow that cuts off life.

v 63–70) I roared loudly like a storm (and) thundered like the god Adad against all of the troops of the wicked enemies. (v 65) By the command of the god Aššur, the great lord, my lord, I blew like the onset of a severe storm against the enemy on (their) flanks and front lines. With the weapons of the god Aššur, my lord, and my fierce battle array, I turned [them] back and made them retreat. I shot [the troops of] the enemy with *uṣṣu*-arrows (and) *mulmullu*-arrows, and pierced all of their corpses like ...

v 71–77a) I quickly slaughtered and defeated Ḫumban-undaša, his field marshal, a trusted man who leads his troops, his main support, together with his magnates, who wear gold (decorated) belt-daggers and (v 75) have reddish gold sling straps fastened to their forearms, like fattened bulls restrained with fetters.

v 77b–vi 9) I slit their throats like sheep (and thus) cut off their precious lives like thread. (vi 1) Like a flood in full spate [after] a seasonal rainstorm, I made their blood flow [over] the broad earth. The swift [thoroughbr]eds harnessed to my chariot plunged [into floo]ds [of their blood] (just) like the river ordeal. (vi 5) The wheels of my war chariot, [which lays] criminals and villains low, were bathed in blood and gore. I filled the plain with the corpses of their warriors like [grass]. I cut off (their) lips and (thus) destroyed their pride. I cut off their hands like the *stems* of cucumbers in season.

vi 10–12) I received gold (and) shining silver sling straps as their wrist-trappings (and) slashed off their b[el]ts with sharp swords. I took away gold (and) silver (decorated) belt-daggers as their waist-trappings.

v 71 LÚ.*tur-ta-nu-šú* "his field marshal": Text no. 22 v 82–83 has LÚ.NÍMGIR *ša* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI "the herald of the king of the land Elam."

12) GÍR.MEŠ *šib-bi* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR *šá* ⌜MURUB$_4$⌝.MEŠ-*šú-nu e-kim*
13) *si-it-ti* LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*šú ša* ⌜*la-pa*⌝-*an ta-ḫa-zi-ia*
14) *ip-la-ḫu id-ku-ú i-da-*⌜*šú*⌝-*un bal-ṭu-su-nu*

vi 13–15a) (As for) the rest of his magnates, who had raised their arms because they were terrified of doing battle with me, I captured them alive in the thick of battle.

15) *i-na* MURUB$_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri it-mu-*⌜*ḫa* ŠU⌝.II-*a-a* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ
16) *a-di* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*ši-na ša i-*[*na*] ⌜*qit*⌝-*ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi dan-ni*
17) *ra-ki-bu-ši-in de-ku-ú-*⌜*ma*⌝ *ù ši-na muš-šu-ra-ma*
18) *ra-ma-nu-uš-šin it-ta-na-al-*[*la*]-⌜*ka*⌝ *mit-ḫa-riš ú-ter-ra*
19) *a-di* 2 KASKAL.GÍD GE$_6$ *il-li-*[*ku da*]-⌜*ak*⌝-*šú-nu ap-ru-us*

vi 15b–19) I brought back all together the chariots along with their horses, whose drivers had been killed i[n] the thick of (that) mighty battle and which had themselves been released so that they galloped ab[out] on their own. When the second double-hour of the night had pas[sed], I stopped their [slaug]hter.

20) *šu-ú* ^{m}*um-ma-an-*[*me-na-nu* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA].⌜KI⌝ *a-di* LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
21) [LÚ].⌜*na*⌝-*sik-ka-*[*ni ša* KUR.*kal-di a-li-kut*] Á.II-*šú*
22) *ḫur-ba-šú* ⌜*ta-ḫa*⌝-[*zi-ia ki-ma-le-e zu-mur-šú-un is*]-⌜*ḫu*⌝-*up*
23) GIŠ.*za-ra-ti-*⌜*šú*⌝-*un* [*ú-maš-še-ru-ma a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-*šú*]-⌜*nu*⌝
24) *pag-ri* ERIM.ḪI.A-*šú-nu ú-*⌜*da*⌝-[*'i-i-šú e-ti-qu*]
25) *ki-i ša at-mi* TU.MUŠEN *kuš-šu-*⌜*di*⌝ [*i-tar-ra-ku lib-bu-šú-un*]
26) *ši-na-te-šú-un ú-ṣa-ar-*⌜*ra*⌝-[*pu qé-reb* GIŠ.GIGIR].⌜MEŠ⌝-*šú-nu*
27) *ú-maš-še-ru-ni zu-šú-un a-*[*na ra-da*]-⌜*di*⌝-*šú-nu*
28) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*ia ú-*[*ma-'e-er*] *ar-ki-šú-un*
29) *mun-na-rib-šú-nu ša a-na* ⌜*nap*⌝-[*šá*]-*a-ti ú-ṣu-ú*
30) *a-šar i-kaš-šá-du ú-ra-*[*sa*]-⌜*bu*⌝ *i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL

vi 20–24) (As for) him, Umman-[menanu (Ḫumban-menanu), the king of the land Elam], along with the king of Babylon (and) [the] sheikhs [of Chaldea who marched at] his side, terror of doing bat[tle with me over]whelmed [them like *alû*-demons. They abandoned] their tents [and, in order to save th]eir [lives], they tra[mpled] the corpses of their troops [as they pushed on].

vi 25–30) [Their hearts throbbed] like the pursued young of pigeons, they passed their urine hot[ly], (and) released their excrement [inside] their [chariot]s. I [ordered] my chariots (and) horses t[o pur]sue them. Wherever they caught (them), they ki[ll]ed with the sword the runaways amongst them, who had fled for (their) li[ve]s.

31) *i-na u$_4$-me-šu-ma* É.GAL *ku-tal-li ša* NINA.KI
32) *ša a-na šu-te-šur ka-ra-ši pa-qad* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
33) *sa-na-qí mim-ma šum-šú ša* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni a-li-kut maḫ-ri*
34) AD.MEŠ-*ia ú-še-pi-šú-ma* [*tam*]-*lu-šá la ib-ši-ma*
35) *ṣu-uḫ-ḫu-rat šu-bat-sa la-ba-riš* UD.MEŠ *tem-me-en-šá*
36) *e-niš-ma iš-da-a-šá ir-ma-a i-qu-pa re-šá-a-šá*
37) É.GAL *šá-a-tu a-na* ⌜*si*⌝-*ḫi-ir-ti-šá aq-qur*
38) *ki-ma a-tar-tim-ma qaq-qa-ru ma-*[*a'*]-*du ul-tu*

vi 31–36) At that time, the Rear Palace of Nineveh that earlier kings, my ancestors, had had built for the proper running of the military camp, the care of horses, (and) the overseeing of everything — its [ter]race did not exist and (vi 35) its site had become too small. With the passage of time, its base had fallen into disrepair, then its foundations had become loose (and) its superstructure had collapsed.

vi 37–42) I tore down that palace in its entirety. As an addition, I took m[u]ch land from the meadow and

vi 13 Text no. 22 vi 16–17 adds *a-di* ^{md}MUATI-MU-GAR-*un* DUMU ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA "including Nabû-šuma-iškun, a son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan)" after *si-it-ti* LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*šú* "the rest of his magnates."
vi 31–52 This building report may be an earlier, shorter account of the rebuilding of the armory in text no. 22. For further details, see the commentary of this text.
vi 31 Between *u$_4$-me-šu-ma* "at that time" and É.GAL "palace," text no. 22 vi 36b–38 adds *ul-tu* É.GAL MURUB$_4$ URU *ša* NINA.KI *a-na ri-mit* LUGAL-*ti-ia ú-šak-li-lu a-na tab-ra-a-te kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ *lu-le-e ú-ma-lu-ši* "after I had completed the palace in the citadel of Nineveh for my royal residence (and) had filled it with luxuriousness to be an object of wonder for all of the people." *ša* NINA.KI "of Nineveh": Omitted in text no. 22 vi 39.
vi 34 *ú-še-pi-šú-ma* "they had had built and": Text no. 22 vi 41 places *ú-še-pi-šú* (without enclitic *-ma*) before LUGAL.MEŠ "kings."
vi 35 Text no. 22 vi 43 adds *la nu-ku-lat e-piš-taš* "its construction was inexpert" after *ṣu-uḫ-ḫu-rat šu-bat-sa* "its site had become too small."
vi 38 *ki-ma a-tar-tim-ma* "as an addition": Text no. 22 vi 47 places *ki-ma a-tar-tim-ma* after *ta-mir-ti* URU "the plain of the city," rather than before *qaq-qa-ru* "land." *qaq-qa-ru* "land": Text no. 22 vi 46 has *ki-šub-bu-ú* "fallow land."

qé-reb ú-šal-li
39) *ù ta-mir-ti* URU *aṣ-ʿbaʾ-ta i-na muḫ-ḫi uš-rad-di*
40) *qaq-qar* É.GAL *maḫ-ri-ti e-zib-ma i-na qaq-qa-ri*
41) *ša ul-tu qé-reb ú-šal-*[*li*] *ʿaṣʾ-ba-ta tam-la-a uš-mal-li*
42) 2 ME *ti-ib-ki a-na e-la-ʿniʾ úʾ-šaq-qí re-e-su*
43) *i-na* ITI *še-me-e* u_4*-mu mit-ga-ri* [*ṣe-er*] *tam-le-e šu-a-tu*
44) É.GAL *ra-bi-tum ša ṣe-er ʿmaḫʾ-*[*ri*]*-ti ma-aʾ-diš šu-tu-rat*
45) *a-na mu-šab* LUGAL*-ti-ia ú-*[*še-piš*] GIŠ.ÙR.MEŠ GIŠ*.ere-ni*
46) *ṣi-ru-ti ú-šat-ri-ṣa e-ʿliʾ-šá* GIŠ.IG.MEŠ GIŠ*.li-ia-ri*
47) *me-ser* URUDU *nam-ri ú-rak-kis-ma ʿúʾ-rat-ta-a* KÁ.MEŠ*-šá*
48) NA_4*.pi-i-lu pe-ṣu-ú ša ʿi-naʾ er-ṣe-et* URU*.ba-la-ṭa-a-a*
49) *in-nam-ru* ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA *ʿúʾ-še-piš-ma im-na*
50) *ù šu-me-la ú-šá-aṣ-bi-ʿtaʾ si-ga-ar-šá*
51) É.GAL *šá-a-tu ul-tu ʿušʾ-*[*še*]*-šá a-di na-bur-ri-šá*
52) *ar-ṣip ú-šak-lil* MU.ʿSARʾ*-e ši-ṭir šu-me-ia*
53) *i-na qer-bi-šá áš-kun a-na ʿárʾ-kàt* UD.MEŠ *i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ*-ni*
54) DUMU.MEŠ*-ia ša* ^{d}*aš-šur ù* ʿ^{d}*išʾ-tar a-na* RE.É.UM ʿKURʾ *ù*
55) UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-ú* [*zi*]*-ʿkirʾ-šú e-nu-ma* É.GAL *šá-ʿaʾ-*[*tu*]
56) *i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ʿḫuʾ* [NUN *ar-ku-ú an*]*-ḫu-sa lu-ud-*[*diš*]
57) MU.SAR*-e ši-ṭir* MU*-ia* [*li*]*-ʿmurʾ-ma* Ì.GIŠ *ʿlip-šuʾ-*[*uš*]
58) UDU.SISKUR *liq-qí a-na* [*áš*]*-ri-šú lu-*[*ter*]
59) ^{d}*aš-šur ù* ^{d}*iš-*[*tar*] *ik-ri-bi-šú i-šem-*[*mu-u*]

plain of the city (and) I added (it) to (the site). (vi 40) I abandoned the site of the former palace and filled in a terrace in the area that I had taken from the mead[ow]. I raised its superstructure 200 courses of brick high.

vi 43–45a) In a favorable month, on an auspicious day, [upon] that terrace, I [had] a large palatial wing, which greatly surpassed the previ[ou]s one, [built] for my royal residence.
vi 45b–50) I roofed it with magnificent beams of cedar. I fastened bands of bright copper on doors of white cedar and I installed (them) in its gates. I had bull colossi (text "a bull colossus") fashioned (from) white limestone that was discovered in the territory of the city Balāṭāya and on the right and left I made (them) hold its door bolt(s).

vi 51–53a) I built (and) completed that palace from its found[ations] to its battlements. I deposited in it inscribed objects bearing my name.
vi 53b–59) In the future, one of the kings, my descendants, whom the god Aššur and the goddess Ištar [n]ame for shepherding the land and (vi 55) people — when th[at] palace becomes old and dilapidated, may [a future ruler] reno[vate] its [dilap]idated section(s) when th[at] palace becomes old and dilapidated. May he [fin]d an inscribed object bearing my name, ano[int] (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) [return] (it) to its [pl]ace. The god Aššur and the goddess Iš[tar] will (then) he[ar] his prayers.

Date ex. 1

60A) [ITI.*x x* (*x*) (UD.*x*.KAM) *li-mu* ^{m}]ʿEN-IGIʾ*-an-ni*
61A) [LÚ.EN.NAM] ʿURUʾ*.gar-ga-miš*

Date ex. 1

vi 60A–61A) [The month ..., (...th day,) eponymy of] Bēl-ēmuranni, [governor of] the city Carchemish (691).

vi 39 *aṣ-ʿbaʾ-ta* "I took": Cf. text no. 22 vi 47, which has *lu aṣ-ba-ta* "I took." *uš-rad-di* "I added": Text no. 22 exs. 1 and 2 have *lu ú-rad-di* "I added" and *lu uš-rad-di* "I added" respectively.
vi 40 *qaq-qar* "the site of": Text no. 22 vi 48 has *maš-kán* "the site of."
vi 40b–41a *i-na qaq-qa-ri ... ʿaṣʾ-ba-ta* "in the area ... I had taken": Cf. text no. 22 vi 49–50, which has *i-na qaq-qa-ri ú-šal-li ša ul-tu mal-di* ÍD *aṣ-ba-ta* "in the area of the meadow that I had taken from the river bank."
vi 44–45 Cf. text no. 22 vi 53–58a, which has *i-na nik-lat lib-bi-ia* É.GAL NA_4*.pi-i-li ù* GIŠ*.ere-ni né-peš-ti* KUR*.ḫat-ti ù* É.GAL *ṣi-ir-tu ep-šet* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ša* UGU *maḫ-ri-ti ma-aʾ-diš šu-tu-rat ra-ba-ta ù nak-lat i-na ši-pir* LÚ.ŠITIM.GAL*-le-e en-qu-ti a-na mu-šab be-lu-ti-ia ú-še-piš* "with my innate expertise, I had a palatial wing of limestone and cedar in the style of the land Ḫatti and a magnificent palatial wing of Assyrian workmanship, which greatly surpassed the previous one in size and expertise, built through the craft of well-trained master builders, for my lordly residence." This inscription describes the construction of only one wing of the armory, while text no. 22 describes that of two wings. This may be an indication that this text is the earlier of the two inscriptions.
vi 46 Text no. 22 vi 59 adds *tar-bit* KUR*.ḫa-ma-nim* KUR*-i el-li* "grown on Mount Amanus, the holy mountain" after *ṣi-ru-ti* "magnificent."
vi 46, 47, and 50 *e-ʿliʾ-šá* "over it," KÁ.MEŠ*-šá* "its gatess," and *si-ga-ar-šá* "its door bolt(s)": Cf. text no. 22 vi 60, 62, and 65, which have *e-li-šin* "over them," KÁ.MEŠ*-šin* "their gates," and SI.GAR*-šin* "their door bolts."
vi 48 Text no. 22 vi 62 adds *i-na* "from" before NA_4*.pi-i-lu pe-ṣu-ú* "white limestone."
vi 49 ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA "a bull colossus": Text no. 22 vi 64 has ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ *ṣi-ru-ti* "magnificent bull colossi."
vi 50 Cf. text no. 22 vi 65b–71a, which adds a passage recording the enlargement and the importance of the Rear Palace's outer courtyard. Its omission in this inscription may be an indication that this text is the earlier of the two inscriptions.
vi 59 Like most of Sennacherib's foundation inscriptions (text nos. 1–8 and 15–18), this text does not include an admonition against the removal of a royal inscription. Cf. text no. 10 lines 27–29, text no. 12 lines 1′–3′, and text no. 22 vi 80b–83, which include such advice.
vi 60A S.J. Lieberman (JAOS 112 [1992] p. 689) very tentatively reads the month the prism was inscribed in as ʿITI.BÁR.ZAG.GARʾ, "the month Nisannu (I)." We cannot, however, confirm Lieberman's reading from the published photographs of the object; see also Frahm, Sanherib p. 106.

Date ex. 2

60B) ITI.ʳDIRIGʾ.ŠE.KIN.[TAR (UD.*x*.KAM) *li-mu* ...]
61B) ʳLÚ.EN.NAMʾ [...]

Date ex. 2

vi 60B–61B) Intercalary Adda[ru (XII_2), (...th day,) eponymy of ...], governor of [...].

24

A fragment of a hexagonal clay prism, and possibly a second prism fragment, presumably from Nineveh, are inscribed with a foundation inscription written after Sennacherib captured Babylon and its king Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk) in late 689. Only a small portion of the complete text is extant. The prologue, parts of reports of the first campaign (against Marduk-apla-iddina II and his Chaldean and Elamite allies), second campaign (against the Kassites and Yasubigallians, and the land Ellipi), and the second conquest of Babylon, and the beginning of the building account (or a report of an expedition to Arabia) are preserved. With regard to the capture of Babylon in 689, Sennacherib records that he returned the gods of the city Ekallātum to their rightful place after 418 years and that he utterly destroyed Babylon and its temples by diverting water from canals; the actual destruction was probably not as bad as Sennacherib describes. Although neither exemplar preserves a date, the prisms were inscribed in 688 (eponymy of Iddin-aḫḫē; the king's 17th regnal year) or later.

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	K 1634	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 3.5 and 5 wide; 10 high	i 12–26, vi 1′–18′	c

CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	K 1665	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 3.7 and 3 wide; 10.5 high	i 1–22, ii 1′–9′	c

COMMENTARY

J. Reade (JCS 27 [1975] p. 194) and E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 106) tentatively assign K 1665 (ex. 1*) as a duplicate of K 1634 (ex. 1), the only certain exemplar of this inscription; Frahm notes that line lengths and line divisions of the two pieces are similar. Ex. 1* does not preserve enough text to be certain that it is inscribed with the same text as ex. 1. Following Reade and Frahm, K 1665 is tentatively edited with K 1634. Since the pieces overlap, it is certain that these fragments do not come from the same prism.

Frahm (Sanherib pp. 106–107) has raised the possibility that BM 134559 could be a duplicate of K 1634 (ex. 1); this tentative attribution is based solely on the fact that there appears to be sufficient room for a report of the destruction of Babylon in 689 between col. i′ 12′, which describes the battle of Ḫalulê, and col. ii′ 1′, which records the construction of the armory at Nineveh. Whether or not BM 134559 is a duplicate depends on the contents of K 1634 col. i′ 17′–18′ (= vi 17′–18′). These two lines contain the first two lines of either the building account or a report of military narration. Frahm (Sanherib p. 107) forwards the possibility that these badly damaged lines could preserve the beginning of a report describing an expedition to Arabia or the opening lines of an account recording work on the Sebetti temple at Nineveh, a project otherwise not attested in the extant Sennacherib corpus; for details, see the on-page note to vi 17′–18′ and Frahm, Sanherib p. 107. Too little is preserved to confirm or reject these conjectures. Because we cannot identify the contents of K 1634 col. i′ 17′–18′ with certainty and because we cannot prove that BM 134559 is inscribed with the same inscription as K 1634, it is best to edit that fragment on its own (text no. 25).

The text, we assume, included a short prologue, accounts of eight of Sennacherib's campaigns and the conquest and destruction of Babylon in 689, and a report of building at Nineveh (the armory, the Sebetti temple, or another building); this inscription may also include a report describing an expedition to Arabia. In addition to the uncertainty about the contents of vi 17′–18′ (building report or military narration), it is not known if the report of the battle of Ḫalulê (the eighth campaign) in this inscription duplicated that of the 691–689 editions of Sennacherib's *res gestae* (text nos. 18 and 22–23) or that of the Bavian Inscription, as E. Weissert (HSAO 6 p. 202) has suggested. Compare text no. 22 v 17–vi 35 to the Bavian Inscription lines 34b–43a (Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 82–83).

The master text is ex. 1 in i 23–26 and vi 1′–18′, and ex. 1* in i 1–11 and ii 1′–9′. Col. i 12–22 is a conflation of both exemplars, but the line division follows ex. 1. Because exs. 1 and 1* overlap in only a few lines, a partial score (i 12–22) is provided on the CD-ROM. Col. i 1–26 and ii 1′–9′ duplicate text no. 22 i 1–25 and ii 29–36. Col. vi 1′–16′ duplicate the Bavian Inscription lines 48–54a (Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 83–84). Restorations are based on those inscriptions.

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TEXT

Col. i

1) [^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*] LUGAL GAL ⌜LUGAL⌝ [*dan-nu*]
2) [LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*].KI LUGAL [*kib-rat* LÍMMU-*tim*]
3) [RE.É.UM *it-pe-šu*] ⌜*mi*⌝-*gir* DINGIR.⌜MEŠ⌝ [GAL.MEŠ]
4) [*na-ṣir kit-ti ra-ʾi*]-*im* ⌜*mi*⌝-[*šá-ri*]
5) [*e-piš ú-sa-a-ti a-lik*] ⌜*tap*⌝-*pu-ut* [*a-ki-i*]
6) [*sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti*] ⌜*eṭ*⌝-*lum* [*gít-ma-lum*]
7) [*zi-ka-ru qar-du a-šá*]-*red* ⌜*kal*⌝ [*mal-ki*]
8) [*rap-pu la-ʾi-iṭ*] ⌜*la*⌝ *ma*-[*gi-ri*]
9) [*mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a*]-⌜*ni*⌝ ^{d}*aš-šur* KUR-[*ú* GAL-*ú*]
10) [LUGAL-*ut la šá-na-an ú-šat*]-*li-ma-an*-[*ni-ma*]
11) [UGU *gim-ri a-šib pa-rak*]-⌜*ki*⌝ *ú-šar*-[*ba-a*]
12) ⌜GIŠ.TUKUL⌝.MEŠ-⌜*ia*⌝ [*ul-tu* A].⌜AB⌝.BA *e-le-*⌜*ni*⌝-[*ti*]

i 1–9a) [Sennacherib], great king, [strong] king, [king of the world, king of Assyria], king of [the four quarters (of the world), capable shepherd], favorite of the [great] gods, [guardian of truth who lov]es ju[stice, (i 5) renders assistance, goes to] the aid of [the weak, (and) strives after good deeds, perfect] man, [virile warrior, fore]most of all [rulers, the bridle that controls] the insub[missive, (and) the one who strikes enem]ies [with lightning]:

i 9b–18) The god Aššur, the [great] mounta[in, gran]ted to [me unrivalled sovereignty and] made my weapons gr[eater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) dais]es. He made [all] of the black-headed (people) [from the] Upp[er S]ea of the Setting Sun [to] the Lower Sea of the Rising Su[n] bow down at [my] feet.

13) ⌜*ša šá-lam*⌝ ᵈUTU-⌜*ši*⌝ [*a-di*] ⌜*tam*⌝-*tim šap-li-ti*
14) ⌜*ša*⌝ *ṣi-it* ᵈUTU-[*ši gim*]-⌜*ri*⌝ *ṣal-mat* SAG.DU
15) *ú-šak-niš še-pu-ú-*[*a*] *ù mal-ki* [*šep-ṣu-ti*]
16) *e-du-ru ta-ḫa-zi da-ád-me-šú-un*
17) *iz-zi-bu-ma ki-ma* ⌜*su-tin*⌝-*ni ni-gi-iṣ-ṣi*
18) *e-diš ip-par-šú a-*⌜*šar*⌝ *la* ʾ*a-a-ri*

(i 15) Thus did [recalcitrant] rulers come to fear battle with me. While they were abandoning their settlements, they flew away alone like bats (living) in crevices to inaccessible place(s).

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19) *i-na maḫ-re-e ger-ri-*⌜*ia*⌝ *ša* ᵐᵈAMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.[NA]
20) LUGAL KUR.*kár-*ᵈ*dun-ía-*⌜*àš*⌝ [*a*]-⌜*di*⌝ ERIM.ḪI.A ELAM.MA.KI
21) *re-ṣi-šu i-na ta-*⌜*mir*⌝-[*ti kiš*.KI] *áš-ta-*[*kan*]
22) BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú i-na* $MURUB_4$ *tam-*⌜*ḫa*⌝-[*ri*] ⌜*šu*⌝-*a-tu* [*e-zib*]
23) ⌜KARAŠ⌝-[*su*] ⌜*e*⌝-*diš ip-par-*[*šid-ma na-piš-tuš e-ṭí-ir* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ]
24) ⌜ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ⌝ [...]
25) (traces) [...]
26) (traces) [...]

i 19–26) On my first campaign, I brought [about] the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddi[na] (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), [toge]ther with the troops of (the land) Elam, his allies, in the plai[n of Kish]. In the midst of that bat[tle he abandoned his] ca[mp], fl[ed] alone, [and (thereby) saved his life. I seized the chariots], hors[es, ...] (i 25) ... [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

Lacuna

Col. ii

Lacuna

Lacuna

1′) *x* [...]
2′) URU.*kar-*ᵐᵈ⌜EN.ZU-ŠEŠ⌝.[MEŠ-SU *at-ta-bi ni-bit-su*]
3′) UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *ki-šit-*[*ti* ŠU.II-*ia i-na lìb-bi ú-še-šib*]
4′) *i-na* ŠU.II LÚ.*šu-*⌜*ut*⌝ [SAG-*ia* LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*ḫar-ḫar*]
5′) *am-nu-ú-ma ú-*[*rap-piš ma-a-ti i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia*]
6′) *ša* KUR.*ma-da-a-*[*a ru-qu-te ša i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ]
7′) AD.MEŠ-*ia* ⌜*ma*⌝-[*am-man la iš-mu-ú zi-kir* KUR-*šú-un*]
8′) *man-da-at-*[*ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu am-ḫur*]
9′) *a-na* ⌜*ni*⌝-[*ri be-lu-ti-ia ú-šak-ni-su-nu-ti*]

Lacuna

Lacuna

ii 1′–5′a) ... [... I called it] Kār-Sennac[herib. I settled therein] the people of the lands that [I] had conquer[ed]. I placed (it) under the authority of a eun[uch of mine, the governor of the city Ḫarḫar], and (thus) en[larged my land].

ii 5′b–9′) [On my return march, I received] a [substantial] payme[nt] from the [distant] Mede[s, of whose land] no[ne of the kings], my ancestors, [had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down] to the yo[ke of my lordship].

Lacuna

Lacuna

Col. vi

Lacuna

Lacuna

1′) [ᵈIŠKUR ᵈ*ša-la* DINGIR].MEŠ [*ša* URU.É.GAL.MEŠ]
2′) [*ša* ᵐᵈAMAR.UTU-SUM-ŠEŠ.MEŠ LUGAL KUR] ⌜URI?.KI?⌝ [*a-na tar-ṣi*]
3′) [ᵐ*tukul-ti-*A]-⌜*é*⌝-*šár-*⌜*ra*⌝ [LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI]
4′) [*il-qu-ma a-na* KÁ.DINGIR].⌜RA⌝.KI ⌜*ú*⌝-[*bil-lu*]
5′) [*i-na* 4 ME 18 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ *ul-tu*] KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI ⌜*ú-še*⌝-[*ṣa-am-ma*]
6′) [*a-na* URU.É.GAL.MEŠ *áš-ri-šú*]-*nu ú-ter-šú-*⌜*nu-ti*⌝
7′) [URU *ù* É.MEŠ *ul-tu* $UŠ_8$-*šú a*]-*di gaba-dib-bi-šú*
8′) [*ap-pul aq-qur i-na* ᵈGIŠ.BAR *aq*]-⌜*mu*⌝ BÀD *šal-ḫu-ú*
9′) [É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ *ziq-qur-rat* SIG_4] ⌜*ù* SAḪAR⌝.ḪI.A *ma-la ba-šu-*⌜*u*⌝

vi 1′–6′) [The god Adad (and) the goddess Šala, god]s [of the city Ekallātum whom Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē, king of *Ak*]*kad*, [had taken and] br[ought to Babyl]on [during the reign of Tiglath-pil]eser (I), [king of Assyria] — I had (them) [brought out of] Babylon [after 418 years and] I returned them [to the city Ekallātum, th]eir (proper) [place].

vi 7′–16′) [I destroyed, devastated, (and) bur]ned [with fire the city, and (its) buildings, from its foundations t]o its crenellations. [I removed bricks] and earth, as much as there was, [from] the inner (and) outer walls, [the temples, (and) the ziggurrat, and] (vi 10′) I threw

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i 25–26 Based on parallels, the translation assumes the restoration of *ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a* "my hands captured" in i 25 or i 26.
vi 5′ 4 ME 18 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ "418 years": See Brinkman, PKB p. 84.

10′) [*as-suḫ-ma a-na* ÍD.*a*]-ʳ*ra*ˀ-*aḫ-ti ad-di*
11′) [*i-na qé-reb* URU *šu-a-tu*] ÍD *aḫ-re-e-ma*
12′) [*er-ṣe-es-su-nu ina* A.MEŠ *as*]-ʳ*pu-un*ˀ *ši-kin uš-ši-šú*
13′) [*ú-ḫal-liq-ma* UGU *ša a*]-ʳ*bu*ˀ-*bu na-as-pan-ta-šú*
14′) [*ú-šá-tir áš-šu aḫ-rat* u_4]-ʳ*me qaq*ˀ-*qar* ʳURUˀ *šu-a-tú*
15′) [*ù* É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ] ʳ*la muš-ši*ˀ-*i*
16′) [*i-na ma-a-mi uš-ḫar-miṭ*]-ʳ*su-ma ag-da-mar*ˀ *ú-šal-liš*

(it) [into the A]raḫtu [River]. I dug a canal [into the center of that city] and (thus) [lev]eled [their site with water. I destroyed] the outline of its foundations [and (thereby) made] its destruction [surpass that of the] Deluge. [So that in the futu]re, the site of that city [and (its) temples] will be unrecognizable, [I dissolved] it (Babylon) [in water] and annihilated (it), (making it) like a meadow.

17′) [...] *x*-BI *a-lik maḫ-ri*
18′) [...] *x* ʳLÚ?ˀ *a*ˀ-[...]
Lacuna

vi 17′–18′) [...] ... who preceded/goes before [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

25

A fragment of a hexagonal clay prism from Nineveh is inscribed with a foundation inscription that was most likely written after Sennacherib captured Babylon and its king Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk) in Kislīmu (IX) 689. Although only a small portion of the report of the eighth campaign (the battle of Ḫalulê) and the building report (the armory at Nineveh) are preserved, this edition of the king's *res gestae*, like text no. 24, probably contained an account of the second conquest of Babylon, during which that city and its temples are said to have been utterly destroyed. The building report, as far as it is preserved, contains the same description of work on the armory (*ekal kutalli*, the "Rear Palace") as text no. 22. Because only small portions of the complete text are preserved, it is not impossible that this fragment is inscribed with a copy of text no. 24, rather than with that of another inscription. Although its date lines are missing, the prism to which this fragment belongs was probably inscribed in 688 (eponymy of Iddin-aḫḫē; the king's 17th regnal year) or later.

24 vi 11′ ÍD "a canal": Cf. the Bavian Inscription line 52 (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 84), which has ʳ*ḫi-ra*ˀ-*a-ti* "canals."
24 vi 13′ *na-as-pan-ta-šú* "its destruction": The Bavian Inscription line 53 (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 84) has *na-al-pan-ta-šu*; on that spelling of the word, see Frahm, Sanherib p. 154.
24 vi 17′–18′ It is uncertain if these lines contain the first two lines of the building account or another report of military narration. Should these lines be part of the building report, it is very unlikely, as already discussed by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 107), that *x*-BI *a-lik maḫ-ri* is to be read as ʳ*a*ˀ-*bi a-lik maḫ-ri* "my ancestors, who preceded (me)." Frahm, however, does provide a rather speculative alternative: [*ina* u_4-*me-šú-ma* É ^{d}]ʳIMINˀ.BI, "[at that time, the temple of the] Sebetti." For information on the Sebetti temple at Nineveh, see Menzel, Tempel 1 p. 122; and Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) p. 410 §13.4. Frahm's conjectural restoration cannot be presently supported, as this project is not attested elsewhere in the extant Sennacherib corpus, and thus it is not followed here. Should vi 17′–18′ be part of an account of military narration, these lines may contain a report describing an expedition to Arabia. Frahm (Sanherib p. 107) has raised the possibility that the traces in vi 18′ could be read as [...] *x* LÚ.*a*-[*ra-bi/mu*] "[...] ... *A*[*rabs*]/*A*[*rameans*]."

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 134559	1932-12-12,554	Nineveh	Cols. 2.2 and 3.8 wide; 5.1 high	c

COMMENTARY

E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 106–107) has raised the possibility that BM 134559 could be a duplicate of K 1634 (text no. 24 ex. 1) because there appears to be sufficient room for a report of the destruction of Babylon in 689 between col. i′ 12′ and col. ii′ 1′. Because we cannot identify the contents of K 1634 col. i′ 17′–18′ (= text no. 24 vi 17′–18′) with certainty and because we cannot prove that BM 134559 is inscribed with the same inscription as K 1634, it is best to edit this fragment on its own. For details, see the commentary of text no. 24.

The text, we assume, included a short prologue, accounts of eight of Sennacherib's campaigns and the second conquest of Babylon, and a report of work on the armory. It is possible that it also included a report describing an expedition to Arabia.

The extant text, which would have been in cols. v and vi, duplicates text no. 22 vi 16–25 and 61–70. Restorations are based on that inscription.

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1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 106–107 T 18 (study)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

TEXT

Col. i′

Lacuna

1′) [...] *x x*

2′) [(...) *si-it-ti* LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*šú a-di* ^{md}MUATI]-⌜MU⌝-*iš-kun*

3′) [DUMU ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA *ša la-pa-an*] ⌜*ta-ḫa*⌝-*zi-ia*

4′) [*ip-la-ḫu id-ku-ú* Á.II-*šú-un bal*]-⌜*ṭu*⌝-*su-un*

5′) [*ina* MURUB$_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri it-mu-ḫa*] ⌜ŠU⌝.II-*a-a*

6′) [GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *a-di* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*ši-na ša i*]-⌜*na*⌝ *qit-ru-ub*

7′) [*ta-ḫa-zi dan-ni ra-ki-bu-šin*] *de-ku-ma*

8′) [*ù ši-na muš-šu-ra-ma ra-ma*]-⌜*nu*⌝-*uš-šin*

9′) [*it-ta-na-al-la-ka mit-ḫa-riš ú*]-⌜*ter*⌝-*ra*

10′) [*a-di* 2 KASKAL.GÍD GE$_6$ *il-li-ku da-ak-šú-nu*] ⌜*ap*⌝-*ru-us*

11′) [*šu-ú* ^{m}*um-ma-an-me-na-nu* LUGAL KUR.ELAM].⌜MA.KI⌝

12′) [*a-di* LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI LÚ.*na-sik-ka-ni ša* KUR.*kal*]-⌜*di*⌝

Lacuna

Col. ii′

Lacuna

Lacuna

i′ 1′–5′) [...] ... [(...) (As for) the rest of his magnates, including Nabû]-šuma-iškun, [a son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), who had raised their arms because they were terrified of] doing battle with me, I [captured them ali]ve [in the thick of battle].

i′ 6′–10′) [I b]rought back [all together the chariots along with their horses, whose drivers had been killed i]n the thick of (that) [mighty battle and which had themselves been released so that they galloped about on] their [ow]n. [When the second double-hour of the night had passed], I stopped [their slaughter].

i′ 11′–12′) [(As for) him, Umman-menanu (Ḫumban-menanu), the king of the land El]am, [along with the king of Babylon (and) the sheikhs of Chal]dea

Lacuna

Lacuna

1′) ⌜*ú*⌝-[*rak-kis-ma ú-rat-ta-a* KÁ.MEŠ-*šin*]
2′) *i-na* ⌜NA$_4$⌝.[*pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e ša i-na er-ṣe-et*]
3′) URU.*ba-*⌜*la*⌝-[*ṭa-a-a in-nam-ru* ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ]
4′) *ṣi-ru-ti* ⌜*ú*⌝-[*še-piš-ma im-na ù šu-me-la*]
5′) *ú-šá-aṣ-*[*bi-ta* SI.GAR-*šin*]
6′) *a-na šu-te-šu-*⌜*ri*⌝ [*ṣal-mat* SAG.DU *pa-qa-di mur-ni-is-qí*]
7′) ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ⌜*a*⌝-[*ga-li-i til-li* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ]
8′) GIŠ.*at-ta-ra-*⌜*te*⌝ [*e-req-qí iš-pa-a-te*]
9′) *til-pa-na-a-te* ⌜*ù*⌝ [*uṣ-ṣi mim-ma šum-šú*]
10′) ⌜*ú-nu*⌝*-ut ta-ḫa-zi* ⌜*na*⌝-[*aṣ-ma-di* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ]
11′) ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ *šá i-*⌜*mu*⌝-[*qí ra-ba-a-te i-šu-ú*]
12′) *šuk-nu-še a-*⌜*na ni*⌝*-ri* [...]
Lacuna

ii′ 1′–5′) I [fastened bands of bright copper on doors of white cedar and I installed (them) in their gates]. I [had] magnificent [bull colossi fashioned] from [white limestone that was discovered in the territory of] the city Balā[ṭāya and on the right and left] I made (them) h[old their door bolt(s)].
ii′ 6′–12′) [I greatly enlarged its outer courtyard] for the proper administration of [the black-headed (people), the inspection of thoroughbred horses], mules, *a*[*gālu*-donkeys, military equipment, chariots], carts, [wagons, quivers], *bows*, and [*uṣṣu*-arrows, every type of] (ii′ 10′) implement of war, (and) the submission of te[ams of horses] (and) mules, which [have great] stren[gth], to the yoke.

Lacuna

26

A fragment from the lower part of a hexagonal clay prism from Nineveh is inscribed with a foundation inscription summarizing the many accomplishments of Sennacherib on the battlefield and describing one of his building activities at Nineveh. The text, as far as it is preserved, is similar to text no. 34, a text inscribed on a large stone tablet. The portion that remains, which comes from the bottom of cols. i and ii of the prism, contains abbreviated reports of his first five campaigns, the campaign that took place in the eponymy of Šulmu-Bēl (696; Sennacherib's 9th regnal year), and his seventh campaign. Presumably, the missing portions of the military narration included accounts of the campaign that took place in the eponymy of Aššur-bēlu-uṣur (695; the king's 10th regnal year), the eighth campaign, and possibly one or more of his post-691 campaigns (the conquest and destruction of Babylon in 689, to Arabia, etc.). As for the building report, it may have described the rebuilding and decoration of the armory, as suggested by the fact that this inscription closely parallels text no. 34. Although the date lines are completely broken away, this edition of Sennacherib's *res gestae* is generally thought to have been written in 687 (eponymy of Sennacherib; the king's 18th regnal year) or later.

25 Lacuna before ii′ 1′ Based on the parallel passage in text no. 22, the translation assumes that the now-missing line(s) before ii′ 1′ contained GIŠ.IG.MEŠ *li-ia-ri me-ser* URUDU *nam-ri* "doors of white cedar, bands of bright copper."
25 ii′ 12′ and lacuna The translation assumes that *ki-sal-la-šá* KÁ-*nu-ú ma-gal uš-rab-bi* "I greatly enlarged its outer courtyard" appeared at the end of ii′ 12′ and at the beginning of the now-missing ii′ 13′.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 121025	1929-10-12,21	Nineveh, Area SH	Cols. ca. 6 wide; 7.5 high	c

COMMENTARY

Because only a small portion of the complete text is preserved and because the extant text duplicates inscriptions written on other media, it is difficult to accurately assess the contents of this edition of Sennacherib's *res gestae*; the same is true for the year during which the prism was inscribed. Thus, any statements about its contents, date, and length are largely speculative. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 108), having compared the text preserved on BM 121025 with the one inscribed on a large stone tablet, the so-called "Nebi Yunus Inscription" (text no. 34), noted that: (1) the inscription probably included reports of the campaign that took place in the eponymy of Aššur-bēlu-uṣur (695; against the city Tīl-Garimme) and the eighth campaign (the battle of Ḫalulê); (2) the prism may have been much smaller than other known octagonal and hexagonal prisms of Sennacherib, with ca. 43 lines per column, for a total of ca. 258 lines of text (1:2.3 ratio); (3) the building report may have been the same or similar to that of the "Nebi Yunus Inscription" (text no. 34); and (4), assuming no. 3 above, there appears to be sufficient room (ca. 42 lines) for report(s) of Sennacherib's post-691 campaigns. Given the lack of evidence, we can add little to Frahm's conjectures.

The contents are similar to text no. 34 lines 10–17 and 34–39 and K 4507 i 1′–4′ (Frahm, Sanherib pp. 202–203 T 173; to be edited in Part 2). Col. i 1′, 4′–5′, 7′, 16′–17′, ii 1′–3′, 5′–7′, and 10′ deviate from text no. 34. When possible, restorations are based on text no. 34. Many of the differences between this inscription and text no. 34 are noted in the on-page notes.

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2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

TEXT

Col. i

Lacuna

1′) [...] *x* IŠ *x* [*x x*]
2′) [*gi-mir* KUR-*šú ak-šud*^{ud}]-⌜*ma*⌝ *šal-la-ti-iš* ⌜*am*⌝-[*nu*]
3′) [URU.MEŠ-*šú ap-pul aq*]-⌜*qur*⌝ *ina* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mi*
4′) [... *i-na* URU.*na*]-⌜*gi*⌝-*ti a-šar áš-bu*
5′) [*pul-ḫi me-lam-me*] *is-ḫu-up-šú-ma šá-da-šú e-*[*mid*]

Lacuna

i 1′–5′) [...] ... [... I conquered his (Marduk-apla-iddina II's) entire land] and I coun[ted] (his people) as booty. [I destroyed, devas]tated, (and) burned with fire [his cities. ... in the city Na]gītu, where he was residing, [fear of (my lordly) brilliance] overwhelmed him and he (Marduk-apla-iddina II) disap[peared].

i 1′ R.C. Thompson (Iraq 7 [1940] p. 94) very tentatively suggests [*at-ta*]-⌜*gi*⌝-*iš*-⌜*ma*$^{?}$⌝ "[I roa]med about and" on the basis of text no. 22 i 71. This restoration seems unlikely since the verb *nagāšu* does not occur in reports of the first or fourth campaign.
i 4′ The restoration follows Borger, BAL^2 p. 78. Like text no. 34, this text combines the accounts of the first and fourth campaigns.

6′) [URU.*ḫi-rim-mu*] ⌜*ù*⌝ LÚ.*ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-*⌜*a*⌝
7′) [...] *x-*⌜*da*⌝*-a-nu* KUR.*ma-da-a-a* ⌜*ru-qu*⌝*-*[*te*]
8′) [*ú-šal-pit-ma ú-ab*]*-bit da-ád-me-šú-un*
9′) [*ša* ^{m}*lu-li-i* LUGAL] ⌜URU⌝*.ṣi-du-ni e-kim* ⌜LUGAL-*su*⌝
10′) [^{m}*tu-ba-a*ʾ*-lu*] ⌜*ina*⌝ GIŠ.GU.ZA-*šú ú-še-šib-ma*
11′) [*man-da-at-tu* EN-*ti*]*-ia ú-kin ṣe-*⌜*ru*⌝*-uš-šú*
12′) [*ú-šal-pit rap-šú na*]*-*⌜*gu*⌝*-u* KUR.*ia-ú-di*
13′) [^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú* LUGAL-*šu*] *e-mid ab-šá-a-nu*
14′) [LÚ.MEŠ URU.*tu-mur-ra-a*]*-*⌜*a*⌝ *a-ši-bu-ut* KUR.*ni-pur*
15′) [KUR-*i mar-ṣi i-na*] ⌜GIŠ⌝.TUKUL *ú-šam-qit*
16′) [URU.*uk-ku a-di nap*]*-*⌜*ḫar* DÙ⌝ *da-ád-me-šú*
17′) [*ki-ma* DU_6 *a-bu-bi*] *uš-bi-i*ʾ
18′) [UN.MEŠ KUR.*ḫi-lak-ki*] ⌜*a*⌝*-ši-bu-ti*

Col. ii

Lacuna

1′) *x* [...]
2′) *šá a-*⌜*na*⌝ [...]
3′) *ina* MÈ EDIN [*bal-ṭu-su ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*šú-un*]
4′) *a-na maḫ-ri-*[*ia ub-lu-niš-šu*]
5′) *ina* KÁ $MURUB_4$ URU *šá* ⌜NINA⌝.[KI *ar-ku-su*]
6′) *it-ti a-su* [...]
7′) LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *šá a-na re-*[*ṣu-ti-šu*]
8′) *il-li-ka a-na* KUR-⌜*šu*⌝ [*lu al-lik*]
9′) URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti* É [*ni-ṣir-ti-šú*]
10′) *ù* URU.MEŠ-*šú* TUR.MEŠ *ša* ⌜*li*⌝*-*[*me-ti-šú-nu*]
11′) *a-*⌜*di*⌝ *né-re-*⌜*bi ša*⌝ É-^{m}*bu-*⌜*na*⌝*-*[*ak-ki al-me*]
12′) [*ak-šud*^{ud} *áš*]*-*⌜*lu*⌝*-la šal-la-*⌜*su*⌝*-*[*un ap-pul*]
13′) [*aq-qur ina* ^{d}GIŠ].BAR *aq-mi*

Rest of the inscription is missing

i 6′–8′) [I ruined the city Ḫirimmu] and (the land of) the Yasubigallians, [...d]ānu, (and) the dista[nt] Medes [and I destr]oyed their settlements.
i 9′–11′) I took away the kingship of [Lulî, the king of] the city Sidon. (i 10′) I placed [Tu-Ba'lu] on his throne and imposed upon him [payment (in recognition) of] my [overlordship].
i 12′–13′) [I ruined the wide dis]trict of the land Judah (and) imposed the yoke on [Hezekiah, its king].
i 14′–17′) I put [to] the sword [the people of the city Tumurru]m, who live on Mount Nipur, [a rugged mountain]. I swept over [the city Ukku, together with every] last one of its settlements, (so that they looked) [like a ruin hill (created by) the Deluge].
i 18′) [I struck down with the sword the people of the land Ḫilakku], who live [in the mountains].

Lacuna

ii 1′–6′) ... [...] who/which ... [...]. In a pitched battle, [they captured him (Nergal-ušēzib) alive (and) brought him] before [me]. (ii 5′) At the Citadel Gate of Nineveh, [I bound him] with a bear [...].

ii 7′–13′) (As for) the king of the land Elam, who had come to [his] (Šūzubu's) a[id, I marched] to his land. [I surrounded, conquered, pl]under[ed, destroyed, devastated], (and) burned [with fi]re his fortified cities, [his] tre[asury], and small(er) settlements of his in [their] en[virons], as far as the pass of (the land) Bīt-Buna[ki].

Rest of the inscription is missing

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i 6′–8′ Cf. text no. 34 lines 12–13, which have URU.*ḫi-rim-mu ù* KUR *ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a* KUR.*el-li-pi ú-šal-pit-ma ú-ab-bit da-ád-me-šá* "I smashed the city Ḫirimmu, the land of the Yasubigallians, (and) the land Ellipi, and I destroyed its settlements." It is uncertain if one should restore *ak-šud*^{ud} at the beginning of line 6′. Moreover, there does not appear to be sufficient space at the beginning of line 7′ to restore KUR.*el-li-pi* "the land Ellipi." [...] *x-*⌜*da*⌝*-a-nu* "[...d]ānu": L.D. Levine (JCS 34 [1982] p. 39) suggests [KUR.É-*ab-da*]-⌜*da*⌝*-a-nu* "[the land Bīt-Abda]dānu."
i 16′ One expects *nap-ḫar da-ád-me-šú* "all of its settlements," as it is in text no. 34 line 17, but this text has [*nap*]-⌜*ḫar* DÙ⌝ *da-ád-me-šú* "[every] last one of its settlements."
i 17′ *uš-bi-i*ʾ "I swept over": Text no. 34 line 17 has *ú-ab-bit* "I destroyed."
Lacuna after i 18′ Based on text no. 34 lines 17–18, the translation assumes that the now-missing line(s) after i 18′ contained *ḫur-šá-a-ni a-nar i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL "mountains, I struck down with the sword."
ii 3′ *ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*šú-un* "their hands captured": Or possibly *iṣ-ba-tu-nim-ma* "they captured and"; see text no. 35 line 14′. Cf. text no. 34 lines 34–35, which add *e-ri-in-nu bi-re-tu id-du-šu-ma* "they threw him into a neck-stock (and) fetters and."
ii 5′ KÁ "gate": This may be a mistake for KÁ.GAL "city gate"; see text no. 34 line 35.
ii 6′ *it-ti a-su* "with a bear": Cf. text no. 34 line 36, which has *da-bu-ú-iš* "like a bear"; E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 108) suggests that *dabûiš* should be translated in that text as "with a bear." Esarhaddon (Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 18 Esarhaddon 1 iii 42) and Ashurbanipal (Borger, BIWA p. 62 Prism A viii 12–13) also record that they bound captive foreign rulers at the citadel gate with bears (as well as with dogs and pigs).
ii 7′–8′ There is not enough room to restore KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ "Babylonians" at the end of the line. Cf. text no. 34 line 36, which has *re-ṣu-ut* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ *il-li-ku* "who came to the aid of the Babylonians" in lieu of *a-na re-*[*ṣu-ti-šu*] *il-li-ka* "who had come to [his] (Šūzubu's) a[id]."
ii 10′ URU.MEŠ-*šú* TUR.MEŠ "small(er) settlements of his": Text no. 34 line 37 has URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ "small(er) settlements."

27

Four small, fragmentary 'triangular' prisms from Nineveh are inscribed with a short inscription of Sennacherib that consisted only of the king's titles and epithets and a statement about the god Aššur supporting Sennacherib as his earthly representative. It is not known if these curious prisms had some functional purpose (foundation deposit, site marker, etc.) or if they were scribal exercises written on practice prisms. The objects were not inscribed before 698 or 697 (Sennacherib's 7th or 8th regnal year; see the commentary).

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	—	Bu 89-4-26,170	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 3.3 and 4.1 wide; col. divider 2 wide; 8.4 high	i 1–12, ii 1–12	c
2	K 20599	—	Probably Nineveh	Cols. 3.8 and 0.8 wide; col. divider 1.3 wide; 3.6 high	i 1–5, 26–ii 1	c
3	BM 121030	1929-10-12,26	Nineveh	Cols. 2.8 and 0.8 wide; col. divider 2 wide; 3.1 high	i 19-22, ii 1′–5′	c
4	—	NIN/89/10	Nineveh, Northwest Mound area	—	i 12–14, 25–ii 10	n

COMMENTARY

These relatively small (ca. 4×16 cm) objects have been referred to as hexagonal prisms with three inscribed faces in previous literature. Actually, they are 'triangular' prisms with wide and fairly flat column dividers (ca. 1.3–2 cm). Thus, the three inscribed faces are referred to in this edition as cols. i, ii, and iii, and not as cols. i, iii, and v (with blank cols. ii, iv, and vi). Each column had ca. 22–27 short lines of text, often with only one word per line. Since the tops of exs. 1, 2, and 4 and the base of ex. 3 are preserved, it is certain that none of the four exemplars come from the same object. Moreover, exs. 1–3 were likely written by different scribes; the script of ex. 2 is neater and smaller than that of ex. 1 and the wedges of ex. 3 are more deeply impressed than those of exs. 1–2.

The text comprises only the prologue of text nos. 15–18 and 22–23. This oddity, as well as some orthographic abnormalities (ii 6, 8, and 10), may suggest that the objects were scribal exercises written on practice prisms. However, it cannot be ruled out that these three-sided prisms had some practical application, such as a foundation deposit or a site marker.

A precise date of composition cannot be determined with certainty. However, since the text (at least in ex. 4) includes a passage stating that the god Aššur made all of the black-headed people bow down at Sennacherib's feet, these prisms could not have been inscribed before 698 or 697, when that section was added to the prologue of the king's *res gestae*. Unfortunately, the evidence needed to determine if these objects were prepared ca. 694–689 (*šulmu šamši* or *šalām šamši*) is missing; in 694, 693, 692, or 691, *ultu tiāmti elēnīti ša šulmu šamši* ("from the Upper Sea of the Setting Sun") was changed to *ultu tiāmti elēnīti ša šalām šamši*.

NIN/89/10 (ex. 4) is included here courtesy of D. Stronach. A detailed study and edition of that fragment will appear in Pickworth, Nineveh 2, which is a catalogue of the small finds discovered during

UC Berkeley's excavations at Nineveh.

The text, when complete, would have duplicated text no. 15 i 1–[26], text no. 16 i 1–26, text no. 17 i 1–21, text no. 22 i 1–19, and text no. 23 i 1–17. Because exs. 1–4 are all badly damaged, the master line is a conflation of all four exemplars. When possible, the line and column divisions follow ex. 1. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM.

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— Pickworth, Nineveh 2 (ex. 4, copy, edition)

TEXT

Col. i

1) [^{md}EN].⌜ZU-ŠEŠ⌝.[MEŠ]-SU*
2) [LUGAL] GAL-*ú*
3) [LUGAL] ⌜*dan-nu*⌝
4) [LUGAL] ⌜*kiš-šá-ti*⌝
5) [LUGAL KUR] ⌜*aš-šur*.KI⌝
6) [LUGAL] ⌜*kib*⌝-*rat*
7) [LÍMMU]-*ti*
8) [RE].⌜É⌝.UM
9) [*it*]-⌜*pe*⌝-*šu*
10) [*mi*]-⌜*gir* DINGIR⌝.MEŠ
11) [GAL].MEŠ
12) [*na-ṣir*] ⌜*kit*⌝-*ti*
13) [*ra-ʾi*]-*im*
14) [*mi-šá*]-*ri*
15) [*e-piš*]
16) [*ú-sa-a-ti*]
17) [*a-lik*]
18) [*tap-pu-ut*]
19) [*a-ki*]-⌜*i*?⌝
20) [*sa*]-⌜*ḫi*⌝-*ru*
21) [*dam*]-⌜*qa*⌝-*a-ti*
22) ⌜*eṭ*⌝-*lum*
23) [*gít-ma-lum*]
24) [*zi-ka-ru*]
25) ⌜*qar*⌝-[*du*]
26) *a*-[*šá-red*]
27) *kal ma*-[*al-ki*]

Col. ii

1) *rap*-[*pu*]
2) *la-ʾi*-[*iṭ*]
3) *la ma*-[*gi-ri*]
4) *mu-šab*-[*ri-qu*]
5) *za-ma*-[*a-ni*]
6) ^{d}*aš-šur*
7) KUR-*ú* [GAL-*ú*]
8) LUGAL-⌜*ú*⌝-[*ut*]

i 1–ii 5) [Senn]acherib, [great] king, strong [king, king of] the world, (i 5) [king of] Assyria, [king of] the [fou]r quarters (of the world), [cap]able [she]pherd, (i 10) [favo]rite of the [great] gods, [guardian of] truth [who love]s [justi]ce, (i 15) [renders assistance, goes to the aid of the wea]k, (i 20) (and) [st]rives after [goo]d deeds, [perfect] man, [virile] war[rior], fo[remost of] all rul[ers], (ii 1) the bri[dle] that con[trols] the insub[missive], (and) the one who strikes enem[ies with lightning]:

ii 6–12) The god Aššur, the [great] mountain, granted [to me] unrival[led] sovereig[nty and made my weapons greater] than (those of) a[ll] who sit on

ii 6 Ex. 1 has ⌜^{d}*a*?⌝-[*šur*] "the god A[ššur]." One expects ^{d}*aš-šur*, not ^{d}*a-šur*. Cf., for example, text no. 22 i 10.
ii 8 In this context, one expects LUGAL-*ut*, not LUGAL-*ú-ut* "kingship." Cf., for example, text no. 22 i 10.

9) *la šá-ʳnaʾ-[an]*
10) *ú-šat-ʳlimʾ-[an-ni-ma]*
11) UGU *ʳgiʾ-[mir]*
12) *ʳa-šib pa-rakʾ-[ki]*
Lacuna
1′) *x [...]*
2′) *ʳaʾ-[di tam-tim]*
3′) *ʳšapʾ-[li-ti ša]*
4′) *ʳṣiʔʾ-[it* dUTU*-ši]*
5′) *ʳgimʔʾ-[ri ṣal-mat]*
Lacuna
Col. iii
Completely broken away

(royal) dais[es].

Lacuna
ii 1′–5′) [He made] al[l of the black-headed (people) from the Upper Sea of the Setting Sun] t[o the] Lo[wer Sea of the] Ris[ing Sun bow down at my feet].

Lacuna

Completely broken away

28

A small fragment from the top of a clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, preserves two lines of a foundation inscription of Sennacherib. The extant text contains part of the report of the fourth campaign (against the people of Bīt-Yakīn living in Elam) that is narrated in numerous other inscriptions written on clay prisms.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
K 18318	—	Probably Nineveh	2.5×1	c

COMMENTARY

Because the fragment preserves only the top of the prism and the middle part of two lines and because the piece could belong to any of the known editions of Sennacherib's *res gestae* inscribed on clay prisms, the text written on K 18318 is arbitrarily edited on its own. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 109) has suggested that the line/column division most closely resembles that of text no. 15, which is written on octagonal prisms.

The text duplicates, for example, text no. 15 v 1–3, text no. 17 iv 9–10, and text no. 22 iii 68–69.

27 ii 10 The standard way *ušatlimannīma* "he (the god Aššur) granted to me and" is written in the Sennacherib corpus is *ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma*, not *ú-šat-lim-an-ni-ma*. Cf., for example, text no. 22 i 11.
27 Lacuna between ii 12 and ii 1′ Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing lines between ii 12 and ii 1′ and the almost completely destroyed ii 1′ contained *ú-šar-ba-a* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ*-ia ul-tu* A.AB.BA *e-le-ni-ti ša šá-lam* dUTU*-ši* "he (the god Aššur) made my weapons greater (than those of all who sit on royal daises ...) from the Upper Sea of the Setting Sun (to the Lower Sea of the Rising Sun)."
27 Lacuna after ii 5′ The translation assumes that the now-missing lines after ii 5′ contained SAG.DU *ú-šak-niš še-pu-ú-a* "he (the god Aššur) made (all of the black)-headed (people) bow down at my feet."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1992 Lambert, Cat. p. 21 (study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib p. 109 (transliteration)

TEXT

Col. i′
1) [*ú-še-ṣa-am*]-⌜*ma*⌝ *šal-la-tiš* ⌜*am*⌝-[*nu*]
2) [*ú-ter-ma* URU].⌜MEŠ-*šú*⌝ *ap-*⌜*pul*⌝ [*aq-qur*]

Lacuna

i′ 1) [I brought out] and I coun[ted] (them) as booty.
i′ 2) [Once again] I destroyed (and) [devastated] his [cit]ies,
Lacuna

29

A small clay fragment, possibly from a prism and presumably from Nineveh, preserves a portion of the report of Sennacherib's third campaign (to the Levant) that is narrated in numerous other inscriptions written on clay prisms.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Sm 2029	—	Probably Nineveh	5.5×5.5	c

COMMENTARY

As E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 109) has already pointed out, Sm 2029 is too small to determine if it comes from a clay prism or a clay tablet. Because we are not certain about the type of object from which this fragment originates, this text is edited on its own. Should the piece come from a prism, then Sm 2029 may come from a hexagonal prism, as suggested by the width of the lines; Frahm (Sanherib p. 109) suggests that it may have come from a relatively late edition (691 or later). Should Sm 2029 come from a tablet, then it is possible that the fragment is part of the same object as Sm 2017 (Frahm, Sanherib pp. 238–239).

The extant text duplicates, for example, text no. 16 iii 28–40, text no. 17 ii 89–iii 5, and text no. 22 ii 62–73. Restorations are based on text no. 22.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896 Bezold, Cat. 4 p. 1525 (study)
1979 Borger, BAL^{2} pp. 67 and 88 (study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib p. 109 (transliteration)

TEXT

Col. i′

Lacuna

1′) [... DINGIR.MEŠ] ⌜É AD⌝-*šú šá-a-šú* ⌜DAM⌝-[*su* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú*]

2′) [DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* ŠEŠ].MEŠ-*šú* NUMUN É AD-*šú as-*⌜*su*⌝-[*ḫa-ma*]

3′) [*a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú*]-⌜*ra*⌝-*áš-šú* ^{m}LUGAL-*lu-dà-ri* DUMU ⌜^{m}⌝[*ru-kib-ti*]

4′) [LUGAL-*šú*]-⌜*nu*⌝ *maḫ-ru-ú* UGU UN.MEŠ URU.*is-*⌜*qa*⌝-[*al-lu-na*]

5′) [*áš*]-⌜*kun*⌝-*ma na-dan* GUN *kàd-re-e be-lu-*[*ti-ia*]

6′) [*e-mid-su*]-*ú-ma i-šá-a-aṭ ab-šá-*⌜*a*⌝-[*ni*]

7′) [*i-na me-ti-iq*] ⌜*ger*⌝-*ri-ia* URU.É-*da-gan-*⌜*na*⌝

8′) [URU.*ia-ap-pu*]-⌜*ú*⌝ URU.*ba-na-a-a-bar-*⌜*qa*⌝

9′) [URU.*a-zu-ru* URU.MEŠ-*ni*] ⌜*ša* ^{m}⌝*ṣi-id-qa-*⌜*a*⌝

10′) [*ša a-na* GÌR.II-*ia ár-ḫiš la ik*]-⌜*nu-šú*⌝ *al-me* KUR-*ud*

11′) [*áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un* LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ] ⌜LÚ.NUN.MEŠ⌝ [...]

Lacuna

Lacuna

i′ 1′–6′) I forcibly remo[ved the gods of] his father's house, himself, [his] wife, [his sons, his daughters], his [brother]s, (and other) offspring of his father's house [and t]ook him [to Assyria. I s]et Šarru-lū-dāri, son of [Rūkibtu, th]eir former [king, over the people of the city Ashke[lon] (i′ 5′) and [imposed upon hi]m the payment of tribute (and) gifts (in recognition) of [my] overlords[hip] so that he (now) pulls [my] yok[e].

i′ 7′–11′) [In the course of] my campaign, I surrounded, conquered, (and) [plundered] the cities Bīt-Daganna, [Jopp]a, Banayabarqa, (and) [Azuru, the cities] of Ṣidqâ [that had not sub]mitted [to me quickly. (As for) the governors], the nobles, [...]

Lacuna

30

A small fragment from the top of a clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, preserves two lines of a foundation inscription of Sennacherib. The extant text appears to contain part of the report of the third campaign (to the Levant) that is narrated in numerous other inscriptions written on clay prisms.

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Rm 25	—	Probably Nineveh	5.2×1.9	c

COMMENTARY

Because the fragment preserves only the top of the prism and the middle part of two lines and because the piece could belong to any of the known editions of Sennacherib's *res gestae* inscribed on clay prisms, the text written on Rm 25 is arbitrarily edited on its own. As far as we can tell, the text duplicates, for example, text no. 16 iii 1–2, text no. 17 ii 61, and text no. 22 ii 39–40.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896 Bezold, Cat. 4 p. 1573 (study)

1997 Frahm, Sanherib p. 109 (transliteration)

TEXT

Col. i′

1) [*a-na*] ⌜*ru*⌝-*uq-qí* MURUB$_4$ [*tam-tim*]
2) [*in*]-⌜*na*⌝-*bit-ma* ⌜*šad*⌝-[*da-šú e-mid*]
Lacuna

i′ 1–2) [He (Lulî) f]led afar into the midst of [the sea] and disapp[eared].
Lacuna

31

A fragment of a decagonal clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, is inscribed with a late foundation inscription of Sennacherib. Only parts of the prologue and the report of the second campaign (a military expedition against the Kassites and Yasubigallians, and the land Ellipi) are preserved. Although the date lines are completely missing, the prism from which this small piece originates must have been composed relatively late in Sennacherib's reign (post-689).

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
—	82-5-22,22	Probably Nineveh	5×4.5	c

COMMENTARY

J. Reade (JCS 27 [1975] p. 192) has suggested that 82-5-22,22 is a fragment of an octagonal prism and a duplicate of text no. 17. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 109), however, thought that it belonged to a ten-sided prism because the angle of the two preserved faces best fits a decagonal prism. 82-5-22,22 was re-examined and checked against BM 103000 (text no. 17 ex. 1) and we agree with Frahm: this piece was probably from a ten-sided prism, despite the fact that there are otherwise no known decagonal prisms from the reign of Sennacherib (except text no. 32, which could possibly come from the same prism as this text). Although we cannot be certain, Sennacherib's scribes may have inscribed texts intended for Nineveh's walls on decagonal prisms sometime after 689, thus replacing octagonal prisms (text nos. 15–18) as the principal medium for those texts.

Frahm (Sanherib p. 109), on the basis of the script, suggests that 82-5-22,22 and Rm 2,98 (text no. 32) may have come from the same prism. This may be true, but it is best to edit both fragments individually.

The extant text duplicates, for example, text no. 22 i 4–11 and 73-79. Restorations are based on that inscription.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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1975 Reade, JCS 27 p. 192 (study)
1979 Borger, BAL^2 p. 66 (study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib p. 109 (study)

TEXT

Col. i

Lacuna

1′) [...] *x* [*x* (*x*)]
2′) [... *ra*]-⌜ʾi⌝-*im mi-šá-ri*
3′) [*e-piš ú*]-⌜*sa*⌝-*a-ti*
4′) [*a-lik tap-pu-ut a*]-⌜*ki-i*⌝
5′) [*sa-ḫi-ru*] ⌜*dam-qa-a-ti*⌝
6′) [*eṭ-lum gít-ma-lum zi-ka*]-⌜*ru qar-du*⌝
7′) [*a-šá-red kal ma*]-⌜*al-ki*⌝
8′) [*rap-pu la-ʾi-iṭ la*] *ma-gi-*⌜*ri*⌝
9′) [*mu-šab-ri-qu za*]-⌜*ma-a-ni*⌝
10′) [^{d}*aš-šur* KUR-*ú* GAL-*ú*] ⌜LUGAL⌝-[*ut*]
11′) [*la šá*]-⌜*na-an*⌝
12′) [*ú-šat-li-ma-an*]-⌜*ni-ma*⌝
13′) [...] *x* [...]

Lacuna

Col. ii

Lacuna

1′) É [BÀD.MEŠ-*ni dan-nu-ti al-me* KUR-*ud*]
2′) UN.MEŠ ⌜ANŠE⌝.[KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ]
3′) ANŠE.MEŠ ⌜GU$_4$⌝.[MEŠ *ù ṣe-e-ni*]
4′) ⌜*ul*⌝-*tu qer*-[*bi-šú-un ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*]
5′) *ù* URU.MEŠ-[*šú-nu* TUR.MEŠ *ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú*]
6′) *ap-pul* ⌜*aq*⌝-[*qur ú-še-me kar-meš*]
7′) É ⌜EDIN⌝ [*kul-ta-ri mu-šá-bi-šú-nu*]
8′) *i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.[BAR *aq-mu-ma di-tal-liš*]

Lacuna

Lacuna

i 1′–9′) [...] ... [... who lo]ves justice, [renders as]sistance, [goes to the aid of the w]eak, (i 5′) (and) [strives after] good deeds, [perfect man, viri]le warrior, [foremost of all rul]ers, [the bridle that controls the in]submissive, (and) [the one who strikes en]emies [with lightning]:

i 10′–13′) [The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to] me [unriv]alled sovereig[nty] and [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

Lacuna

ii 1′–8′) [I surrounded (and) conquered ... their] for[tified] wa[lled cities. I brought] out of th[em] people, hor[ses, mules], donkeys, ox[en, and sheep and goats, and I counted (them) as booty]. (ii 5′) Moreover, I destroyed, devas[tated, (and) turned into ruins their small(er)] settlements, [which were without number. I burned] with fi[re] pavilions (and) [tents, their abodes, and reduced (them) to ashes].

Lacuna

32

A fragment of a decagonal clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, is inscribed with a late foundation inscription of Sennacherib. Only parts of the reports of the second campaign (against the Kassites and Yasubigallians, and the land Ellipi) and the third campaign (to the Levant) are preserved. Although the date lines are completely missing, the prism from which this small piece originates must have been composed relatively late in Sennacherib's reign (post-689).

31 Lacuna after ii′ 8′ Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing ii′ 9′ would have begun with *ú-še-mi* or *ú-še-me* "I reduced (them)."

CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Rm 2,98	—	Probably Nineveh	4.5×5	c

COMMENTARY

J. Reade (JCS 27 [1975] p. 192) has suggested that Rm 2,98 is a fragment of an octagonal prism and a duplicate of text no. 15 or text no. 16. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 109), however, thought that it belonged to a ten-sided prism because the angle of the two preserved faces best fits a decagonal prism. Rm 2,98 was re-examined and checked against BM 103000 (text no. 17 ex. 1) and we agree with Frahm: this piece was probably from a ten-sided prism. Frahm (Sanherib p. 109), on the basis of the script, suggests that Rm 2,98 and 82-5-22,22 (text no. 31) may have come from the same prism. This may be true, but it is best to edit both fragments individually. The extant text duplicates, for example, text no. 22 ii 28–35 and iii 2–10. Restorations are based on that inscription.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896 Bezold, Cat. 4 p. 1643 (study)
1975 Reade, JCS 27 p. 192 (study)
1979 Borger, BAL^2 p. 66 (study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib p. 109 (study)

TEXT

Col. i′

Lacuna

1′) [...] *x* [...]
2′) [... *ù dan-na-at*] *na-ge-*ᵉ *šu*-[*a-tu*]
3′) [*aṣ-bat-ma*] ᵐᵘ-*šú maḫ-ra-a ú-*ⁿᵃᵏ-[*kir-ma*]
4′) [URU].*kar*-^{md}30-PAP.MEŠ-*e*-[*ri-ba*]
5′) [*at*]-*ta*-*bi ni-bit-su* UN.MEŠ [KUR.KUR]
6′) [*ki*]-*šit*-*ti* ŠU.II-*ia i-na lìb-bi ú*-[*še-šib*]
7′) [*i-na* ŠU].II LÚ.*šu*-[*ut* SAG-*ia*] LÚ.EN.[NAM]
8′) URU.*ḫar-ḫar am*-[*nu-ma ú*]-*rap*-*piš ma*-[*a-ti*]
9′) *i*-*na ta*-*a-a-ar*-*ti*-*ia*
10′) *ša* KUR.*ma-da-a-a ru*-*qu-ti*
11′) [*ša i-na*] LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia*
12′) [*ma-am-man*] *la iš-mu-ú zi-kir* KUR-*šú-un*
13′) [*man-da-ta-šú-nu*] *ka-bit-tu am-ḫur*

Lacuna

Col. ii′

Lacuna

1′) [*am-da*]-*ḫi-iṣ-ma* [*áš-ta-kan* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú-un*]
2′) [LÚ].EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù* [DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL KUR.*mu-ṣu-ra-a-a*]
3′) [*a*]-*di* LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.[MEŠ *ša* LUGAL KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫi*]
4′) *bal*-*ṭu-su-un i*-[*na* $MURUB_4$ *tam-ḫa-ri ik-šu-da*

Lacuna

i′ 1′–8′) [...] ... [I took ... as ... and a fortress for] th[at] district, then I chan[ged] its former name [and (i′ 5′) ca]lled it Kār-Sennache[rib]. I [settled] therein the people of [the lands that] I [had co]nquered. I pla[ced (it) under the authori]ty of a eu[nuch of mine], the gover[nor of] the city Ḫarḫar, [and (thus) en]larged [my] la[nd].

i′ 9′–13′) On my return march, I received a substantial [payment] from the distant Medes, of whose land [no]ne [of] the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention.

Lacuna

Lacuna

ii′ 1′–4′) [I fou]ght [with them] and [defeated them]. I[n the thick of battle, I captured] alive [the Egyptian cha]rioteers and [princes (lit. “the sons of the king”), tog]ether with the charioteer[s of the king of the land Meluḫḫa].

Lacuna before ii′ 1′ The translation assumes that *it-ti-šú-un* “with them” appeared at the end of the line immediately before ii′ 1′.

ŠU.II-*a-a*]
5′) ⌜URU⌝.*al-ta-qu-ú* URU.⌜*ta*⌝-[*am-na-a al-me* KUR-*ud*]
6′) ⌜*áš*⌝-*lu-la šal-la-su-*⌜*un*⌝ [*a-na* URU.*am-qar-ru-na*]
7′) ⌜*aq*⌝-*rib-ma* ⌜LÚ⌝.[GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ LÚ.NUN.MEŠ]
8′) *ša ḫi-iṭ-ṭu* ⌜*ú*⌝-[*šab-šu-ú a-duk-ma*]
9′) *i-na di-ma-a-*⌜*ti si-ḫir*⌝-[*ti* URU *a-lul pag-ri-šú-un*]
10′) *x* [...]
Lacuna

ii′ 5′–10′) [I surrounded, conquered], (and) plundered the cities Eltekeh (and) Ta[mnâ]. I approached [the city Ekron and I killed] the [governors (and) nobles] who had [committed] crime(s) [and hung their corpses] on towers arou[nd the city]; ... [...]

Lacuna

33

In 1974, Manhal Jabur of the Mosul Museum discovered some fragments of clay prisms inscribed with texts of Sennacherib, along with inscribed bricks, in the northern courtyard of a building complex on the east side of Nineveh, south of the Khosr River and roughly equidistant from Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus. The fragments, probably now in the Mosul Museum, have never been published and thus their contents are not known.

CATALOGUE

Source	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Postgate, Iraq 37 p. 60	Nineveh, northern courtyard of a building complex on the east side of the city	—	n

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1975 Postgate, Iraq 37 p. 60 (study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib p. 109 (study)

34

A large stone tablet found at Nebi Yunus (Nineveh) is inscribed with a text summarizing the many accomplishments of Sennacherib on the battlefield and describing in detail the rebuilding and decoration of the armory (*ekal kutalli*, the "Rear Palace"). In total, ten of Sennacherib's military expeditions are included in this inscription: his first to eighth campaigns and the campaigns that took place in the eponymies of Šulmu-Bēl (696) and Aššur-bēlu-uṣur (695). With regard to work on the armory, Sennacherib describes its decoration in great detail. He records that he: (1) built a new palace consisting of two wings, one in the Syrian style and one in the Assyrian style, and a large outer courtyard; (2) had bull colossi made from *pendû*-stone, a

rare and highly coveted reddish-brown stone quarried at Mount Nipur, and white limestone from the city Balāṭāya; (3) erected tall cedar columns on sphinxes made of *pendû*-stone; (4) cast large and elaborate objects out of bronze and copper, including human-headed colossi; and (5) constructed an elaborate pillared podium in the outer courtyard. Although the tablet is not dated, its *terminus post quem* is Sennacherib's eighth campaign, as the military narration ends with an account of the battle of Ḫalulê. Thus, the object was probably inscribed ca. 690–689. This text is sometimes referred to as the "Constantinople Inscription," "Memorial Tablet," or "Nebi Yunus Inscription."

CATALOGUE

Source	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
1 R pls. 43–44	Nineveh, Nebi Yunus	—	n

COMMENTARY

The stone tablet was discovered, with other antiquities, at Nebi Yunus in 1852 (or 1854?) and became the possession of the governor of Mosul; for accounts of the tablet's discovery, see Rassam, Asshur pp. 4–7 and Budge, By Nile and Tigris 2 pp. 28–29. Fortunately, H. Rassam was allowed to make a copy of the inscription, which he sent to Sir H. Rawlinson; that copy was subsequently published in 1 R (pls. 43–44). Although it was stated in 1 R (pl. 43) that the tablet "is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople," this does not seem to have been the case, since repeated searches in various museums in Istanbul have not uncovered the tablet. E.A.W. Budge (By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 29) also states that he never succeeded in finding the tablet. Thanks are due to V. Donbaz for undertaking yet another search recently. Thus, if it ever did go to Istanbul, and there is no certainty that it did, the tablet is presumably in private hands or simply lost. Thus, the inscription could not be collated and its dimensions remain unknown.

Previous literature (for example, 1 R pls. 43–44 and Budge, By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 28) states that the inscription was written in two columns, with fifty lines of text in col. i and fifty-four lines of text in col. ii. As noted already by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 128), the tablet was probably inscribed with fifty lines of text on the front and fifty-four lines of text on the back. Compare text no. 35 and text no. 36, both of which are stone tablets that have a single column of text written on the front and back.

Three inscriptions similar to this one are known: (1) text no. 26, which is inscribed on a hexagonal clay prism; (2) text no. 35, which is written on two stone tablets; and (3) a text written on a double-column clay tablet, K 2655 + K 2800 + Sm 318 (+)$^{?}$ K 4507 (+)$^{?}$ 89-4-26,150 (Frahm, Sanherib pp. 202–206 T 173; to be edited in Part 2). Many of the differences between this inscription and those texts are noted in the on-page notes.

In the copy published in 1 R (pls. 43–44), some of the inscription is in light, rather than heavy, type. It is uncertain whether this means that the text is faintly visible or totally missing and therefore restored. In such instances, the relevant passages are placed between half brackets (in the transliteration). The inscription is given consecutive line numbers for the obverse and reverse (= lines 51–94), rather than separate line counts for the obverse and reverse.

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1884 Bezold, ZK 1 p. 269 (study)
1890 Bezold in Schrader, KB 2 pp. 118–119 (lines 13b–19a, edition)
1893 Meissner and Rost, BiS pp. 49–61 (lines 55b–94, edition)
1897 Rassam, Asshur pp. 4–7 (provenance)
1898 Hilprecht, ZA 13 pp. 322–325 (study)
1909 King, CT 26 p. 10 n. 1 (lines 16b–19, edition, study)

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1916 Olmstead, Historiography p. 46 (study)
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1924 Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 21, 85–89 and 131–134 H4 (edition)
1927 Luckenbill, ARAB 2 pp. 153–156 §§344–352 and pp. 181–183 §§429–433 (translation)
1939 Weidhaas, ZA 45 p. 111 (lines 82b–85a, edition, study)
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1995 Laato, VT 45 pp. 205–209, 212–213, 215 (lines 42–44, translation; lines 13–15, 29–55, study)
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1999 Dalley, AnSt 49 p. 76 (lines 83b–84a, study)
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2003 Becking, ‘Like a Bird in a Cage’ pp. 65–67 (lines 13b–15, study)
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TEXT

1) É.GAL ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* LUGAL GAL ⌜LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI LUGAL *kib-rat* LÍMMU-*tim*⌝

2) *mi-gir* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *lu-li-mu er-šu ma-*⌜*al-ku pit-qu-du* RE.É.UM *ba-ḫu-la-a-ti*⌝

3) *mut-tar-ru-ú* UN.MEŠ *rap-šá-a-ti a-na-ku* ^{d}⌜*aš-šur* AD DINGIR.MEŠ *i-na kul-lat ma-li-ki*⌝

4) *ke-niš* IGI.BAR-*ni-ma* UGU *gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki ú-*⌜*šar-ba-a* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia id-di-nam*⌝

5) GIŠ.GIDRU *i-šar-tu mu-rap-pi-šat mi-iṣ-ri ši-bir-ru la* ⌜*pa-du-ú a-na šum-qut za-*ʾ*i-ri*⌝

6) *ú-šat-me-eḫ rit-tu-ú-a i-na ta-ḫa-az* EDIN ^{md}AMAR.UTU-⌜IBILA-SUM.NA LUGAL KUR.*kár-*^{d}*dun-ía-àš*⌝

7) LÚ.*kal-du ù* LÚ.*a-ra-me a-di* ERIM.ḪI.A ELAM.MA.KI *re-ṣi-šú a-bu-biš as-pu-un šu-ú*

8) *a-na* KUR *tam-tim e-diš ip-par-šid-ma* DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-rak* KUR-*šú it-ti* GÌR.PAD.DU.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-*šú*

9) *maḫ-ru-ti ul-tu qé-reb* KI.MAḪ *iḫ-pi-ir-ma* UN.MEŠ-⌜*šú a-na*⌝ *qé-reb* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ

10) *ú-še-li-ma a-na* URU.*na-gi-ti ša e-ber-tan* ⌜ÍD.*mar-rat e-bir-ma i-na áš-ri*⌝

11) *šu-a-tu i-mid šad-da-šú gi-mir* KUR-*šú ak-šud*^{ud}*-ma šal-la-*⌜*tiš am-nu*⌝ URU.MEŠ-*šú ap-pul aq-qur*

12) *i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu ak-šud*^{ud} URU.*ḫi-rim-mu ù*

1–3a) Palace of Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), favorite of the great gods, wise prince, circumspect ruler, shepherd of people, (and) leader of a widespread population, I:

3b–6a) The god Aššur, father of the gods, looked steadfastly upon me among all of the rulers and made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises. He gave me a just scepter that widens borders (and) he put in my hand a merciless rod to fell enemies.

6b–11a) In a pitched battle, I overwhelmed like the Deluge Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), the king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), Chaldeans and Arameans, together with the troops of the land Elam, his allies. He (Marduk-apla-iddina II) fled alone to the Sealand, then he *collected* the gods of the (full) extent of his land, together with the bones of his forefathers from (their) tomb(s), (10) loaded (them and) his people onto boats, and crossed over to the city Nagītu, which is on the other side of the Bitter Sea. In that place, he disappeared.

11b–12a) I conquered his entire land and I counted (his people) as booty. I destroyed, devastated, burned with fire, (and) conquered his cities.

12b–13a) I ruined the city Ḫirimmu and the land

1–3a The same set of titles and epithets appears in several texts inscribed on bull colossi stationed in gateways of the “Palace Without a Rival” (the South-West Palace) and the so-called “Eastern Building.” For example, see Layard, ICC pl. 38 lines 1–2; and King, Notebook p. 1 nos. 1–2 and p. 3 nos. 1–2 lines 1–3. Note that the inclusion of *a-na-ku* “I” in line 3 is grammatically awkward in inscriptions beginning with É.GAL ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* “palace of Sennacherib.”

3b–6a ^{d}⌜*aš-šur*⌝ *… rit-tu-ú-a* “the god Aššur … in my hand”: This passage also occurs in text no. 37 lines 4–10.

10b–12a Text no. 26 i 1′–5′ changes the order of events: The Elamite cities in which the people of Bīt-Yakīn took refuge are reported to have been destroyed and plundered before Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan) disappeared. ⌜*i-na áš-ri*⌝ *šu-a-tu i-mid šad-da-šú* “in that place, he disappeared”: Text no. 26 i 4′–5′ has [*i-na* URU.*na*]-⌜*gi*⌝*-ti a-šar áš-bu* [*pul-ḫi me-lam-me*] *is-ḫu-up-šú-ma šá-da-šú e-*[*mid*] “[in the city Na]gītu, where he was residing, [fear of (my lordly) brilliance] overwhelmed him and he disap[peared].”

12b–13a Cf. text no. 26 i 6′–8′, which has [URU.*ḫi-rim-mu*] ⌜*ù*⌝ LÚ.*ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-*⌜*a*⌝ […] *x-*⌜*da*⌝*-a-nu* KUR.*ma-da-a-a* ⌜*ru-qu*⌝*-*[*te ú-šal-pit-ma ú-ab*]*-bit da-ád-me-šú-un* “[I ruined the city Ḫirimmu] and (the land of) the Yasubigallians, […d]ānu, (and) the distant Medes [and I destr]oyed their settlements.”

KUR *ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a* KUR.*el-li-pi*

of the Yasubigallians, (and) the land Ellipi, and I destroyed its settlements.

13) *ú-šal-pit-ma ú-ab-bit da-ád-me-šá ša* ^{m}*lu-li-i* LUGAL URU.*ṣi-du-un-ni e-kim* LUGAL-*su*
14) ^{m}*tu-ba-a'-lu i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA-*šú ú-še-šib-ma man-da-at-tu* EN-*ti-ia ú-kin ṣe-ru-uš-šú*

13b–14) I took away the kingship of Lulî, the king of the city Sidon. I placed Tu-Ba'lu on his throne and imposed upon him payment (in recognition) of my overlordship.

15) *ú-šal-pit rap-šú na-gu-ú* KUR.*ia-ú-di* ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú* LUGAL-*šu e-mid ab-šá-a-ni*

15) I ruined the wide district of the land Judah (and) imposed my yoke on Hezekiah, its king.

16) LÚ.MEŠ URU.*tu-mur-ra-a-a a-ši-bu-ut* KUR-*i mar-ṣi i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-šam-qit* URU.*uk-ku*

16–17a) I put to the sword the people of the city Tumurrum, who live on a rugged mountain (Mount Nipur). I destroyed the city Ukku, together with every one of its settlements, (so that they looked) like a ruin hill (created by) the Deluge.

17) *a-di nap-ḫar da-ád-me-šú ki-ma* DU_6 *a-bu-bi ú-ab-bit* UN.MEŠ KUR.*ḫi-lak-ki a-ši-bu-ut*
18) *ḫur-šá-a-ni a-nar i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu ap-pul aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*

17b–18) I struck down with the sword the people of the land Ḫilakku, who live in the mountains. I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire their cities.

19) URU.DU_6-*ga-rim-mu ša pa-aṭ* KUR.*ta-ba-li* KUR-*ud-ma ú-ter a-na kar-me* URU.*na-gi-tu*

19) I conquered the city Tīl-Garimme, which is on the border of the land Tabal, and turned (it) into ruins.

20) URU.*na-gi-tu-di-i'-bi-na* KUR.*ḫi-il-mu* KUR.*pil-la-tu* KUR.*ḫu-pa-pa-a-nu na-ge-e*
21) *ša* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ša i-na e-ber-tan* A.AB.BA *šit-ku-na-at šu-bat-sún ša* UN.MEŠ
22) KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$ *la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-ti* DINGIR.MEŠ KUR-*šú-un i-na* TUŠ.TUŠ-*šú-nu*
23) *id-ku-ú tam-tim e-bi-ru-ma ú-ši-bu qé-reb-šú-un i-na* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ KUR.*ḫat-ti*
24) *ša i-na* NINA.KI *ù* URU.DU_6-*bar-si-ip e-pu-šú tam-tim lu e-bir* URU.MEŠ *ša qé-reb*
25) *na-ge-e šá-tu-nu* KUR-*ud-ma i-na* GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu* UN.MEŠ KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_7$ *ù* DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu*
26) *a-di ba-ḫu-la-a-te* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *áš-lu-lam-ma a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-ra-a*

20–26) The cities Nagītu (and) Nagītu-di'bina, the lands Ḫilmu, Pillatu, (and) Ḫupapanu, districts of the king of the land Elam that are situated on the other shore of the sea, in which the people of the land Bīt-Yakīn — who because of my mighty weapons had dislodged the gods of their land from their abodes (and) had crossed over the sea — had taken up residence inside: I crossed over the sea in boats of the land Ḫatti, which I had built in Nineveh and the city Tīl-Barsip. (25) I conquered and burned with fire the cities in those districts. I carried off the people of the land Bīt-Yakīn and their gods, together with soldiers of the king of the land Elam, and I brought (them) to Assyria.

27) *ar-ka* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ *šá it-ti* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA *ú-ṣu-ú in-nab-tu e-lam-taš*
28) LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *a-na* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *il-du-du-nim-ma* ^{m}*šu-zu-bu* DUMU ^{m}*ga-ḫúl i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL-*ti*

27–29a) Afterwards, the Babylonians, who had gone forth with Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan) (and) had fled to (the land) Elam, brought the king of the land Elam to Babylon and he (the king of Elam) placed Šūzubu (Nergal-ušēzib), son of Gaḫul (Gaḫal), on the royal throne over them.

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16 Text no. 26 i 14′ adds KUR.*ni-pur* "Mount Nipur" before KUR-*i mar-ṣi* "a rugged mountain."

17 *a-di nap-ḫar da-ád-me-šú* "every one of its settlements": Text no. 26 i 16′ has [*a-di nap*]-⌜*ḫar* DÙ⌝ *da-ád-me-šú* "[every] last one of its settlements." *ú-ab-bit* "I destroyed": Cf. text no. 26 i 17′, which has *uš-bi-i'* "I swept over."

18 *i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL "with the sword": K 4507 i 5′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 203) may omit *ina kakki*. K 4507 i 5′ omits URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu ap-pul aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu* "I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire their cities."

19 *ú-ter a-na kar-me* "I turned (it) into ruins": Cf. K 4507 i 5′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 203), which has [*áš*]-⌜*lu-la šal-la-su*⌝ "[I p]lundered (it)." URU.*na-gi-tu* "the city Nagītu": Possibly omitted in K 4507 i 6′.

21 *ša* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI "of the king of the land Elam": K 4507 i 7′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 203) may omit *ša šar elamti*.

25 K 4507 i 11′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 203) adds [*a*]-⌜*na*⌝ DU_6 *u kar-me* ⌜*ú*⌝-[*ter*] "I [turned (them) in]to a mound of ruins (lit. "a mound and ruins")."

27 Before *ú-ṣu-ú* "who had gone forth," text no. 35 lines 3′–6′ has: *ar-ka* ⌜LÚ⌝.[KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ *… šá it-ti* ^{md}AMAR].⌜UTU⌝-IBILA-SUM.NA *i-*[*na a-lak ger-ri-ia maḫ-ri-ti la-pa-an* GIŠ].TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-ti* [*iq*]-⌜*ru-ru-ma*⌝ […] x "afterwards, the [Babylonians — …, who along with Mar]duk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan) [*had gr*]*oveled* [in the face of] my mighty [we]apons dur[ing the course of a previous campaign of mine, …] …"

28 LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI "the king of the land Elam": Text no. 35 line 7′ has […] ⌜LÚ.*e*⌝-*la-mu-ú* "[…], the Elamite." *il-du-du-nim-ma* "they brought and": The interpretation follows AHw p. 1121 sub *šadādu* 9d and CAD Š/1 p. 27 sub *šadādu* 3d.

29) UGU-*šú-nu ú-še-šib-ma* ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ki-ṣir* LUGAL-*ti-ia a-na mé-eḫ-ret*
30) LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ú-ma-ʾe-er* ERIM.ḪI.A *ma-aʾ-du it-ti* DUMU-*šú i-du-ku-ma i-tur ar-ka-niš*
31) *šu-nu a-di* UNUG.KI *iš-tam-di-ḫu* ^{d}UTU *ša* ARARMA.KI ^{d}GAŠAN-*ša-re*$^{?}$*-e-ši* ^{d}GAŠAN-*ša*-UNUG.KI ^{d}*na-na-a*
32) ^{d}*ú-ṣur-a-mat-sa* ^{d}*be-let*-TI.LA ^{d}*kurun-nam* ^{d}*kaš-ši-tu* ^{d}IGI.DU DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ut*
33) UNUG.KI *a-di* NÍG.ŠU-*šu-nu* NÍG.GA-*šú-nu ša la ni-bi iš-lu-lu-ni i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-šú-nu*
34) ^{m}*šu-zu-bu* LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *i-na* MÈ EDIN *bal-ṭu-su ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*šú-un e-ri-in-nu*
35) *bi-re-tu id-du-šu-ma a-di maḫ-ri-ia ub-lu-niš-šu i-na* KÁ.GAL MURUB$_4$ URU *ša* NINA.KI
36) *ar-ku-su da-bu-ú-iš* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ša re-ṣu-ut* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ *il-li-ku*
37) *a-na* KUR-*šú lu al-lik* URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti* É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú ù* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
38) *a-di ne-re-bi ša* KUR.É-^{m}*bu-na-ak-ki al-me ak-šud*^{ud} *áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un ap-pul*
39) *aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu* LUGAL ELAM.MA.KI *ka-šad* URU.MEŠ-*šú iš-me-ma im-qu-su ḫat-tum*
40) *si-it-ti* UN.MEŠ KUR-*šú a-na dan-na-a-ti ú-še-li šu-ú* URU.*ma-dak-tu* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú*
41) *e-zib-ma a-na* URU.*ḫa-i-da-la ša qé-reb šad-di-i iš-ta-kan pa-ni-šu*
42) *a-na* URU.*ma-dak-te* URU LUGAL-*ti-šú a-la-ku aq-bi* ITI.AB *ku-uṣ-ṣu dan-nu ik-šu-dam-ma*
43) *šá-mu-tum la-zi-iz-tum il-lik-ma šal-gu na-ḫal-lum na-at-bak* KUR-*i a-du-ra ú-ter-ma*
44) *a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *aṣ-ba-ta ḫar-ra-na ar-ka* LUGAL KUR.*e-lam-ti* KUR.*par-su-áš* KUR.*an-za-an*
45) KUR.*pa-ši-ru* KUR.*el-li-pi nap-ḫar* KUR.*kal-di* LÚ.*a-ra-me ka-li-šú-un kit-ru* GAL-*ú*

29b–33a) I ordered archers, chariots, (and) horses of my royal contingent to confront (30) the king of the land Elam. They killed many troops, including his son, and he (the king of Elam) retreated. They marched to Uruk (and) carried off the deities Šamaš of Larsa, the Lady of the *Rēš*-Temple, the Lady of Uruk, Nanāya, Uṣur-amāssa, Bēlet-balāṭi, Kurunam, Kaššītu, (and) Palil, the gods who live in Uruk, together with their property (and) possessions, which are without number.

33b–36a) On their return march, in a pitched battle, they captured Šūzubu (Nergal-ušēzib), the king of Babylon, alive. (35) They threw him into a neck-stock (and) fetters and brought him before me. At the Citadel Gate of Nineveh, I bound him with a bear.

36b–39a) (As for) the king of the land Elam, who had come to the aid of the Babylonians, I marched to his land. I surrounded, conquered, plundered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire his fortified cities, his treasury, and the small(er) settlements in their environs, as far as the pass of the land Bīt-Bunaki.

39b–41) The king of the land Elam heard about the conquest of his cities and fear fell upon him. (40) He made the rest of the people of his land go up into fortresses. He abandoned the city Madaktu, his royal city, and set out for the city Ḫaydala, which is in the mountains.

42–44a) I ordered the march to the city Madaktu, his royal city. In the month Ṭebētu (X), bitter cold set in and continuous rain fell, and I was afraid of the snow in the gorges, the outflows of the mountains, (so) I turned around and took the road to Assyria.

44b–47a) Afterwards, the king of the land Elam, the lands Parsuaš, Anzan, (45) Pašeru, (and) Ellipi, the entirety of Chaldea, (and) all of the Arameans, a large host, formed a confederation with him. They met up

29 GIŠ.PAN* "bow": The copy in 1 R (pl. 43) has GIŠ.GIDRU "scepter" and that of G. Smith (Senn. p. 104) has GIŠ.TUKUL "weapon," both of which are unlikely. On the reading of the signs as GIŠ.PAN "bow," see Frahm, Sanherib p. 133.
30 ERIM.ḪI.A "troops": Cf. text no. 35 line 10′, which has ERIM.ḪI.A-*šú* "his troops."
31 *a-di* UNUG.KI "to Uruk": The copy in 1 R (pl. 43) has *a-di* NINA.KI "to Nineveh." ^{d}GAŠAN-*ša-re*$^{?}$*-e-ši* "the Lady of the *Rēš*-Temple": The copy in 1 R (pl. 43) has ^{d}GAŠAN-*ša*-NUN.E.ŠI, which D.D. Luckenbill (Senn. p. 87) interpreted as "the Lady of Eridu," with NUN.E.ŠI instead of the normal NUN for Eridu. The reading here follows Frahm, Sanherib p. 129. Note that the list of deities is shorter in text no. 35; cf. lines 11′–12′ of that text.
33 UNUG.KI "Uruk": Text no. 35 line 12′ has *qer-bi-šú* "inside it."
34b–35a Text no. 26 ii 3′ and text no. 35 line 14′ omit *e-ri-in-nu bi-re-tu id-du-šu-ma* "they threw him into a neck-stock (and) fetters."
36 *da-bu-ú-iš* "with a bear": Cf. text no. 26 ii 6′, which has *it-ti a-su* "with a bear." E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 108) suggests that *dabûiš* should be translated here as "with a bear." Esarhaddon (Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 18 Esarhaddon iii 42) and Ashurbanipal (Borger, BIWA p. 62 Prism A viii 12–13) also record that they bound captive foreign rulers at the citadel gate with bears (as well as with dogs and pigs). *ša re-ṣu-ut* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ *il-li-ku* "who had come to the aid of the Babylonians": Text no. 26 ii 7′–8′ has *šá a-na re-*[*ṣu-ti-šu*] *il-li-ka* "who came to [his] (Šūzubu's) a[id]."
37 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ "small(er) settlements": Text no. 26 ii 10′ has URU.MEŠ-*šú* TUR.MEŠ "small(er) settlements of his."
40 *šu-ú* "he": Text no. 35 line 21′ omits this word.
43 Text no. 35 line 24′ omits *šá-mu-tum la-zi-iz-tum … a-du-ra* "continuous rain … I was afraid." *ú-ter-ma* "I turned around and": Text no. 35 line 24′ has [*pa-an ni-ri*]-⌜*ia*⌝ *ú-ter-ma* "I turned [the front of m]y [yoke] and."
44 Cf. text no. 35 lines 25′–40′. That inscription records further details about the seventh campaign, namely what happened in Elam and Babylonia after Sennacherib departed Elam, and the eighth campaign, in particular how the Babylonians bribed the king of Elam so that he would support their cause. LUGAL KUR.*e-lam-ti* "the king of the land Elam": Text no. 35 line 40′ omits *šar elamti*.

46) *ik-te-ra it-ti-šú a-di* LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *a-na a-ḫa-meš iq-ri-bu-ma a-na e-peš*
47) MÈ *i-na* GABA-*ia* DU-*ku-ni i-na e-muq* ^{d}*aš-šur* EN-*ia i-na ta-mir-ti* URU.*ḫa-lu-le-e**
48) *it-ti-šú-nu am-da-ḫi-iṣ* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú-nu áš-kun* 1 ME 50 LIM ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-*šú-nu i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL
49) *ú-šam-qit* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.*ṣu-um-ba-a-ti* GIŠ.*za-ra-ti* LUGAL-*ti-šú-nu e-kim-šú-nu-ti*
50) LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*šú-nu a-di* ^{md}AG-MU-GAR-*un* DUMU ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA *ša i-na* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR
51) ⌜*ú-šu-uz*⌝-*zu as-ma-a-ti* KÙ.GI *tul*$_5$-*lu-ú* GÍR.MEŠ KÙ.GI *šit-ku-nu ù i-na*
52) ⌜ḪAR⌝.MEŠ KÙ.GI *ru-uk-ku-sa rit-ti-šú-un bal-ṭu-su-un qé-reb tam-ḫa-ri ik-šu-da*
53) ⌜ŠU⌝.II-*a-a* LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ù* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ḫur-ba-šú* MÈ-*ia is-ḫup-šú-nu-ti qé-reb*
54) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu ú-maš-še-ru-ni zu-ú-šú-un e-diš ip-par-šid-du-ma ma-tu-uš-šú-un*
55) *in-nab-tu i-nu-šú* É.GAL *ku-tal-li ša qé-reb* NINA.KI *ša a-na šu-te-šur ka-ra-ši*
56) *pa-qa-ad* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ù sa-na-a-qí mim-ma šum-šú ú-še-pi-šú* <LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni*> *a-li-kut maḫ-ri*
57) AD.MEŠ-*e-a ša* É.GAL *šá-a-tu tam-lu-ú-šá ul ib-ši-ma ṣu-uḫ-ḫu-rat šu-bat-sa*
58) *a-na šu-uš-mur* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ul šum-du-la* KÁ-*nu-ú ki-sal-lu la-ba-riš* UD.MEŠ
59) *tem-me-en-šá i-niš-ma it-ru-ra re-šá-a-šá* É.GAL *šá-a-tu a-na si-ḫir-ti-šá aq-qur*
60) *ki-ma a-tar-tim-ma ki-šub-bu-ú ma-a-du ul-tu qé-reb ú-šal-li lu aṣ-ba-ta*
61) *ṣe-ru-uš-šá uš-rad-di maš-kán* É.GAL *maḫ-ri-ti e-zib-ma i-na qé-reb ki-šub-bé-e*
62) *ša ul-tu ú-šal-li aṣ-ba-ta tam-la-a uš-mal-li* 3 UŠ

with the king of Babylon and marched towards me to do battle.
47b–49) With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord, I fought with them on the plain of the city Ḫalulê (and) defeated them. I put to the sword 150,000 of their combat troops. I took away from them chariots, wagons, (and) their royal tents.

50–53a) I captured alive in the midst of (that) battle their magnates, including Nabû-šuma-iškun, a son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), who were standing in silver (decorated) chariots, bedecked with gold ..., wear gold (decorated) belt-daggers, and have gold rings fastened to their forearms.

53b–55a) Terror of doing battle with me overwhelmed the king of Babylon and the king of the land Elam. They released their excrement inside their chariots, fled alone, and ran away *to* their (own) land(s).

55b–59a) At that time, the Rear Palace, which is inside Nineveh, that earlier kings, my ancestors, had had built for the proper running of the military camp, the care of horses, and the overseeing of everything — a terrace for that palace did not exist and its site had become too small, (and) its outer courtyard was not wide enough to have horses show (their) mettle. With the passage of time, its base had fallen into disrepair and its superstructure was tottering.
59b–63a) I tore down that palace in its entirety. (60) As an addition, I took much fallow land from the meadow (and) I added (it) to it. I abandoned the site of the former palace and filled in a terrace in the fallow land that I had taken from the meadow. I raised its superstructure 200 courses of brick high, measured by my large brick mold.

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46 Text no. 35 line 42′ and 89-4-26,150 i 5′–6′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 204) add DUMU.MEŠ KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *bár-sipa*.KI "the citizens of Babylon (and) Borsippa" after LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI "the king of Babylon."
47 *i-na* GABA-*ia* "towards me (lit. "to my chest")": Text no. 35 line 43′ has ⌜*a*⌝-*na* GABA-*ia*. URU.*ḫa-lu-le-e** "the city Ḫalulê": The copy in 1 R (pl. 43) has URU.*ḫa-lu-le-na*. At this point, 89-4-26,150 i 7′–8′ (+)? K 2655+ i′ 1′–19′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 204) deviates from this text, as well as from text no. 35, and follows more closely the report of the battle of Ḫalulê known from text no. 18, text no. 22, and text no. 23.
55b–90 The building report of this inscription is the most detailed account of the rebuilding and decoration of the armory in the extant Sennacherib corpus. Sections of this part of the text are based on text no. 22 vi 36–73a and text no. 23 vi 31–53a. Like text no. 23, this inscription does not refer to work on the "Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace); cf. text no. 22 vi 36–38.
57 É.GAL *šá-a-tu tam-lu-ú-šá* "a terrace for that palace": Cf. text no. 22 vi 42 and text no. 23 vi 34, which have only *tam-lu-šá* "its terrace."
58 Text no. 22 vi 42–43 and text no. 23 vi 35 do not include *a-na šu-uš-mur* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ul šum-du-la* KÁ-*nu-ú ki-sal-lu* "its outer courtyard was not wide enough to have horses show (their) mettle." This text and text no. 23 vi 35 do not mention that the construction was not well designed; cf. text no. 22 vi 43, which has *la nu-ku-lat e-piš-taš* "its construction was inexpert."
59 *tem-me-en-šá ... re-šá-a-šá* "its base ... its superstructure ...": Cf. text no. 22 vi 43–44 and text no. 23 vi 35–36, which have *tem-me-en-šá e-niš-ma iš-da-a-šá ir-ma-a i-qu-pa re-šá-a-šá* "its base had fallen into disrepair, then its foundations had become loose (and) its superstructure had collapsed."
60 *ul-tu qé-reb ú-šal-li* "from the meadow": Cf. text no. 22 vi 47 and text no. 23 vi 39, which add *ù ta-mir-ti* URU "and the plain of the city."
61–62 *ṣe-ru-uš-šá* "to it": Text no. 22 vi 48 and text no. 23 vi 39 have *ina muḫ-ḫi* "to (it)." *ul-tu ... aṣ-ba-ta* "from ... I had taken ...": Text no. 22 vi 49–50 has *i-na qaq-qa-ri ú-šal-li ša ul-tu mal-di* ÍD *aṣ-ba-ta* "in the area of the meadow that I had taken from the river bank"; and text no. 23 vi 40–41 has *i-na qaq-qa-ri ša ul-tu qé-reb ú-šal-*[*li*] ⌜*aṣ*⌝-*ba-ta* "in the area that I had taken from the mead[ow]."
62–63 3 UŠ 20 "200": Cf. text no. 22 vi 50 and text no. 23 vi 42, which have 2 ME "200." This text adds *i-na na-al-ban-ia* GAL-*i* "measured by my large brick mold" between *ti-ib-ki* "courses of brick" and *a-na e-la-ni* "upwards"; cf. text no. 22 vi 50–51 and text no. 23 vi 42. The large brick mold is also mentioned in text no. 18 vii 4′–5′.

20 *ti-ib-ki i-na na-al-ban-ia*
63) GAL-*i a-na e-la-ni ú-šaq-qí re-e-su ṣe-er tam-le-e šá-a-tu ša* É.GAL.MEŠ-*ia*
64) *at-ta-di tem-me-en-šin* É.GAL NA_4.*pi-i-li* GIŠ.*ere-ni tam-šil* É.GAL KUR.*ḫa-at-ti*
65) *ù* É.GAL *ṣi-ir-tu e-piš-ti* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ša ma-diš šu-tu-ra* GAL-*a ù šar-ḫa a-na mu-šab*
66) LUGAL-*ti-ia ú-še-piš áš-šu mur-ni-is-qí-ia šuk-nu-še a-na ni-i-ri ù pa-qa-du*
67) *šal-la-at na-ki-ri ka-bit-tu ša ú-šat-li-ma* ^{d}*aš-šur ki-sal-la-šá* KÁ-*nu-ú ma-gal*
68) *uš-rab-bi i-na e-mu-qe ṣi-ra-a-ti ša* DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-*ia* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR MAR.TU.KI DÙ-*šú-un*
69) *ša a-na* GÌR.II-*ia ú-šá-ak-ni-šu ú-ma-er-šú-nu-ti ur-tu* GIŠ.ÙR.MEŠ GIŠ.*ere-ni*
70) GAL.MEŠ *qé-reb* KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim ik-ši-ṭu a-na* NINA.KI *i-šu-ṭu-nim-ma ú-šat-ri-ṣa e-li-šin*
71) GIŠ.IG.MEŠ GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN *li-ia-ri me-ser* URUDU *ú-rak-kis-ma ú-rat-ta-a ba-bi-šin*
72) NA_4.^{d}ŠE.TIR *ša* GIM NUMUN *qiš-še-e* GAR-*šú nu-su-qu ma-la* NA_4 GÚ *aq-ru* NA_4 *qa-bé-e*
73) *ma-ga-ri ù ri-iḫ-ṣu šu-tu-qi mur-ṣu a-na* NA NU TE-*e ša ul-tu* GÌR KUR.*ni-pur*
74) KUR-*i ib-bab-la it-ti* NA_4.*pi-i-li pe-ṣe-e ša i-na* URU.*ba-la-ṭa-a-a in-nam-ru*
75) *a-na* ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ *ú-še-piš-ma ú-šá-aṣ-bi-ta* SI.GAR-*ši-in* MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-ti*
76) NA_4.^{d}ŠE.TIR *tim-me* GIŠ.*ere-ni ṣe-ru-ši-in ul-ziz-ma ša* É.GAL NA_4.*pi-i-li šá-a-tu*
77) *e-mid* GAN.DU_7.MEŠ-*šá i-na uz-ni ni-kil-ti ša ú-šat-li-ma* EN *né-me-qí* ^{d}*nin-ši-kù*
78) *ma-la dul-la-a-ti* ZABAR *ša a-na ḫi-šiḫ-ti* É.GAL.MEŠ-*ia ša* NINA.KI *ap-ti-qu*

63b–66a) I laid the foundation of my palatial halls upon that terrace. I had a palatial hall of limestone (and) cedar, a replica of a palace of the land Ḫatti, (65) and a magnificent palatial hall of Assyrian workmanship, which greatly surpassed (the previous one) in size and splendor, built for my lordly residence.
66b–68a) I greatly enlarged its outer courtyard for making my thoroughbred horses submissive to the yoke and for reviewing the substantial enemy booty that the god Aššur had given to me.
68b–71) With the exalted strength of the gods, my lords, I sent orders to all the kings of the land Amurru whom they (the gods) had made bow down at my feet. (70) They cut down large beams of cedar on Mount Amanus. They dragged (them) to Nineveh and I roofed them (the palatial halls). I fastened bands of copper on doors of cypress (and) white cedar and I installed (them) in their gates.
72–75a) I had *pendû*-stone — whose appearance is as finely granulated as cucumber seeds, considered valuable enough to be an amulet, a stone for speaking (and) being accepted, as well as making storms pass by, (and) keeping illness away from a man, (and) which was brought from the foot of Mount Nipur — and white limestone, which was discovered at the city Balāṭāya, (75) fashioned into bull colossi and I made (them) hold their door bolts.
75b–77a) I erected cedar columns over sphinxes of *pendû*-stone and I positioned the architraves of that palatial hall of limestone (on those columns).

77b–82a) With the ingenious mind that the lord of wisdom, the god Ninšiku, had granted to me, by divine will, I created clay molds for all of the bronze works that I intended to cast in Nineveh for

63b–66a Cf. text no. 22 vi 51b–58a and text no. 23 vi 43–45a. This inscription does not state that the work was begun in a favorable month, on an auspicious day, but it does record the laying of the foundations. Like text no. 22, this inscription records the building of two wings; text no. 23, however, describes the construction of only one wing.
64 *tam-šil* "a replica of": Text no. 22 vi 54 has *né-peš-ti* "the style of."
65 *e-piš-ti* "workmanship": Text no. 22 vi 55 has *ep-šet* "workmanship." *šar-ḫa* "splendor": Text no. 22 vi 56 has *nak-lat* "expertly."
66b–68a Cf. the longer description in text no. 22 vi 65b–71a.
68b–69 Esarhaddon records that twenty-two kings assisted him when he worked on the armory. See Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 23–24 Esarhaddon 1 v 54–vi 1 and p. 33 Esarhaddon 2 iv 54–v 12.
71 URUDU "copper": Text no. 22 vi 61 and text no. 23 vi 47 add *nam-ri* "bright" after URUDU "copper."
72 NA_4.^{d}ŠE.TIR "*pendû*-stone": For a discussion and previous literature, see Mitchell and Middleton, JCS 54 (2002) pp. 95–97, and Schuster-Brandis, AOAT 46 pp. 443–444. Mitchell and Middleton suggest that NA_4.^{d}ŠE.TIR is limestone in the context of large sculptures. A nearly identical description of *pendû*-stone appears in a text inscribed on a pair of bull colossi stationed in a gateway of the so-called "Eastern Building," which is located on the Kuyunjik mound, ca. 300 m northeast of Sennacherib's throne room; see Thompson, Arch. 79 (1929) pl. LII nos. 122M and 122N lines 3′–7′. GIM NUMUN *qiš-še-e* GAR-*šú nu-su-qu* "whose appearance is as finely granulated as cucumber seeds": Cf. Layard, MS C fol. 66r lines 3–4 and 1 R pl. 7 no. VIII E lines 3–4, a text inscribed on the back of a winged lion and on the backs of two wall slabs, which have *šá* GIM ŠE-*im ṣa-aḫ-ḫa-ri ši-kin-šú nu-us-su-qu* "whose appearance is as finely granulated as *mottled* barley."
74 *i-na* URU.*ba-la-ṭa-a-a* "at the city Balāṭāya": Text no. 22 vi 63 and text no. 23 vi 48 have *i-na er-ṣe-et* URU.*ba-la-ṭa-a-a* "in the territory of the city Balāṭāya."
75 *ú-šá-aṣ-bi-ta* SI.GAR-*ši-in* "I made (them) hold their door bolts": Text no. 22 vi 64–65 and text no. 23 vi 49–50 add *im-na ù še-me-la* "on the right and left."
77 *i-na uz-ni ni-kil-ti* ... ^{d}*nin-ši-kù* "with the ingenious mind ... the god Ninšiku ...": Cf. text no. 17 vii 1–2, which has *i-na uz-ni ni-kil-ti ša ú-šat-li-ma ru-bu-ú* ^{d}*nin-ši-kù* "with the ingenious mind that the prince, the god Ninšiku, had granted to me."

79) *ki-i ṭè-em* DINGIR *zi-i'-pi ṭi-dí ab-ni-ma* URUDU *qé-reb-šú áš-pu-uk-ma i-ši-ra*
80) *šip-ru qa-ti-ia u* MUNUS.^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ URUDU *ma-šá-a-ti as-kup-pu* NA$_4$.^{d}ŠE.TIR
81) *ú-šá-áš-ši-ši-na-ti bi-rit* MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA.MEŠ *ul-ziz na-bur-riš ú-še-me-ma ú-šá-lik*
82) *as-mì-iš i-na ki-sa-al-li* GAL-*i šap-la-nu* É.GAL NA$_4$.*pi-i-li a-na ri-mit* LUGAL-*ti-ia*
83) *ša* NA$_4$.^{d}ŠE.TIR NA$_4$.DÚR.MI.NA.BÀN.DA *ù* NA$_4$.*sa-a-bu ú-še-piš ki-gal-lum* 4 *tim-me* ZABAR
84) *ša šeš-šá-šú-nu* AN.NA *bal-lum ṣe-ru-uš-šú ul-ziz-ma i-na da-ap-pi* GIŠ.*ere-ni ša* KI.SAG
85) *lit-bu-šú ú-šat-ri-ṣa ṣu-lul-šú* É.GAL *ma-šar-ti ma-gal ú-šar-bi ú-šá-*⌜*ak-lil*⌝*-ši*
86) *ú-šar-ri-iḫ-ši a-na tab-rat kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ *la-la-a uš-mal-liš man-da-at-tu* ⌜*kul*$^{?}$*-lat*⌝ KUR.MEŠ
87) *a-tar-tu ša* KUR.*ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ti ša i-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*e-a ma-am-man*
88) *la im-ḫu-ru bi-lat-su-un it-ti* GIŠ.*ṣu-um-ba-te* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ⌜*ru-ku-bi*$^{?}$ LUGAL$^{?}$⌝ KUR$^{?}$.*e-la-mì-i*
89) LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ù* KUR.*kal-di ša ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a* ⌜*it-ti ḫu*$^{?}$*-lap*$^{?}$*-ti*⌝ *la mì-nam*
90) *šá ak-ku*-mu a-na na-kam-ti ša* É.GAL *šá-a-tu* ⌜*ú-še-bi-lam*⌝*-ma ú-še-rib qé-reb-šá*
91) *i-na qí-bit* ^{d}*aš-šur* AD DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* ^{d}NIN.LÍL *šar-*⌜*ra*⌝*-ti* ⌜*qé-reb*⌝ É.GAL ⌜*šá-a-tu*⌝
92) *i-na ṭu-ub* UZU ⌜*ḫu-ud lìb*⌝*-bi ù nu-um-mur pa-ni** ⌜UD.MEŠ$^{?}$⌝ *lu*$^{?}$*-šá*$^{?}$*-*⌜*rí*$^{?}$*-ka*$^{?}$ *lu*$^{?}$*-uš*$^{?}$*-ba*$^{?}$*-a*$^{?}$⌝
93) *lit-tu-tu li-pu-ú-a du-rí da-rí a-na* ⌜u_4*-me ru-qu-ti li-ku-nu qé-reb-šá*⌝
94) ^{d}ALAD *na-ṣir nap-šá-a-ti* DINGIR *mu-*⌜*šal-li-mu ur-ru ù mu-šú a-a ip-par-ku-ú i-da-a-šá*⌝

the requirements of my palatial halls, then I poured copper into them (text "it") and (80) my handiwork succeeded. Furthermore, I had twin *lamassu*-colossi of copper bear slabs of *pendû*-stone. I stationed (them) between the sphinxes, made (them) like battlements, and made (the façade) beautiful.

82b–85a) In the great courtyard below the palatial hall of limestone, I had a pedestal of *pendû*-stone, breccia, and *sābu*-stone made for my royal residence. I placed on it four bronze columns that were alloyed with one-sixth tin and I roofed it with cedar crossbeams that were plated with silver.

85b–90) I made (that) armory extremely large, perfect, (and) splendid. I filled it with luxuriousness to be an object of wonder for all of the people. The surplus payment of *all of* the lands, (including) that of the distant Medes — from whom none of the kings, my ancestors, had received tribute — together with the wagons, chariots, *vehicles of the king* of the Elamites, the king of Babylon, and Chaldea that I had captured, along with the countless *equipment* (90) that I had accumulated: I had (all of these things) carried to the treasury of that palace and brought inside it.

91–94) By the command of the god Aššur, father of the gods, and the goddess Mullissu, the queen, *may I spend a long time* (and) attain very old age in that palace in good health, happiness, and contentment. May my descendants be established therein forever, into the distant future. May the *šēdu*-spirit(s) who protect life, the god(s) who preserve well-being day and night, never leave it.

35

Two stone tablet fragments, both presumably from Nineveh, are inscribed with a text summarizing the accomplishments of Sennacherib on the battlefield and describing a building project of his at Nineveh, possibly the rebuilding and decoration of the armory (*ekal kutalli*, the "Rear Palace"). Parts of seventy-four lines are preserved and these contain reports of his sixth (against the Chaldeans living in Elam and against Nergal-ušēzib), seventh

34 line 79 Text no. 17 vii 16–17 has *ki-i ṭè-em* DINGIR-*ma zi-i'-pi ṭi-iṭ-ṭi ab-ni-ma e-ra-a qé-reb-šú áš-tap-pa-ka* "by divine will, I created a clay mold, then I poured copper into it."
34 line 86 ⌜*kul*$^{?}$*-lat*⌝ "*all of*": The copy in 1 R (pl. 44) has ⌜LUGAL-*lat*⌝. Luckenbill, Senn. p. 133 reads the signs as ⌜*bi-lat*⌝ "tribute."
34 line 89 ⌜*ḫu*$^{?}$*-lap*$^{?}$*-ti*⌝ "*equipment*": The reading follows CAD Ḫ p. 228 sub *ḫulaptu* and Frahm, Sanherib p. 129. D.D. Luckenbill (Senn. p. 134) suggests ⌜*ḫa-lab-ti*⌝ "(pieces) of equipment"; and R. Borger (BiOr 14 [1957] p. 121) suggests reading the signs as ⌜*ḫu-ub-ti*⌝ "plunder."
34 line 90 *ak-ku*-mu* "that I had accumulated": Instead of *ku*, the copy in 1 R (pl. 44) has *lu*, which D.D. Luckenbill (Senn. p. 134) read as *ki*$^{?}$. B. Meissner and P. Rost (BiS p. 54) suggested *ku*; see also AHw p. 717 sub *nakāmu* and CAD N/1 p. 156 sub *nakāmu* a.
34 lines 91–94 Similar concluding lines (the "by the command of the god Aššur" section) are found in texts written on bull and lion colossi stationed in gateways of the "Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace) and bull colossi placed in the so-called "East Building." Cf., for example, Smith Bull 4 lines 163b–164 (3 R pl. 13); and Layard, ICC pl. 42 lines 52b–53 (= text lines 105b–106). Note that the goddess Ištar, not the goddess Mullissu, is mentioned with the god Aššur in the bull and lion inscriptions.
34 line 92 *pa-ni** "face": The copy in 1 R (pl. 44) has *pa*-E. The reading of the signs at the end of the line follows Frahm, Sanherib p. 129.

(against Elam), and eighth (the battle of Ḫalulê) campaigns, an account of a campaign to Arabia, and the beginning of the building report. The *terminus post quem* for the inscription is the expedition to Arabia, which took place after Sennacherib's eighth campaign, and therefore the tablets were probably inscribed ca. 690–689; they are probably later in date than text no. 34. The inscription is sometimes referred to as the "Ungnad Stone Tablet Fragment Inscription" or the "Winckler Stone Tablet Fragment Inscription." Ex. 1 is named after A. Ungnad, who published a copy of the fragment in 1907, and ex. 2 is named after H. Winckler, who published an edition of that piece in 1893–97.

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	VA 3310	—	Possibly Nineveh (or Aššur)	25×23×5.5	1′–59′	c
2	K 8544	—	Probably Nineveh	14×8×3.9	10′–30′, 1′′–15′′	c

COMMENTARY

Three inscriptions similar to this one are known: (1) text no. 26, which is inscribed on a hexagonal clay prism; (2) text no. 34, which is written on a stone tablet; and (3) a text written on a double-column clay tablet, K 2655 + K 2800 + Sm 318 (+)? K 4507 (+)? 89-4-26,150 (Frahm, Sanherib pp. 202–206 T 173; to be edited in Part 2). Comparison with those texts suggests that this inscription probably contained a short prologue, military narration summarizing Sennacherib's first to eighth campaigns, the campaigns that took place in the eponymies of Šulmu-Bēl (696) and Aššur-bēlu-uṣur (695), and an expedition to Arabia, and a building report. The mention of Sennacherib reviewing enemy booty in line 14′′ may indicate that the building account of this text described work on the armory; the reading of the extant text in that line is not entirely certain.

Since exs. 1 and 2 duplicate each other only in lines 10′–30′, a score of those lines is provided on the CD-ROM. Although the master text of lines 10′–30′ is a conflation of both exemplars, the line divisions follow ex. 1, which was not as wide as ex. 2. Parallel passages in text no. 34 aid in the restoration of damaged text in lines 1′–24′ and 40′b–52′, although caution must be exercised because there are major variants in those passages. Damaged text in lines 33′–40′a can be restored from text no. 22 v 31–41. For lines 25′–40′a, compare the Baltimore Inscription (Walters Art Gallery no. 41,109) lines 11b–12a, 14, and 41–43 (Grayson, AfO 20 [1963] pp. 88–91); Walters Art Gallery no. 41,109 and a duplicate of it housed at the Catholic University of America, two large stone tablets inscribed in 690 (the king's 15th regnal year), will be edited in Part 2, since that inscription (which has been referred to as the "Sur-marrati Inscription" and the "Fourteenth Year of Sennacherib Inscription") records work on the city wall of Sur-marrati and since the tablets upon which this text is written may originate from Samarra, and not Nineveh, where both exemplars of this text are presumed to have been discovered. The inscription is given consecutive line numbers for the obverse and reverse (= lines 32′–15′′), rather than separate line counts for the obverse and reverse. Many of the differences between this inscription and text no. 34 are noted in the on-page notes.

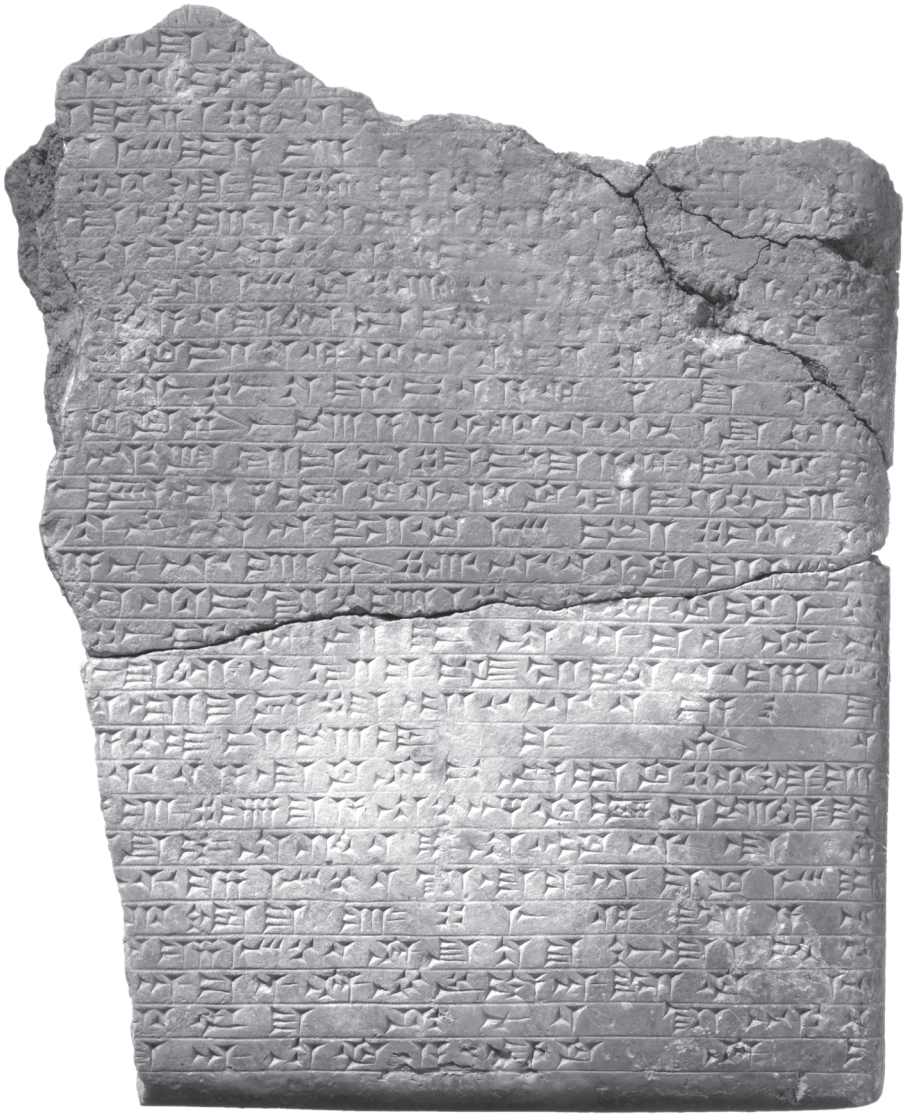

Figure 7. VA 3310 (text no. 35 ex. 1), obverse of a stone tablet of Sennacherib, probably from Nineveh. Photo taken by O.M. Tessmer. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

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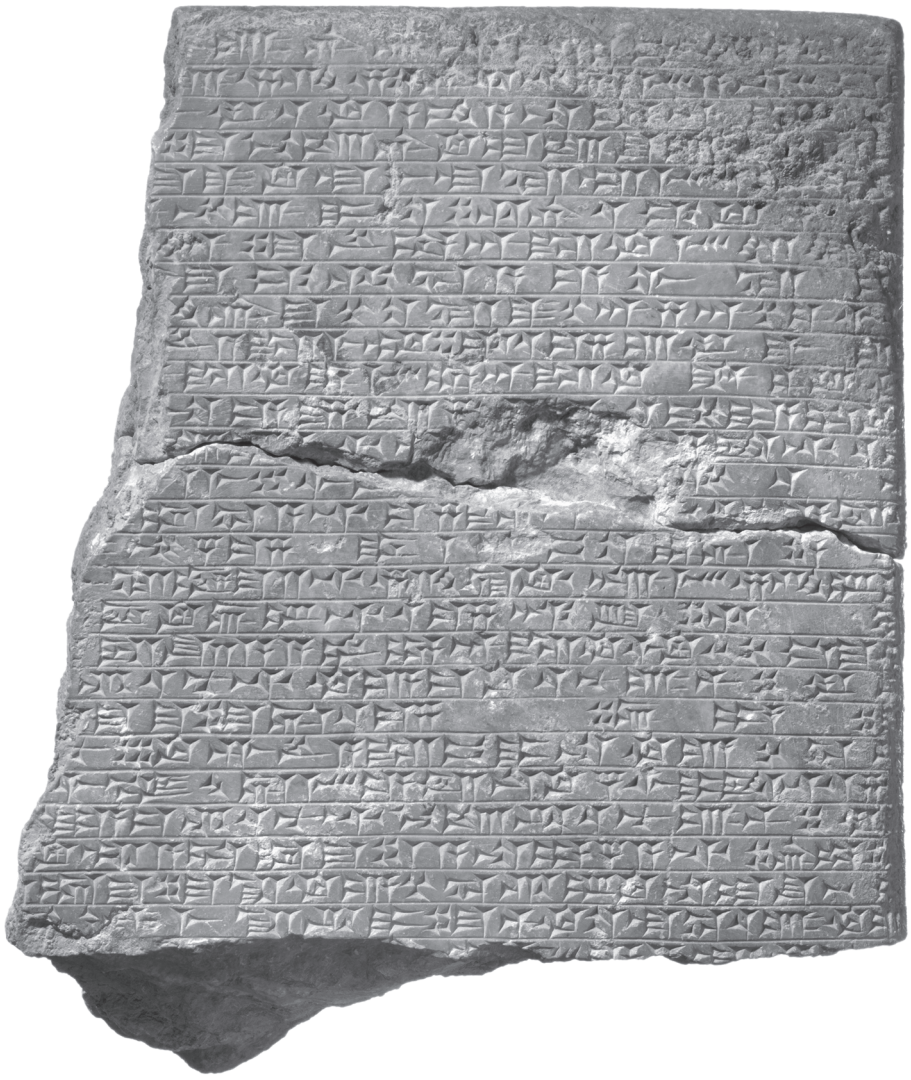

Figure 8. VA 3310 (text no. 35 ex. 1), reverse of a stone tablet of Sennacherib, probably from Nineveh. Photo taken by O.M. Tessmer. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

TEXT

Obv.

1′) [...] *x x* [... UN.MEŠ KUR.É-^{m}*ia-kin*$_{7}$]

2′) [*ù* DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu a-di ba*]-⌜*ḫu*⌝-*la*-⌜*ti*⌝ [LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *áš-lu-lam-ma*]

3′) [*a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ú-ra-a*] *ar-ka* ⌜LÚ⌝.[KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ ...]

1′–3′a) [...] ... [... I carried off the people of the land Bīt-Yakīn and their gods, together with sol]diers of [the king of the land Elam, and I brought (them) to Assyria].

3′b–8′) Afterwards, the [Babylonians — ..., who along with Mar]duk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan) [*had*

3′b–6′ Cf. text no. 34 line 27, which has *ar-ka* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ *šá it-ti* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA *ú-ṣu-ú in-nab-tu e-lam-taš*, "afterwards, the Babylonians, who had gone forth with Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan) (and) had fled to (the land) Elam." At the end of line 3′ and the beginning of line 4′ there is room for about seven signs between LÚ.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ ("Babylonians") and *šá it-ti* ("who along with"). E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 133) suggests that one could tentatively restore GAL$_{5}$.LÁ.MEŠ *lem-nu-ti* ("evil *gallû*-demons") on the basis of text no. 22 v 18; but, as he notes, this is not the only possibility. At the beginning of line 7′, one could tentatively restore the name of the Elamite king (Kudur-Nuḫundu).

4′) [... *šá it-ti* ^{md}AMAR].ᵀUTUᵀ-IBILA-SUM.NA ᵀ*i*ᵀ-[*na a-lak ger-ri-ia*]
5′) [*maḫ-ri-ti la-pa-an* GIŠ].ᵀTUKULᵀ.MEŠ-*ia dan-*ᵀ*nu-ti*ᵀ [*ig*]-ᵀ*ru*?-*ru*?-*ma*?ᵀ
6′) [...] *x uṣ-ṣu-ma in-*ᵀ*nab-tu e-lam-taš*ᵀ
7′) [... LÚ.*e*]-*la-mu-ú a-na* ᵀKÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *il-du*ᵀ-*du-nim-*[*ma*]
8′) [^{m}*šu-zu-bu* DUMU ^{m}*ga-ḫúl i*]-*na* GIŠ.GU.ZA MAN-ᵀ*ti*ᵀ UGU-*šú-nu* ᵀ*ú*ᵀ-*še-*[*šib-ma*]
9′) [ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN? GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ] ᵀANŠEᵀ.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ki-ṣir* ᵀMAN-*ti*ᵀ-*ia* ᵀ*a-na*ᵀ *me-eḫ-*ᵀ*ret*ᵀ
10′) [LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ú-ma-*ʾ*e-er*] ᵀERIMᵀ.ḪI.A-*šú ma-a*ʾ*-du* ᵀ*it-ti* DUMU-*šú i-du*ᵀ-*ku-*ᵀ*ma*ᵀ
11′) [*i-tur ar-ka-niš šu-nu a-di* UNUG.KI *iš-tam-di-ḫu* ᵀ^{d}UTU *ša* ARARMA.KIᵀ
12′) [^{d}GAŠAN-*ša*]-ᵀUNUG.KI DINGIR?ᵀ.[MEŠ] *a-ši-bu-ut qer-bi-šú a-di* NÍG.ŠU-*šú-*ᵀ*nu*ᵀ
13′) [NÍG.GA-*šú-nu ša la ni*]-ᵀ*bi*ᵀ *iš-lu-lu-ni ina ta-a-a-ar-ti-šú-nu* ^{m}*šu-zu-*ᵀ*bu*ᵀ
14′) [LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *i-na* MÈ] ᵀEDINᵀ *bal-ṭu-su iṣ-ba-tu-nim-ma a-di maḫ-ri-*ᵀ*ia*ᵀ
15′) [*ub-lu-niš-šu i-na* KÁ].ᵀGALᵀ MURUB$_4$ URU *šá* NINA.KI *ar-ku-su da-bu-ú-iš*
16′) LUGAL ᵀKURᵀ.[ELAM.MA.KI *ša re*]-ᵀ*ṣu*ᵀ-*ut* LÚ.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ *il-li-*ᵀ*ku*ᵀ
17′) [*a-na* KUR-*šú lu al-lik*] ᵀURUᵀ.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti* É *ni-ṣir-ti-šú ù* URU.ᵀMEŠ TUR.MEŠᵀ
18′) [*ša li-me-ti-šú-nu a-di*] ᵀ*ne*ᵀ-*re-bi ša* KUR.É-^{m}*bu-*ᵀ*na-ak*ᵀ-*ki al-me* KUR-*ud*
19′) *áš-*[*lu-la šal-la-su-un ap*]-*pu-*ᵀ*ul aq*ᵀ-*qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*
20′) [LUGAL ELAM.MA.KI *ka-šad* URU.MEŠ-*šú iš*]-ᵀ*me*ᵀ-*ma im-qut-su ḫat-tum si-it-ti* UN.MEŠ KUR-*šú*
21′) [*a-na dan-na-a-ti ú-še*]-ᵀ*li*ᵀ URU.*ma-dak-tu* URU MAN-*ti-šú e-zib-ma*
22′) ᵀ*a-na* URUᵀ.*ḫa-i-da-la* ᵀ*ša*ᵀ [*qé*]-ᵀ*reb*ᵀ KUR-*i iš-ta-kan pa-ni-šú*
23′) [*a-na* URU.*ma-dak-te* URU MAN]-ᵀ*ti*ᵀ-*šú a-la-ku aq-bi* ITI.AB *ku-uṣ-ṣu dan-nu*
24′) *ik-*ᵀ*šu*ᵀ-[*dam-ma pa-an ni-ri*]-ᵀ*ia*ᵀ *ú-ter-ma a-na*

gr]*oveled* [in the face of] my mighty [we]apons dur[ing the course of a previous campaign of mine, ...] ..., had gone out, *and* had fled to (the land) Elam — brought [..., the E]lamite, to Babylon [and] he (the king of Elam) pla[ced Šūzubu (Nergal-ušēzib), son of Gaḫul (Gaḫal), o]n the royal throne over them.

9′–13′a) [I ordered archers, chariots], (and) horses of my royal contingent to confront (10′) [the king of the land Elam]. They killed many of his troops, including his son, and [he (the king of Elam) retreated. They] marched [to] Uruk (and) carried off the god Šamaš of Larsa (and) [the goddess the Lady of] Uruk, the *go*[*ds*] living inside it, together with their property (and) [possessions, which are without numb]er.

13′b–15′) On their return march, [in a] pitched [battle], they took Šūzubu (Nergal-ušēzib), [the king of Babylon], alive and [brought him] before me. [At the] Citadel [Gat]e of Nineveh, I bound him with a bear.

16′–19′) (As for) the king of the land [Elam, who] had come [to the ai]d of the Babylonians, [I marched to his land]. I surrounded, conquered, pl[undered, des]troyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire (his) fortified cities, his treasury, and the small(er) settlements [in their environs, as far as] the pass of the land Bīt-Bunaki.

20′–22′) [The king of the land Elam hea]rd about [the conquest of his cities] and fear fell upon him. [He made] the rest of the people of his land [go] up [into fortresses]. He abandoned the city Madaktu, his royal city, and set out for the city Ḫaydala, which is [i]n the mountains.

23′–24′) I ordered the march [to the city Madaktu], his [roy]al [city]. In the month Ṭebētu (X), bitter cold [set in so I turned] around (lit. "I turned [the front of

7′ ᵀ*il-du*ᵀ-*du-nim-*[*ma*] "they brought [and]": See the on-page note to text no. 34 line 28.
9′ GIŠ.PAN? "*bow*": See the on-page note to text no. 34 line 29.
10′ ᵀERIMᵀ.ḪI.A-*šú* "his troops": Cf. text no. 34 line 30, which has ERIM.ḪI.A "troops."
11′–12′ ᵀ^{d}UTUᵀ *... qer-bi-šú* "the god Šamaš ... inside it": Text no. 34 lines 31–33 have ^{d}UTU *ša* ARARMA.KI ^{d}GAŠAN-*ša-re*?-*e-ši* ^{d}GAŠAN-*ša*-UNUG.KI ^{d}*na-na-a* ^{d}*ú-ṣur-a-mat-sa* ^{d}*be-let-*TI.LA ^{d}*kurun-nam* ^{d}*kaš-ši-tu* ^{d}IGI.DU DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ut* UNUG.KI "the deities Šamaš of Larsa, the Lady of the *Rēš*-Temple, the Lady of Uruk, Nanāya, Uṣur-amāssa, Bēlet-balāṭi, Kurunam, Kaššītu, (and) Palil, the gods who live in Uruk." Because neither exemplar is sufficiently preserved at this point, it is not possible to determine which deities are listed in this inscription. [^{d}GAŠAN-*ša*]-ᵀUNUG.KI DINGIR?ᵀ.[MEŠ] "[the goddess the Lady of] Uruk, the *go*[*ds*]": Or possibly [^{d}GAŠAN-*ša*]-ᵀUNUG.KI ^{d}Tᵀ[*na-na-a* DINGIR.MEŠ] "[the goddess the Lady of] Uruk, the goddess [Nanāya, the gods]"; see Frahm, Sanherib p. 130.
14′ *iṣ-ba-tu-nim-ma* "they took and": Text no. 34 lines 34–35 have *ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*šú-un* "their hands captured." That inscription also adds *e-ri-in-nu bi-re-tu id-du-šu-ma* "they threw him into a neck-stock (and) fetters and."
15′ See the on-page note to text no. 34 line 36.
21′ Cf. text no. 34 line 40, which has *šu-ú*, "he," before URU.*ma-dak-tu*, "the city Madaktu."
24′ After *ikšudamma* "it (bitter cold) set in and", text no. 34 line 43 has *šá-mu-tum la-zi-iz-tum il-lik-ma šal-gu na-ḫal-lum na-at-bak* KUR-*i a-du-ra ú-ter-ma* "continuous rain fell, and I was afraid of the snow in the gorges, the outflows of the mountains, (so) I turned around and."

KUR *aš-šur*.KI *aṣ-ba-ta ḫar-ra-nu*
25′) [*ar-ki-ia šu*?]-ʳ*ú*? *áš*¹-*šú šu-šu-ub na-gi-šú i-na* UGU *ti-la-ni*
26′) [*... si-it*]-*ti* UN.MEŠ KUR-*šú ša la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia*
27′) *ip-par-ši-du x* [*... ú-še*]-ʳ*ri*¹-*dam-ma ú-še-šib ṭe-ra-a-ti*
28′) [...] *x* UN.MEŠ KUR-*šú ak-šu-ud-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*

29′) [URU.MEŠ-*šú ap-pu-ul aq-qur i-na*] ᵈGIŠ.BAR *aq-mu* LÚ.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ
30′) [...] ʳLUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA¹.KI ʳ*is-ḫu*¹-*ru-ma ik-nu-šú ša-pal-šú*
31′) [*... a-na*] ʳ*šu*¹-*an-na*.KI *a-la-ku aq-bi*
Rev.
32′) [...] *x-ú ni-*ʳ*sa-ti-iš ḫat-tum im-qut-su-nu-ti*¹
33′) [É NÍG.GA *ša é-sag-íl ip-tu*]-ʳ*ú*¹ KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR *ni-*ʳ*siq-ti* NA_4.MEŠ¹ *a-na* MAN ʳELAM.MA.KI¹
34′) [*ú-še-bi-lu-uš ṭa-aʾ-tú iš*]-ʳ*pu*¹-*ru-šú ki-a-am a-na* ʳKÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI¹
35′) [*ḫi-šam-ma i-da-a-ni i-zi-iz-ma*] *tu-kul-ta-ni lu at-ta šu-*ʳ*ú*¹ [MAN] ʳELAM.MA¹.KI
36′) [*ša* UN.MEŠ KUR-*šú ak-šu-du*]-*ma áš-lu-la šal-la-su* URU.MEŠ-ʳ*šú ap-pu-la*¹
37′) [*aq-qu-ra i-na* ᵈGIŠ.BAR] ʳ*aq*¹-*mu-ú i-na uz-ni-šú ul ib-*ʳ*šá-a*¹
38′) [*ṭè-e-mu ù mil-ku ṭa*]-*aʾ-tu* LÚ.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ *im-ḫur-*ʳ*ma*¹
39′) [...] *x* (*x*) *ul iq-ba-a e-pi-su-*ʳ*un*¹
40′) [ERIM.ḪI.A-*šú* KARAŠ-*su ú-pa*]-*ḫi-ir-ma* KUR.*par-su-áš* KUR.*an-za-an* KUR.*pa-ši-*ʳ*ru*¹
41′) [KUR.*el-li-pi nap-ḫar* KUR.*kal-di*] LÚ.*a-ra-me ka-li-šú-un kit-ru* GAL-ʳ*ú*¹
42′) [*ik-te-ra it-ti-šú a-di* LUGAL KÁ].ʳDINGIR¹.RA.KI DUMU.MEŠ KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *bár-sipa.*ʳKI¹
43′) [*a-na a-ḫa-meš iq-ri-bu-ma a*]-*na e-peš ta-*ʳ*ḫa-zi a-na*¹ GABA-*ia* DU-*ku-ni*
44′) [*i-na e-muq* ᵈ*aš-šur* EN-*ia i-na*] ʳ*ta-mir*¹-*ti* ʳURU¹.[*ḫa-lu-le*]-ʳ*e*¹ *it-ti-šú-nu*
45′) [*am-da-ḫi-iṣ* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú-nu áš*]-ʳ*kun*¹ 1 ME 50

m]y [yoke]") and took the road to Assyria.
25′–27′) [After my (departure) *h*]*e* (the king of Elam), in order to (re)settle his district, [...] on ruin hills. [He bro]ught [the rest] of the people of his land, who had fled before my weapons, down *fr*[*om* ...] and settled (them) on the alluvium.

28′–29′a) [...] ... I captured the people of his land and counted (them) as booty. [I destroyed, devastated], (and) burned [with] fire [his cities].
29′b–35′a) The Babylonians [...] aligned themselves with the king of the land Elam and bowed down at his feet. [...] I ordered the march [to] Šuanna (Babylon). [...] ... in lamentation. Fear fell upon them. [They open]ed [the treasury of Esagil, sent] gold, silver, (and) precious stones [as a bribe] to the king of the land Elam (Umman-menanu), (and) [wr]ote to him as follows: "[Hurry to Babylon and align yourself with us]! Let us put our trust in you."

35′b–40′a) He, [the king of] (the land) Elam — [the people of whose land I had captured] and carried off (and) whose cities I had destroyed, [devastated], (and) burned [with fire] — had no [sense or insight] in him (lit. "in his ear"). He accepted [the br]ibe of the Babylonians and [...] ... He did not order their work, (but) gathered [his army (and) forces].

40′b–43′) The lands Parsuaš, Anzan, Pašeru, (and) [Ellipi, the entirety of Chaldea], (and) all of the Arameans, a large host, [formed a confederation with him. They met up with the king of B]abylon (and) the citizens of Babylon (and) Borsippa [and] they marched towards me [t]o do battle.

44′–46′) [With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord, I fought] with them [on] the plain of the cit[y Ḫalul]ê (and) [defeated them. I put to the sword] 150,000

25′–40′a These lines are not included in text no. 34. Unlike that text, this inscription records further details about the seventh campaign, namely what happened in Elam and Babylonia after Sennacherib departed Elam, and the eighth campaign, in particular how the Babylonians bribed the king of Elam so that he would support their cause. For lines 25′–27′, cf. the Baltimore Inscription lines 41–43 (Grayson, AfO 20 [1963] p. 90).
27′ E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 131) restores *ul-tu*? *dan-na-a-ti*? "*from (his) fortresses*" between *ip-par-ši-du*, "who had fled," and [*ú-še*]-ʳ*ri*¹-*dam-ma*, "[he bro]ught down and."
32′ *x-ú*: E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 131) tentatively suggests [*iš*?]-ʳ*mu*?¹-*ú* "[*when they hea*]*rd about*." Cf. the Baltimore Inscription lines 11b–12a (Grayson, AfO 20 [1963] p. 88), which has DUMU.MEŠ KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ša a-lak gir-ri-*ʳ*ia*¹ *iš-mu-ma im-qu-*ʳ*ut*¹-[*su*]-ʳ*nu*¹-*ti gi-lit-tu ù ḫa-*ʳ*at*¹-*tu* "(as for) the Babylonians who heard about the approach of my expeditionary force, terror and fear fell upon them."
34′ *ú-še-bi-lu-uš ṭa-aʾ-tú* "they sent it as a bribe": The restoration is based on text no. 22 v 34. Or possibly restore *ú-še-bi-lu*, "they sent," which is based on the Baltimore Inscription line 14 (Grayson, AfO 20 [1963] p. 88).
35′ *ḫi-šam-ma* "hurry and": The restoration is based on text no. 22 v 36. Or possibly restore *al-ka-am-ma*, "come here and," which is based on the Baltimore Inscription line 14 (Grayson, AfO 20 [1963] p. 88).
36′ [*ak-šu-du*]-*ma* "[I had captured] and": Or possibly [*ak-šu-dam*]-*ma*.
42′ Cf. text no. 34 line 46, which omits DUMU.MEŠ KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *bár-sipa*.KI "the citizens of Babylon (and) Borsippa." 89-4-26,150 i 5′–6′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 204) also includes "the citizens of Babylon (and) Borsippa" after LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI "the king of Babylon."
43′ ʳ*a-na*¹ GABA-*ia* "towards me (lit. "to my chest")": Text no. 34 line 47 has *i-na* GABA-*ia*.

LIM ⌜LÚ⌝.[ERIM.MEŠ *ta-ḫa*]-⌜*zi*⌝-*šú-nu*
46′) [*i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-šam-qit* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ].⌜*ṣu*⌝-*um-ba-a-ti* GIŠ.*za*-⌜*ra-ti*⌝ [LUGAL]-⌜*ti-šú-nu e*⌝-*kim-šú-nu*-⌜*ti*⌝
47′) [LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*šú-nu a-di* ^{md}]⌜AG⌝-MU-GAR-*un* DUMU ^{md}⌜AMAR⌝.UTU-⌜IBILA-SUM.NA⌝
48′) [*ša i-na* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR *ú-šu*]-⌜*uz*⌝-*zu as-ma-a*-ti* KÙ.GI *tul*$_5$-*lu-u* GÍR.MEŠ KÙ.GI *šit*-⌜*ku-nu*⌝
49′) [*ù i-na* ḪAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI *ru*]-*uk-ku*-sa rit-ti-šú-un bal-ṭu-us-su*-[*un*]
50′) [*qé-reb tam-ḫa-ri ik*]-⌜*šu*⌝-*da* ŠU.II-*a-a* LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ù* MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.⌜KI⌝
51′) [*ḫur-ba-šú* MÈ-*ia is*]-*ḫup-šú-nu-ti qé-reb* GIŠ.GIGIR-*šú-nu ú-maš-še-ru*-⌜*ni*⌝
52′) [*zu-ú-šú-un e-diš ip-par-šid*]-⌜*du*⌝-*ma ma-tu-uš-šú-un in-nab*-⌜*tu*⌝
53′) [... ^{f}*te-ʾe-el-ḫu*$^{?}$]-⌜*nu*⌝ *šar-rat* LÚ.*a-ra-bi i-na qé-reb mad-ba*-⌜*ri*⌝
54′) [...] LIM ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ *e-kim qa-tuš-šá ši-i it-ti* ^{m}*ḫa*-⌜*za*-DINGIR⌝
55′) [... *ḫur-ba-šú ta-ḫa*]-⌜*zi*⌝-*ia is-ḫup-šú-nu-ti kul-ta-ri-šú-nu ú-maš-še*-⌜*ru-ma*⌝
56′) [*a-na* ...] ⌜*ù*$^{?}$⌝ URU.*a-du-um-ma-te a-na nap-šá-a-ti in-nab*-⌜*tu*⌝
57′) [... URU.*a*]-⌜*du*⌝-*um-ma-tu ša qé-reb mad-ba-ri šit-ku-na-at šu-bat*-⌜*sún*⌝
58′) [... *qaq*]-⌜*qar*$^{?}$ *ṣu*⌝-*me ša ri-i-tu maš-qí-tú la ba-šú-ú qé-reb-šú*-[*un*]
59′) [...] *x x x x x x* (*x*)

Lacuna

1″) [... *i-na*] ⌜*šuk*⌝-*bu-us* ⌜*a*⌝-*ram*-⌜*me*⌝ [...]
2″) [...]-*x-ma*$^{?}$ *man-da-at-ta-šú-nu* ⌜*ka*⌝-[*bit-tu am-ḫur*$^{?}$ ...]
3″) [...]-*lu*$^{?}$-*ni* URU.*ka-pa-a-nu* URU.[...]
4″) [...] *a-šar ni-ṣir-ti-šá i*-⌜*na*$^{?}$⌝ [...]
5″) [... ^{f}*te-ʾe-el-ḫu-nu*$^{?}$ *šar*]-*rat* LÚ.*a-ra-bi a-di* DINGIR.[MEŠ-*šá*$^{?}$ ...]
6″) [...] *x-a-ti* NA$_4$.BABBAR.DILI.MEŠ NA$_4$.⌜BABBAR$^{?}$⌝.[MIN$_5$$^{?}$.MEŠ ...]
7″) [...] ⌜*ḫa*$^{?}$⌝-*šur-ru* ŠIM.MEŠ *ka*-⌜*la*⌝-[*ma* ...]
8″) [...] *x-a-te ù* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni x* [...]
9″) [... *áš-lu*]-*la* URU.MEŠ-*ni šá-tu*-⌜*nu*⌝ [*ap-pu-ul aq-qur i-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*]

of their [comb]at t[roops]. I took away from them [chariots, w]agons, (and) their [roy]al tents.

47′–50′a) I [cap]tured alive [in the midst of (that) battle their magnates, including N]abû-šuma-iškun, a son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), who [were stan]ding [in silver (decorated) chariots], bedecked with gold ..., wear gold (decorated) belt-daggers, [and have gold rings fa]stened to their fore-arms.

50′b–52′) [Terror of doing battle with me over]-whelmed the king of Babylon and the king of the land Elam. They released [their excrement] inside their chariot(s), [fle]d [alone], and ran away *to* their (own) land(s).

53′–56′) [... *Teʾelḫu*]*nu*, queen of the Arabs, in the middle of the desert [...] I took away [...] thousand camels from her. She [...] with Hazael. [Terror of doing battle wi]th me overwhelmed them. They abandoned their tents and fled for (their) lives [to *the city* ...] *and* the city Adummatu.

57′–59′) [(As for) *the city... and* the city Ad]ummatu, which are located in the desert, [... *a place of* thirst in whi[ch] there is no pasture (or) watering-place, [...] ...

Lacuna

1″–3″a) [... by having] ramp[s] trodden down [...] ... *and* [*I received*] their sub[stantial] payment [...] ... *to me*.

3″b–9″) (As for) the cities Kapānu, ... [...] its secret place, (which is) *in* [... (5″) ... I carried] off [*Teʾelḫunu*, que]en of the Arabs, together with [*her*] *god*[*s*, ...] ..., *pappardilû*-stones, *pappar*[*mīnu*]-stone[s, ...] *ḫašūru*-wood, all types [of] aromatics, [...] ... and kings ... [... I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire] those cities.

48′ *as-ma-a*-ti* "...": Text has *as-ma*-MIN-*ti*.
49′ [*ru*]-*uk-ku*-sa* "[fa]stened": Text has [*ru*]-*uk*-LU-*sa*.
53′ The name is tentatively restored from an inscription of Ashurbanipal written on three clay tablets: K 3087 // K 3405 // Rm 2,558 line 12 (Borger, BIWA p. 70). Teʾelḫunu is referred to as ^{f}*ku-mir-ta-šá maḫ-ri-tu* "its (Arabia's) former *kumirtu*-priestess" in that text. This event is also recorded in inscriptions of Esarhaddon (for example, Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 19 Esarhaddon 1 iv 1–5), but the name of the queen of the Arabs in those texts is Apkallatu. As R. Borger (Orientalia NS 26 [1957] pp. 9–10) has already pointed out, Apkallatu is not a proper name, but rather a title which Esarhaddon's scribes mistook as a personal name, and thus Apkallatu is the same woman as Teʾelḫunu, who is mentioned here and in the aforementioned inscription of Ashurbanipal.
56′ E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 135) tentatively suggests that one could restore [*a-na* URU.*ka-pa-a-nu*] ⌜*ù*⌝ "[to the city Kapānu] and" at the beginning of the line.
57′ There are probably two cities mentioned in this line, as suggested by the plural suffix on *šubtu* (*šu-bat*-⌜*sún*⌝ "their location").

10′′) [*i-nu-šú*? ... *šá*] *qé-reb* NINA.KI *ka-bat-*⌜*ti*⌝
[*ub-lam-ma* ...]
11′′) [... NA_4.GIŠ].⌜NU_{11}⌝.GAL NA_4.*pi-i-*⌜*li*⌝ [...]
12′′) [... GIŠ].⌜ÙR⌝.MEŠ GIŠ.ŠUR.[MÌN ...]
13′′) [...] ⌜KÙ⌝.BABBAR ZABAR *x* [...]
14′′) [... *pa-qa*?]-⌜*du*⌝ *šal-la-at* [*na-ki-ri*? *ka-bit-tu*? ...]
15′′) [...] *x* [...]
Lacuna

10′′–15′′) [*At that time*, my] heart [prompted me to ... *the Rear Palace*, which is] inside Nineveh. [... alabas]ter, limesto[ne ... b]eams of cyp[ress ...] silver, bronze, ... [... *for review*]*ing* [*substantial enemy*] booty, [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

36

A small, broken stone tablet discovered at Nineveh preserves the beginning and end of an inscription of Sennacherib recording his first campaign (against Marduk-apla-iddina II and his Chaldean and Elamite allies), his second campaign (against the Kassites and Yasubigallians, and the land Ellipi), and the renovation of three or more temples at Nineveh, some of which are said to have been last built by the ninth-century king Ashurnasirpal II (883–859). The text begins with an invocation of a number of gods (beginning with Aššur and ending with Ištar and the Sebetti). Although the tablet is not dated, its *terminus post quem* is Sennacherib's second campaign, as the military narration ends with an account of that military expedition. Thus, the object was probably inscribed ca. 702–701.

CATALOGUE

Source	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Thompson, AAA 18 pl. XVIII no. 16	Nineveh, Asn. Palace, Square C	—	n

COMMENTARY

The tablet was discovered by R.C. Thompson during the 1929–30 excavation season at Nineveh, on the Kuyunjik mound between the Nabû and Ištar temples. J. Reade (CRRA 30 pp. 217–218) suggests that the object comes from the Ištar temple. The present location of the tablet is not known, but Thompson said that it was in Baghdad and therefore the object may be in the Iraq Museum (cf. Frame, ARRIM 2 [1984] p. 11). The object is said to be "small," but its dimensions have not been published.

Like text no. 34 and text no. 35, this tablet is inscribed on both the front and back. Only the left parts of the first seventeen and last twenty-one lines of the inscription are preserved. The text contains a prologue (invocation of gods and Sennacherib's titles and epithets), reports of the first two campaigns, the building account (work on some of Nineveh's temples), and advice to future rulers. Apart from text no. 10 (and probably also text nos. 11–13) and text no. 37, this is the only text in the extant Sennacherib corpus recording work on temples at Nineveh. This text records work on the Sîn-Šamaš temple, the

35 line 10′′ *i-nu-šú*? "*at that time*": The restoration is based on text no. 34 line 55. E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 135–136) proposes restoring É.GAL *ku-tal-li* ("Rear Palace"), É.GAL *ma-šar-ti* ("Review Palace"), or É.GAL *ṣi-ir-tu* ("magnificent palace") after *inūšu*; those restorations are based on text no. 34 lines 55, 85, and 65 respectively. Based on line 14′′, as well as the date of the text (ca. 690–689), the building report probably records work on the armory.
35 line 14′′ The restoration is based on text no. 34 lines 66–67.

temple of the Lady of Nineveh, and at least one other temple; the building account may have recorded the rebuilding of four, five, or even six different temples. Text no. 10 describes the construction of the shrine of the god Ḫaya and text no. 37 narrates the construction of the *akītu*-house Ešaḫulezenzagmukam ("House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year").

Restorations are based on the following texts: obv. 15–16 on the Baltimore Inscription line 2 (Grayson, AfO 20 [1963] p. 88); rev. 1′–2′ on text no. 2 line 33 and text no. 3 line 33; rev. 8′ on Grayson, RIMA 2 p. 309 A.0.101.40 line 35 and Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 126 Esarhaddon 57 v 9–12; rev. 9′ on text no. 10 line 18; rev. 16′–18′ on text no. 4 lines 91–92; and rev. 20′–21′ on text no. 3 line 63. For other possible restorations, see Frahm, Studies Borger pp. 107–121.

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1967 Borger, HKL 1 p. 526 (study)
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1984 Frame, ARRIM 2 p. 11 (study)
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1991 Grayson, CAH^{2} 3/2 p. 115 (study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 136–137 T 63 (study)
1998 Frahm, Studies Borger pp. 107–121 (edition, study)
2005 Reade, Iraq 67 p. 380 (study)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)
2010 Novotny, Studies Ellis p. 137 (rev. 13′–14′, study)

TEXT

Obv.

1) [^{d}]*aš-šur* KUR GAL *a-*⌜*bu* DINGIR.MEŠ⌝ *mu-šim* [*ši-ma-ti* ...]
2) [*ma*]*-li-ku ram-ni-šú* ^{d}*a-num* ^{d}BAD ^{d}*é-*[*a* ...]
3) *ú-ṣu-rat* AN-*e u* KI-*tim mu-ad-du-ú x* [... ^{d}30 (...)]
4) *e-deš-šu-ú* DINGIR KÙ *ša* GISKIM-*šú la il-lam-*⌜*ma*⌝-[*du* ...]
5) *pa-ri-is pur-se-e mu-*⌜*šak*⌝-[*lim ṣa*]*-ad-di* ^{d}[UTU ...]
6) DI.KU$_{5}$.GAL DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ša nam-ri-ir-*⌜*ri*⌝ [*be-lu-ti-šú*$^{?}$ ...]
7) KUR.MEŠ *ma-ti-tan* ^{d}IŠKUR GÚ.GAL AN-*e* KI-⌜*tim*⌝ [...]
8) *mu-šab-šu-u* ŠE *u* ⌜GU *mu*⌝*-uš-par-zi-ḫu sat-*[*tuk-ki* ...]
9) ^{d}UTU GISKIM.MEŠ-*šú ša ina ba-le-šú e-*[...]
10) *la in-nam-bu-ú mal-ku* ^{d}⌜AG$^{?}$⌝ [... AN-*e u*]
11) KI-*tim sa-niq mit-ḫur-ti* [...]
12) ^{d}*nin-urta* IBILA ^{d}EN.LÍL *x* [...]
13) *mu-šat-ti-ru* KUR.MEŠ *x* [... ^{d}*iš-tar*$^{?}$ ...]
14) *a-na* DINGIR-*ti-ša* ⌜GAL⌝-[*ti* ... ^{d}IMIN.BI]
15) DINGIR.MEŠ *šur-*⌜*bu*⌝-[*ti*$^{?}$ *ša i-di* LUGAL *pa-li-ḫi-šú-un*$^{?}$]
16) *iz-za-zu-ma* [UGU *kul-lat na-ki-ri ú-šam-ra-ru* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú*]

1–16) [The god] Aššur, the great mountain, father of the gods, the one who decrees [fates, ..., who deli]berates (only) with himself; the gods Anu, Enlil, (and) E[a, ...] the designs of heaven and earth, who designates ... [...; the god Sîn (...)], the one who constantly renews himself, the pure god whose signs are inscrutab[le, ...], (5) the one who makes decisions, the one who makes [ast]rological signs [known; the god Šamaš, ...], great judge of the great gods, whose [*lordly*] splendor [*overwhelms all of*] the lands everywhere; the god Adad, canal inspector of heaven (and) earth, [...], the one who brings barley and flax into being, who makes *sat*[*tukku*-offerings] abundant, [...]; the god Šamaš, his signs, without whom ... [...] (10) (and) no ruler is named; the god *Nabû*, [... of heaven and] earth, controller of harmony, [...]; the god Ninurta, heir of the god Enlil, ... [...] the one who breaks up mountains ... [...; *the goddess Ištar*, ...] for her gre[at] divinity, [...; (and) the Sebetti], (15) *the supr*[*eme*] gods [who] stand [at the side of the king *who reveres them*] and [make his weapons prevail over all enemies]:

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obv. 2 [*ma*]*-li-ku ram-ni-šú* "[who deli]berates (only) with himself": See CAD M/1 p. 156 sub *malāku* A 2c.
obv. 6 *ša nam-ri-ir-*⌜*ri*⌝ [*be-lu-ti-šú*$^{?}$] "whose [*lordly*] splendor": See Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 104 Esarhaddon 48 line 6.
obv. 9 It is odd that Šamaš is listed twice, in line 5 (restored) and in line 9.
obv. 13 *mu-šat-ti-ru* "the one who breaks up": See von Soden, Orientalia NS 27 (1958) pp. 259–260 no. 103.
obv. 15 *pa-li-ḫi-šú-un*$^{?}$ "*who reveres them*": Following the Judi Dagh Inscription line 3 (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 63), one could tentatively restore *mì-gi-ri-šú-un*$^{?}$ "*their favorite*."

17) ^{md}30-˹PAP˺.[MEŠ-SU ...]
Lacuna
Rev.
Lacuna
1′) ˹LUGAL˺.[MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia ma-am-man la iš-mu-u zi-kir* KUR.MEŠ-*šú-un*]
2′) *man-da-ta-*[*šú-nu ka-bit-tú am-ḫur a-na ni-ri be-lu-ti-ia ú-šak-ni-su-nu-ti*]
3′) *e-nu-ma* É *x* [...]
4′) É ^{d}30 É ^{dr}NIN˺.[GAL É ^{d}UTU É ^{d}*a-a* ...]
5′) É ^{d}GAŠAN-NINA.KI GAŠAN ˹*ra*˺-[*bi-ti*$^{?}$ (...) *ša* ^{m}*aš-šur*-PAP-A MAN KUR *aš-šur*.KI]
6′) DUMU ^{m}*tukul-ti-*^{d}MAŠ MAN KUR *aš-*˹*šur*˺.[KI ... *e-pu-šú*$^{?}$ É.MEŠ]
7′) *šá-ti-na la-*˹*ba*$^{?}$˺*-riš* u_4*-me* [...]

8′) *aq-qur-ši-na-ti-ma dan-*˹*nat*$^{?}$˺-[*si-na ak-šu-ud*$^{?}$ *uš-še-ši-na*$^{?}$ (...) *it-ti*$^{?}$ *ki-ṣir*$^{?}$]
9′) KUR-*i dan-ni ar-ti-ma ul-*[*tu* $UŠ_8$*-ši-na a-di gaba-dib-bi-ši-na ar-ṣip*]
10′) *ú-šak-lil* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ [...]
11′) EN.MEŠ-*ia ina qer-bi ki-iṣ-*˹*ṣi*˺-[*šú-nu* ...]
12′) *ṭa-biš ú-šar-ma-a pa-rak-ki-*˹*šú*˺-[*nu* ...]
13′) *le-e* ˹*ma-ru*˺*-ti šu-*ʾ*e-e ma-ru-ti* UDU.SISKUR.[MEŠ ...]
14′) *kàd-ra-a-*[*a*] *ú-šam-ḫir-šú-nu-ti-ma ma-ḫar-*[*šú-nu* ...]
15′) *li-i-tu ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II *šá i-na* ˹*tu*˺-[*kul-ti* (...) DINGIR.MEŠ$^{?}$ GAL.MEŠ$^{?}$]
16′) EN.MEŠ-*ia* UGU *kul-lat na-ki-ri* [*áš-tak-ka-nu* (...)]
17′) *i-na* MU.SAR-*re-e ú-šá-áš-ṭir-ma a-*˹*na*˺ [LUGAL.MEŠ (...)]
18′) DUMU.MEŠ-*ia e-zib* [*aḫ-ra-taš*]
19′) *a-na* EGIR u_4*-me* NUN EGIR-*ú e-nu-ma* ˹É˺.[MEŠ *šá-ti-na*]
20′) ˹*i*˺*-lab-bi-ra-ma en-na-ḫa* MU.SAR-*a-*˹*a li*˺-[*mur-ma* Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU.SISKUR]
21′) [*liq*]-˹*qí*˺ *it-ti* MU.SAR-*e ši-ṭir šu-me-šú li-*˹*kin*˺ [^{d}*aš-šur ik-ri-bi-šu i-šem-me*]

17) Sennac[herib, ...]
Lacuna

Lacuna
Rev. 1′–2′) [I received a substantial] payment [from the distant Medes, of whose land none of] the king[s, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down to the yoke of my lordship].
Rev. 3′–7′) *At that time*, the temple of ... [...], the temple of the god Sîn, the temple of the goddess Nin[gal, the temple of the god Šamaš, the temple of the goddess Aya, ...], (rev. 5′) the temple of the goddess the Lady of Nineveh, the *gr*[*eat*] lady, [(...) which Ashurnasirpal (II), king of Assyria], son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), king of Assyria, [... *had built*] — with the passage of time those [temples ...].
Rev. 8′–10′a) I tore them down and [*reached their*] *foundation pit*(*s*). I secured [*their foundations* (...) *like*] solid [*bed*]*rock* and [I built] (and) completed (them) fr[om their foundations to their crenellations].
Rev. 10′b–14′) The great gods, [...], my lords, [...] into [their] shrines [...]. I graciously settled (them) on the[ir] daises [... *I offered*] fattened bulls (and) fattened sheep as sacrifice[s ...]. I presented m[y] gift(s) to them and [...] before [them].

Rev. 15′–18′) I had [all] the victorious conquests that [I achieved] over all of (my) enemies [(...)] with the sup[port of (...) *the great gods*], my lords, written upon inscribed objects and for [the kings (...)], my descendants, I deposited (them) [for ever after].

Rev. 19′–21′) In the future, may a future ruler, when [these] temple[s] become old and dilapidated, [see] my inscribed objects, [anoint (them) with oil], make [an offering], (and) place (them) with inscribed objects bearing his name. [The god Aššur will (then) hear his prayers].

37

A small, broken white limestone tablet found at the Nergal Gate of Nineveh in 1992–93 is inscribed with a text recording the construction of Ešaḫulezenzagmukam ("House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year"), a new *akītu*-house at Nineveh. Although only the

36 obv. 17 For other possible restorations, cf. text no. 3 line 1, the Baltimore Inscription line 3 (Grayson, AfO 20 [1963] p. 88), and the Judi Dagh Inscription lines 6–7 (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 63).
36 Lacuna before rev. 1′ Based on parallels, the translation assumes that *ša* KUR.*ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ti ša i-na* "from the distant Medes, who among" appeared in the now-missing line that would have immediately preceded rev. 1′.

first fifteen lines and the last eleven lines of the inscription are preserved, it is clear that Sennacherib did not deem the former New Year's temple, which was situated inside Nineveh (a fact recorded in an inscription of Sennacherib's grandson Ashurbanipal; see Borger, BIWA p. 169 Prism T v 33–34), suitable for use so he had a new one built outside the city wall, just north of the Nergal Gate; compare also K 1356 (Pongratz-Leisten, Ina Šulmi Īrub pp. 207–209), a text describing this king's rebuilding of an *akītu*-house outside the walls of the city Aššur. The extant text includes Sennacherib's titles and epithets, his commission as king by the god Aššur, the beginning and end of the building report, and a general description of the annual celebrations in the *akītu*-house. The tablet is dated to the eponymy of Nabû-kēnu-uṣur, governor of the city Samaria (690).

CATALOGUE

Source	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Ahmad and Grayson, Iraq 61 pp. 187–189	Nineveh, Nergal Gate	—	n

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2000 Frahm, NABU pp. 75–79 no. 66 (rev. 1′–11′, edition)
2005 Reade, Iraq 67 pp. 380–381 (study)
2008 Frahm, JCSMS 3 p. 17 (study)

TEXT

Obv.

1) É.GAL ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*
2) LUGAL GAL LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI
3) LUGAL *kib-rat* LÍMMU-*tim mi-gir* DINGIR.MEŠ
4) GAL.MEŠ ^{d}*aš-šur* AD DINGIR.MEŠ *i-na kul-lat*
5) *ma-li-ki ke-niš ip-pal-sa-an-ni-ma*
6) UGU *gim-ri a-šib pa-rak-ki ú-šar-ba-a*
7) GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia id-di-na* GIŠ.GIDRU *i-šar-tú*
8) *mu-rap-pi-šat mi-iṣ-ri ši-bir-ru*
9) *la pa-du-ú a-na šum-qut za-ʾi-ri*
10) *ú-šat-me-eḫ rit-tu-ú-a ma-al-ki*
11) *ša kib-ra-a-ti ar-ba-tim ul-tu ṣi-taš*
12) *a-di šil-la-an še-pu-ú-a*
13) [*ú*]-⌜*šak*⌝-*niš-ma i-šu-ṭu ab-šá-a-ni*
14) [...] ⌜*ul*⌝-*tu* u_4-*mu pa-ni ma-aʾ-diš*
15) [...] ⌜IGI.II$^{?}$⌝ *ku lu*

Lacuna

Rev.

Lacuna

1′) [...] *x* [*x*] *x a-a* KUR *u*$^{?}$ BE

1–4a) Palace of Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), (and) favorite of the great gods:

4b–13) The god Aššur, father of the gods, looked steadfastly upon me among all of the rulers and he made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises. He gave me a just scepter that widens borders (10) (and) he put in my hand a merciless rod to fell enemies. [He] made rulers of the four quarters (of the world), from east to west, bow down at my feet and they (now) pull my yoke.

14–15) [*The akītu-house which*] from the very distant past [...] ...

Lacuna

Lacuna

Rev. 1′–3′) [...] ... [... *the*] Nergal [*Gate*], which is

rev. 1′ E. Frahm (NABU 2000 p. 76 no. 66) tentatively proposes reading this line as [*ša* ^{d}*èr-ra mu*]-⌜*šam*$^{?}$-*qit*$^{?}$⌝ *a-a*-⌜*bu*$^{?}$ MU$^{?}$.BI$^{?}$⌝ "(the gate), [*wh*]*ose name is* ['The God Erra *Is the One Who*] *Cuts Down the Enemy*.'" Cf. the name of the Nergal Gate in text no. 15 vii 13′, text no. 16 vii 57, text no. 17 vii 89, and text no. 18 vii 26′b–27′a.

2′) [... KÁ.GAL?] ^{d}U.GUR *ša mé-eḫ-ret*
3′) [...] *mi-šá-ri pe-tu-ú ba-bu-šá*
4′) [*é*]*-šà-ḫúl-le-ezen-zag-mu-kam*
5′) É *ḫu-ud lib-bi ù ri-šá-a-ti*
6′) *ša i-sin-ni re-eš šat-ti lu ab-ni*
7′) *i-na* u_4*-mu i-sin-ni* É *á-ki-tim*
8′) *a-na ṣu-le-e ù la-ban ap-pi-ia*
9′) ⌜*ma*⌝*-ḫar* DINGIR *ù* DINGIR*-tim ù mul-ta-*ʾ*u-ti*
10′) [EN]*-ti-ia šat-ti-šam-ma*
11′) [*i*]*-na qer-bi-šá ep-pu-šá ni-gu-tu*
12′) ITI.APIN UD.11.KÁM *li-mu* ^{md}AG-GIN-PAP

opposite [...] justice, who opens its gate.

Rev. 4′–6′) I built [E]šaḫulezenzagmukam, "House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year."
Rev. 7′–11′) At the time of the festival of the *akītu*-house (New Year's house), I celebrate annually [i]nside it *with* prayer and expressions of my humility (lit. "stroking my nose") before god and goddess and for my [lord]ly pleasure.
Rev. 12′) Month Araḫsamna (VIII), eleventh day, eponymy of Nabû-kēnu-uṣur (690).

38

Three rounded-topped stone steles with images of the king and various divine symbols, found at Nineveh, are engraved with a text of Sennacherib recording the creation of a royal road by means of widening existing streets and by erecting steles as boundary markers on both sides of that road. The inscription concludes with a statement that if anyone in the future should build a house that encroaches upon the royal road, that person will be impaled on a stake over his/her house. This text is sometimes referred to as the "Inscription from the Royal Road."

CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	EŞ 1	—	Nineveh, southeast of Nebi Yunus	104×63	1–27	p
2	BM 124800	51-9-29,9	Nineveh, foot of Kuyunjik	128×63	1–27	c
3	IM —	—	Nineveh, southeast of Nebi Yunus	—	1–27	p

COMMENTARY

Two of the steles, which would have originally been erected along the royal road that Sennacherib claims to have widened in this text, were discovered by H.J. Ross (1848) and E.A.W. Budge (1888–89) in the nineteenth century. In a popular account of his explorations of the ruins of Assyrian cities, A.H. Layard recounts the discovery of ex. 2: "At the foot of the mound Mr. Ross has found a monument of considerable interest. It was first uncovered by a man ploughing. ... It was erect, and supported by brickwork when discovered; and near it was a sarcophagus in baked clay. Mr. Ross suggests that the whole may have been an Assyrian tomb; but I question whether there is sufficient evidence to prove that its original site was where it was found; or that it had not been used, as portions of slabs with inscriptions at Nimroud, by the people who occupied the country after the destruction of the pure Assyr-

37 rev. 4′ In the Sumerian ceremonial name Ešaḫulezenzagmukam, *-šà-ḫúl-le-* stands for *-šà-ḫúl-la-*.
37 rev. 9′–10′ *mul-ta-*ʾ*u-ti* [EN]*-ti-ia* "my [lord]ly pleasure": The reading follows Frahm, NABU 2000 p. 75 no. 66.

ian monuments" (Nineveh 2 pp. 140–141); see also Ross, Letters from the East p. 144 (Letter No. 6, 24 January, 1848). E.A.W. Budge, in an account of his own travels in Ottoman lands, describes the discovery of ex. 1: "The day after my return from Baibûkh a native who farmed a little land between Ḳuyûnjiḳ and Nabi Yûnis came and told me that at a certain spot in one of his fields there was a large flat stone with figures and writing upon it, and he asked me to buy it from him. Taking a few men with digging tools and baskets Nimrûd and I went with him, and in a short time we uncovered a stele about 40 inches high and nearly 20 inches wide" (By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 77). Bezold, reportedly told by Budge, states that ex. 2 was discovered in a field just southeast of the Nebi Yunus mound.

Sennacherib states that he made steles so "there would be no diminution of the royal road" and that he erected the steles "on each side, opposite one another" (lines 19b–21). The credibility of Sennacherib's claim is supported by the facts that the king faces opposite directions in exs. 1 and 2 (to the right in ex. 1 and to the left in ex. 2), that the farmer who had discovered ex. 1 told Budge that "he had found several such stones and that they had all been broken up and burnt into lime" (Budge, By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 78), and that a third stele was discovered in July 1999 (ex. 3). Ex. 3 was reportedly discovered by a farmer to the southeast of Nebi Yunus; like ex. 2, the image of the king faces to the left.

There is a large blank space between lines 20 and 21 in all three exemplars, but the purpose of this is not known. See the comments in Unger, ABK p. 38.

E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 138) suggests that the steles were completed ca. 690 since text no. 18 vii 50′–51′ records in its building report that Sennacherib widened a road of Nineveh to a width of fifty-two cubits, the same width as stated in this text. The steles may have been inscribed earlier (ca. 693–691) since we now know that text no. 18 ex. 1 (BM 127845+) was inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni (691). Note also that the 693 and 692 editions of Sennacherib's *res gestae* that describe work in and around the city of Nineveh, texts written for the city's walls composed between text no. 17 and text no. 18, are not presently known; those inscriptions may have shed some light on when Sennacherib was working on the royal road.

The text of exs. 1–3 is virtually identical and therefore no score is given on the CD-ROM. The variants are given in the on-page notes. The master text is generally ex. 1.

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2008 Frahm, JCSMS 3 p. 18 (study)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 19 (study)

TEXT

1) ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*
2) LUGAL GAL LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL ŠÚ
3) LUGAL KUR *aš-šur* LUGAL *kib-rat* LÍMMU-*ti*
4) *mi-gir* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
5) ^{d}*aš-šur ù* ^{d}*iš-tar*

1–4) Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), (and) favorite of the great gods:

5–13a) The god Aššur and the goddess Ištar granted

1–4 The list of titles and epithets is identical to that in text no. 37 lines 1–4a; that inscription is dated to the eponymy of Nabû-kēnu-uṣur (690).
5 ^{d}*iš-tar* "the goddess Ištar": Ex. 2 has ^{d}INANNA.

Figure 9. BM 124800 (text no. 38 ex. 2), one of the steles of Sennacherib that was erected along the fifty-cubit-wide royal road that ran through Nineveh. © Trustees of the British Museum.

6) GIŠ.TUKUL *la ma-ḫar*
7) *ú-šat-li-mu-in-ni-ma*
8) *a-na ra-sa-ab nak-ru-ti* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ip-tu-ú*
9) *i-da-a-a i-na tu-kul-ti-šú-un* GAL-*tim*
10) *ul-tu ṣi-taš a-di šil-la-an um-ma-na-ti-ia*
11) *šal-meš lu at-ta-bal-ma gim-ri mal-ki a-šib pa-rak-ki*
12) *ša kib-rat ar-ba-ʾi še-pu-u-a ú-šak-niš-ma*

me a weapon without equal and *gave me the strength* (lit. "opened my arms") to destroy those hostile to Assyria. With their great support, (10) I constantly directed my troops in safety from east to west and I made all of the rulers who sit on (royal) daises throughout the four quarters (of the world) bow down at my feet and they (now) pull my yoke.

6 GIŠ.TUKUL "weapon": Ex. 2 has *ka-ak*.
9 *i-da-a-a* "my arms": Ex. 2 has *ia-da-a-a*.
10 *ul-tu ṣi-taš a-di šil-la-an* "from east to west": This expression also occurs in text no. 37 lines 11–12.

13) *i-šu-ṭu ab-šá-a-ni i-na* u_4*-me-šú-ma*
14) *ša* URU.*ni-na-a* URU *be-lu-ti-ia šu-bat-su*
15) *uš-rab-bi su-qí-šu me-ti-iq ger-ri* LUGAL
16) *ú-šá-an-dil-ma ú-nam-mir* GIM u_4*-me* BÀD
17) *ù šal-ḫu-ú nak-liš ú-še-piš-ma ú-zaq-qir*
18) *ḫur-šá-niš* 1 ME *ina* 1.KÙŠ GAL-*tim ḫa-ri-ṣu-uš*
19) *uš-rap-piš aḫ-ra-taš* u_4*-me ger-ri* LUGAL *a-na*
20) *la ṣu-uḫ-ḫu-ri* NA_4.NA.RÚ.A.MEŠ *ú-še-piš-ma*
21) *ša a-ḫi ul-le-e ina me-ḫer-ti-šú i-za-zu*
22) 52 *i-na* 1.KÙŠ GAL-*tim ša ger-ri* LUGAL
23) *a-di* KÁ.GAL GIŠ.$KIRI_6$.MEŠ *am-šu-uḫ ru-pu-su*
24) *ma-ti-ma* UN.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ut* URU *šá-a-šú ša* É-*su*
25) *la-bi-ru i-naq-qa-ru-ma eš-šu i-ban-nu-ú*
26) *ša uš-še* É-*šú a-na ger-ri* LUGAL *ir-ru-ba*
27) *ṣe-er* É-*šu a-na ga-ši-ši il-la-lu-šú*

13b–19a) At that time, I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my capital city. I broadened its streets for the course of a royal road and (thus) I made (the city) as bright as day. I had an inner and outer wall skillfully built and I raised (them) as high as mountain(s). I widened its moat 100 large cubits.

19b–23) So that in the future there would be no diminution of the royal road, I had steles made and they stood on each side, opposite one another. I measured the width of the royal road, as far as the Gate of the Gardens, as fifty-two large cubits.

24–27) At any time, when (anyone of) the people living in this city tears down his old house and builds a new one — if the foundation of his house encroaches upon the royal road, he will be hung (lit. "they will hang him") on a stake over his house.

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13 u_4*-me-šú-ma* "at that time": Ex. 2 has u_4*-mi-šú-ma*.
14–16a Cf. text no. 18 vii 49′–52′.
16 GIM u_4*-me* "as day": Ex. 2 has *ki-ma* u_4*-mi*.
16b–18a Cf. text no. 17 viii 15.
17 *ú-zaq-qir* "I raised high": Ex. 2 has *ú-za-qir*.
18b–19a Text no. 18 vii 19–20 also records the widening of the moat to a width of 100 large cubits. The moat is clearly visible only on the north and east walls, about 80 m in front of the wall; it is 70 m wide and 10 m deep (after erosion). A relief from the South-West Palace (Layard, Discoveries p. 231) may show the southwestern corner of the wall with the moat. See Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) p. 390 fig. 1 and p. 400 fig. 5.
19 u_4*-me* "days": Ex. 2 has UD.MEŠ.
21 *ša … me-ḫer-ti-šú* "that … opposite one another": Ex. 2 has *šá … mé-ḫer-ti*.
22 52 "fifty-two" is clear on all three exemplars; it is not 62 "sixty-two" (so 1 R pl. 7 VIII F and Luckenbill, Senn. p. 153).
23 Ex. 1 omits *a-di* KÁ.GAL GIŠ.$KIRI_6$.MEŠ "as far as the Gate of the Gardens." E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 138) suggests that the gate name was not included in this exemplar since the names of some of the gates had changed and the writer of this copy of the text was not certain about the name of the gate to which the royal road ran. The Gate of the Gardens, called "The God Igisigsig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish" (^{d}IGI.SIG_7.SIG_7 *mu-šam-me-eḫ ṣip-pa-a-te*), was originally the westernmost gate on the north wall, but later that name was given to a gate just south of the citadel, where the Ḫusur River (mod. Khosr) intersected the wall. The gate formerly called the Gate of the Gardens was renamed "The Divine Nannāru Is the One Who Makes Firm My Lordly Crown" (^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-*ru mu-kin a-ge-e be-lu-ti-ia*), the Sîn Gate. The name of the gate in ex. 2, therefore, referred to the original name of the gate, not, if Frahm's suggested date proves correct, the name of the gate at the time the stele was inscribed (ca. 693–691), which was the Sîn Gate. For further information on the gates, see p. 16. Frahm (Sanherib map after pl. XIII) tentatively proposes that the royal road mentioned in this inscription ran from the Aššur Gate in the south wall, east past the armory and the citadel, to the Sîn Gate (formerly the Gate of the Gardens) at the western end of the north wall. See for example, Frahm, Sanherib pp. 273–275; and Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) pp. 402–403. However, S. Lumsden (ICAANE Proceedings 1 pp. 817–818 and p. 825 fig. 1), based on his work in the lower town in 1989–90 (Lumsden, Mar Šipri 4 [1991] pp. 1–3; and Stronach and Lumsden, BiAr 55 [1992] p. 229), proposes that the royal road ran north to the Nergal Gate, and not northwest to the Sîn Gate. He also proposes that such a road would have entered the city from the east, through the Šamaš Gate, Nineveh's largest city gate. *ru-pu-su* "its width": Exs. 2–3 have *ru-pu-us-su*.
24 URU *šá-a-šú* "this city": Ex. 3 has URU *šá-a-šu*.
25 *i-naq-qa-ru-ma*: "he tears down and": Exs. 2–3 have *i-na-aq-qa-ru-ma*.
26 É-*šú* "his house": Exs. 2–3 have É-*šu*.
27 *il-la-lu-šú* "he will be hung (lit. "they will hang him")": Exs. 2–3 have *il-la-lu-šu*.

Minor Variants and Comments

Text No. 1

2.1* [*mi*]-*šá-a-ri* for *mi-šá-ri*. **5**.6 *ba-ḫu-la-te* for *ba-ḫu-la-a-te*. **14**.7 [LÚ.*li*]-⌜*i*'-*ta*⌝-*a-a*-⌜*ú*⌝ for LÚ.*li-i*'-*ta-a-ú*. **17**.7 omits *ù* before 10 LÚ.GAL. **18**.7 *mé*-⌜*te-eq*⌝ for *me-te-eq*. **23**.8 BÀD-⌜*šu*⌝ for BÀD-*šú*. **24**.8 LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI for LÚ.KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **29**.1 adds DIŠ after ANŠE.MEŠ. **37**.9 URU.*bi-ta-a-te* for URU.*bi-ta-a-ti*. **50**.11 URU.MEŠ for URU.ME-*ni*. **54**.11 ⌜*mi-ra-a*⌝-[*ni*] for *mi-ra-ni*. **54**.10 ⌜UGU-*šu-un*⌝ for UGU-*šú-un*. **55**.10 ⌜LÚ⌝.*gam-bu-lu* for LÚ.*gam-bu-lum*. **57**.11 ⌜LÚ.*qí*⌝-*pi* for [LÚ].⌜*qi*⌝-*pi*. **57**.2* *ka-bit-*⌜*tu*?⌝ for *ka-bit-tú*. **59**.11 UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ for UDU.MEŠ. **63**.11 u_4-*me-šu-ma* for u_4-*mi-šu-ma*. **65**.11 [*ši*]-*pi-*<*ir*> for *ši-pir*. **67**.11 ⌜*i*⌝-[*reb*] for ⌜*e*⌝-*reb*. **82**.2 *ap-*⌜*pa-a*⌝-*ti* for *ap-pa-a-te*. **84**.3 KÁ.⌜GAL⌝-[*ši-in*] for KÁ-*ši-in*. **86**.4 [*rab*]-⌜*ba-a-te*⌝ for *rab-ba-a-ti*. **87**.4 ⌜*ṣip*⌝-*pa-a-ti* for *ṣip-pa-a-te*. **89**.2 *ul-*<*tu*> for *ul-tu*. **89**.5 *bi-ru-ti* for *bi-ru-tú*. **89**.3 [*ak-kul*]-⌜*la*⌝-*a-te* for *ak-kul-la-te*. **90**.5 *ṣip-pa-a-ti* for *ṣip-pa-a-te*. **91**.2 *ú-šam-di-la* for *ú-šá-an-di-la*. **91**.3 [*uš-par*]-⌜*du*?⌝-*ú-ma* for *uš-par-du-ma*. **92**.2 *a-ši-bu-ti* for *a-ši-bu-ut*. **93**.5 ⌜*i-nam*⌝-*bu-u* for *i-nam-bu-ú*. **94**.2 MU.SAR-*re-e* for MU.SAR-*e*. **94**.3 *ik-ri-bi-šu* for *ik-ri-bi-šú*. **95**.2 MU.BI for MU.

Text No. 2

72.2 *lim-*⌜*mu*⌝ for *li-mu*.

Text No. 3

11.1 *li-*<*me-ti*>-*šú-nu* for *li-me-ti-šú-nu*. **21**.3* [*zaq*]-⌜*ru*⌝-*ti* for *zaq-ru-te*. **25**.11* *ina* for *i-na*. **35**.7* *bu-ru-me-*⌜*e*⌝ for *bu-ru-um-me*. **36**.6* [*šum*]-⌜*šú*⌝ for *šum-šu*. **37**.7* *be-lu-ut* for *be-lu-tu*. **38**.6*, 7* *ma-al-ki* and *ma-al-*⌜*ki*⌝ respectively for *mal-ki*. **39**.6* *qer-bi-šú* for *qer-bi-šu*. **40**.7* *ú-zu-un-šú* for *ú-zu-un-šu*. **41**.6* *šu-a-tú* for *šu-a-tu*. **42**.8* *kit-nu-šú* for *kit-nu-šu*. **43**.2 [*ba*]-⌜*ḫu-la-te*⌝ for *ba-ḫu-la-ti*. **44**.6* *ziq-rat* for *ziq-qur-rat*. **44**.6* 1 ME 20 for 80. **44**.1 kid_9*-: text has MAŠ-. **44**.2 adds ^{d} before kid_9-*mu-ri*. **47**.3 *ina* for *i-na*. **52**.10* ⌜*šu-pu-uk-šu*⌝ for *šu-pu-uk-šú*. **53**.12* [*qé-reb*]-⌜*šu*⌝ for *qé-reb-šú*. **54**.12* ⌜*maḫ-re-e*⌝ for *maḫ-ri-i*. **56**.3 omits GIŠ before ŠUR.MÌN. **56**.2 omits GIŠ before *bu-uṭ-ni*. **59**.3 *bi-ru-tu* for *bi-ru-tú*. **59**.13* *ina* for *i-na*. **62**.2 *i-*⌜*nam-bu-ú*⌝ for *i-nam-bu-u*.

Text No. 4

1.9 ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU for ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*. **1**.4, 9 GAL for GAL-*ú*. **2**.11 *a-ki* for *a-ki-i*. **3**.3 <*ma*>-*gi-ri* for *ma-gi-ri*. **3** *za-ma-a-ni*: ex. 1 has ⌜*za*⌝-*ma-ni*; and exs. 2, 5 have *za-ma-ni*. **5**.5 *maḫ-re-*<*e*> for *maḫ-re-e*. **5**.14 ⌜*šá*⌝ for *ša*. **5**.3 <*ta*>-*mir-ti* for *ta-mir-ti*. **5**.1 ERIM.ḪI.<A> for ERIM.ḪI.A. **5**.4, 16 BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú* and [BAD_5].BAD_5-*šú* respectively for BAD_5.BAD_5-*šu*. **6**.5 *i-na* for second *ina*. **6**.2 *ú-maš-še-ru* for *ú-maš-ši-ru*; and *ik-šu-du* for *ik-šu-da*. **7**.4, 12–13 É.GAL-*šú* for É.GAL-*šu*. **7**.2 KÁ.DINGIR.KI for KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI. **7**.1–3, 5 *i-ru-um-ma* for *e-ru-um-ma*. **7**.3, 17 *ap-te-ma* for *ap-te-e-ma*. **7**.3 *ni-ṣir-ti-šu* for *ni-ṣir-ti-šú*. **7**.3 NA_4 for *ú-nu-ut*. **7**.2–3 *šum-šu* for *šum-šú*. **7**.2–3 *ni-ṣir-ti* for *ni-ṣir-tu*. **8**.2–5, 9 É.GAL-*šú* for É.GAL.MEŠ-*šú*. **9**.4, 17–18 BÀD.MEŠ-*ni* for BÀD.MEŠ. **9**.4 URU.MEŠ-*ni* for URU.MEŠ. **9**.1 *li-*<*me*>-*ti-šú-nu* for *li-me-ti-šú-nu*.

10 *ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*.KI: ex. 2 has URU.*ḫur-sag-kalam-*⌜*ma*.KI⌝; ex. 3 has *ḫur-sag-kalam-*<*ma*>.KI; ex. 4 has URU.*ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*; ex. 5 has *ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*; ex. 17 has URU.*ḫur-*⌜*sag*⌝-[*kalam-ma*]; and ex. 18 has URU.*ḫur-sag-*[*kalam-ma*]. **10**.3 DUMU for DUMU.MEŠ. **10**.4, 10 *a-di* for EN. **10**.1–3, 5 *ḫi-ṭi* for *ḫi-iṭ-ṭi*. **11**.4 *pa-ni-šú* for *pa-nu-uš-šú*. **11**.2–3 SAG-*ia* for SAG.MEŠ-*ia*. **12**.4 LÚ.*ma-la-ḫu* for LÚ.*ma-li-ḫu*. **12**.1–2 LÚ.*da-mu-na* for LÚ.*da-mu-nu*. **13** LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-nu*: exs. 4 and 18 have LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-a-nu*; and ex. 17 has LÚ.*ḫa-am-ra-a-*⌜*nu*⌝. **13**.3 LÚ.*ḫa-ga-ra-a-nu* for LÚ.*ḫa-ga-ra-nu*. **13**.3–4 has *kan-šú* and *kan-šu-ti* respectively for *kan-šu*. **14**.9 ⌜*ù*⌝ for *u*. **14**.3 5 LIM 2 ME 33 for 5 LIM 2 ME 30. **14**.3 2 ME LIM 1 ME for 80 LIM 1 ME. **14**.5 *x* LIM 1 ME GU_4.MEŠ: The sign before LIM is not legible in the photographs used to collated the cylinder. **14** 6 ME LIM 6 ME: ex. 2 has ⌜8⌝ ME LIM 8 ME; exs. 3–4 have 8 ME LIM 6 ME; ex. 5 has *x* ME LIM 6 ME; ex. 19 has 8 ME LIM 5 ME; and ex. 20 has 8 ⌜ME⌝ [LIM *x* ME]. **14** *šal-la-tu*: ex. 1 has ⌜*šal-la*⌝-*tú*; exs. 2–3, 5 have *šal-la-tú*. **14**.1, 3 ⌜*ka-bit*⌝-*tú* and *ka-bit-tú* respectively for *ka-bit-tu*. **14**.1 adds A before *áš-lu-la*. **15**.2 *a-na* for *i-na*. **15**.1 URU.*ḫa-ra-re-te* for URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-te*. **15**.3 has LÚ.*mu-suk-kan-ni* for GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni*. **15**.2, 4, 6, 16 *ka-bit-tu* for *ka-bit-tú*. **16** *ba-ḫu-la-ti*: ex. 2 has *ba-ḫu-la-a-ti*; and exs. 3–4, 9, 17 have *ba-ḫu-la-te*. **16**.4, 24 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ and [GIŠ.TUKUL].⌜MEŠ⌝ respectively for GIŠ.TUKUL. **16** *si-ḫir-ti*: ex. 2 has *si-*^{ḫi}*ḫir-ti* and exs. 4, 6 have *si-ḫi-ir-ti*. **17**.17 *šu-a-tú* for *šu-a-tu*. **17**.5 omits *aṣ-bat*. **17**.3 1 for 1-*en*. **17**.5 has a superfluous sign between GU_4 and 10. **17** GIŠ.GEŠTIN.MEŠ: ex. 2 has GIŠ.GEŠTIN; ex. 3 has GEŠTIN.MEŠ; exs. 4 and 18 have GEŠTIN; and ex. 20 has [GIŠ].GEŠTIN or GEŠTIN. **17**.5 *re-še-te*$_9$*-e-šu* for *re-še-te-šú*. **18**.1 omits ^{d} before *aš-šur*. **18**.1–2, 5 omit LÚ before *kaš-ši-i*. **18** KUR *ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a*: ex. 2 has KUR LÚ.*ia-su-bi-*⌜*gal*⌝-*la-a-a*; ex. 4 has KUR LÚ.*ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a*; and ex. 24 has KUR LÚ.[*ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a*]. **18**.4 LUGAL.MEŠ for LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni*. **19**.1, 3 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ for ANŠE.KUR.RA. **19**.3 GÌR.II-<*ia*> for the first GÌR.II-*ia*. **19**.2 *ina* for second *i-na*. **19** *ti-ik-ka-ti*: exs. 3, 19 have *ti-ik-ka-te*; and exs. 4, 20 have *ti-ik-ka-a-te*. **19**.4, 6 *ina* for third *i-na*.

20.2 URU.*ḫar*^{ar}*-diš-pi* for URU.*ḫa-ar-diš-pi*. **20** URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú-nu*: 3–5, 24 have URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu*; ex. 18 has [URU].⌜MEŠ⌝-*šú-nu*; ex. 21 has [URU].MEŠ-*šú-nu*; ex. 27 has ⌜URU⌝.MEŠ-*šú-nu*; and ex. 28 has ⌜URU.MEŠ-*šú-*<*nu*>⌝. **20**.2 BÀD.MEŠ-*ni* for BÀD.MEŠ. **20**.1–2 omit ANŠE.MEŠ. **21**.2, 5 URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú-nu* for URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu*. **21**.5 *šá* for *ša*. **21**.24–25 *ú-še-mi* and [*ú*]-⌜*še*⌝-*mi* respectively for *ú-še-me*. **21**.5 *ina* for *i-na*. **21**.23 ⌜*ú*⌝-*še-me* for *ú-še-mi*. **22** *bir-tu-ti*: exs. 4–5 have URU.*bir-tu-ti*; and ex. 24 has ⌜URU⌝.*bir-tu-ti*. **22**.3 ŠÀ for *lìb-bi*. **23**.3 KUR *ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a* for KUR LÚ.*ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a*. **23**.3 *la-pa-ni* for *la-pa-an*. **23**.3 *ip-par-šid-du* for *ip-par-ši-du*. **23**.3, 5 *ú-še-ri-dam*^{am}*-ma* and *ú-še-*<*ri*>*-dam-ma* respectively for *ú-še-ri-dam-ma*. **23**.3–5, 26 *i-na* for *ina*. **24** LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG-*ia*: ex. 1 has LÚ.*šu-ut* SAG.MEŠ; and ex. 29 has ⌜*šu*⌝-[*ut* x x]. **24**.5, 24 *am-nu-ma* and *am-nu-šu-nu-ti* respectively for *am-nu-šú-nu-ti*. **24** *li-i-tú*: exs. 3–4, 19, 31 have *li-i-tu*; and ex. 20 has ⌜*li*⌝-*i-tu*. **24**.22 [*še-ru-uš*]-⌜*šu*⌝ for *še-ru-uš-šú*. **24**.22 *ina* for second *i-na*. **24**.3 *ú-šá-ṭir-ma* for *ú-šá-áš-ṭir-ma*. **25**.25 *aṣ-*<*ṣa*>*-bat* for *aṣ-ṣa-bat*. **25**.5 *ḫar-ra-*<*nu el-la*> <<x x>>*-mu-u-a* for *ḫar-ra-nu el-la-mu-u-a*. **25**.20 *el-la-mu-a* for *el-la-mu-u-a*. **25**.5 omits *dan-nu-ti* and *ni-ṣir-ti-šú*; and has *nu-ti* before *ú-maš-šir-ma*. **25**.3 <*ru*>-*qé-e-ti* for *ru-qé-e-ti*. **26**.3 *li-me-ti-*

šú for *li-me-ti-šú-nu*. **26**.1 omits [d] before GIŠ.BAR. **27**.28 ANŠE.NÍTA.MEŠ for ANŠE.MEŠ. **27**.30, 32 add *a-na* before *la mi-nam*. **27**.32 omits *la* before *mi-nam*. **27**.2 *ma-nam* for *mi-nam*. **27**.2 *áš-lu-la-am-ma* for *áš-lu-lam-ma*. **27**.83 *ba-še-*⌜*e*⌝ for *ba-ši-i*. **27** *ú-šá-lik-šú-ma*: exs. 4, 26 have *ú-šá-lik-šu-ma*; and exs. 6, 22 have [*ú-šá*]*-lik-šu-ma*. **27** *ú-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-ir*: exs. 1, 3, 5 have *ú-ṣa-ḫi-ir*; and ex. 2 has *ú-ṣa-ḫir*. **28**.4 URU.*ṣi-ṣi-ir-tu* for URU.*ṣi-ṣi-ir-tú*. **28**.1, 5 URU.*ku-um-aḫ-lum* for URU.*ku-um-ma-aḫ-lum*. **28**.4 URU.MEŠ-*ni* for first URU.MEŠ. **28**.3–4, 20 URU.MEŠ-*ni* for second URU.MEŠ. **28** *na-gu-u*: exs. 19, 26, 83 have [*na-gu*]-⌜*ú*⌝; and ex. 31 has [*na*]-⌜*gu*⌝*-ú*. **28**.33 *ul-tú* for *ul-tu*. **28**.2 *mi-iṣ-ri* for *mi-ṣir*. **28**.3 *aš-šur* for *aš-šur*.KI. **29**.2 *<na>-ge-e* for *na-ge-e*. **29**.3 *maḫ-ri-a-a* for *maḫ-ra-a*. **29** URU. *kar-*[md]EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*: ex. 2 omits [m] and ex. 3 omits URU. **29**.2 has *it-ta-bi* for *at-ta-bi*.

30.2, 5, 25 *ina* for first *i-na*. **30**.1–2 SAG.MEŠ-*ia* for SAG-*ia*. **31**.4, 19, 82 *iš-mu-u*, [*iš*]-⌜*mu*⌝*-u* and ⌜*iš-mu-u*⌝ respectively for *iš-mu-ú*. **31**.3–4, 19, 36 KUR-*šú-un* for KUR-*ti-šú-un*. **31** *man-da-at-ta-šú-nu*: exs. 2–4, 19, 26, 36 have *man-da-ta-šú-nu*; ex. 32 has ⌜*man-da-ta-šú-nu*⌝; and ex. 37 has *man-da-ta-*⌜*šu*⌝*-*[*nu*]. **31**.2, 5 *ni-ir* for *ni-ri*. **32**.3–4, 34 KUR.*ḫat-ti* for KUR.*ḫa-at-ti*. **32**.3 omits URU before *ṣi-du-un-ni*. **32** *is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma*: ex. 1 has *is-ḫu-pu-<<ḪU>>-šu-nu-ti-ma*; and ex. 3 has *is-ḫu-pu-šú-ma*. **32**.83 *ru-qé-*⌜*e-ti*⌝ for *ru-uq-qí*. **32**.2 *in-na-bit-ma* for *in-na-bit*. **33**.5 URU.*ṣi-du-un-ni* for first and second URU.*ṣi-du-un-nu*. **33** URU.É-*zi-it-te*: ex. 1 has URU.É-*zi-it-tú*; ex. 2 has URU.É-*zi-it-ta*; ex. 5 has URU.É-*zi-it-ti*; and ex. 27 has [URU].⌜É⌝*-zi-it-ti*. **33**.3, 5 URU.*ṣa-ri-ip-tú* for URU.*ṣa-ri-ip-tu*. **33**.4, 6, 23 URU.*ak-zi-bi*, [URU.*ak*]*-zi-bi*, and [URU].⌜*ak*⌝*-zi-bi* respectively for URU.*ak-zi-ba*. **34**.3 adds *ù ri-i-ti* after *ri-i-ti*. **34** *tuk-la-ti-šú*: ex. 4 has *tuk-la-te-šú*; exs. 19, 39 have [*tuk-la*]-⌜*te*⌝*-šú*; ex. 40 has *tuk-la-*⌜*te*?⌝*-*[*šú*]; and ex. 41 has [*tuk-la*]-⌜*te-šú*⌝. **34** *is-ḫu-pu-šú-nu-ti-ma*: exs. 2, 4–5 have *is-ḫu-pu-šu-nu-ti-ma*; ex. 26 has *is-ḫu-pu-šu-nu-ti-*[*ma*]; ex. 33 has ⌜*is*⌝*-ḫu-pu-šu-nu-ti-ma*; and ex. 83 has [*is-ḫu-pu*]-⌜*šu*⌝*-nu-ti-ma*. **34**.23 *še-pu-*⌜*ú*⌝*-*[*a*] for *še-pu-u-a*. **35**.4, 34 LUGAL-*ti* for LUGAL-*ti-šú*. **35** *man-da-at-tú*: exs. 2, 5 have *man-da-at-ti*; ex. 3 has *man-da-tú*; and ex. 39 has [*man*]-⌜*da*⌝*-tu*. **36** [m]*mi-nu-ḫi-im-mu*: exs. 1, 5 have [m]*mi-nu-uḫ-im-mu*; ex. 4 has [m]*mi-ni-ḫi-im-mu*; and ex. 29 has [m]*mi-*⌜*in*⌝*-*[*ḫi-im-mu*]. **36**.4 [m]*tu-ba-a'-lum* for [m]*tu-ba-a'-lu*. **36**.1–2, 5 URU.*ú-ru-da-a-a* for URU.*a-ru-da-a-a*. **36**.3 URU.*ú-ru-mil-ki* for [m]*ú-ru-mil-ki*. **37**.2 URU.*as-<du>-da-a-a* for URU.*as-du-da-a-a*. 37.1–2, 5 URU.É-*am-ma-na-a-a* for KUR.É-*am-ma-na-a-a*. **37**.2, 5 URU.*ma-*⌜*'a*⌝*-ba-a-a* and URU.*ma-'a-ba-a-a* respectively for KUR.*ma-'a-ba-a-a*. **37**.3 [md]*a-a-ram-me* for [md]*a-a-ram-mu*. **37** KUR.*ú-du-um-ma-a-a*: exs. 1, 5 have URU.*ú-du-ma-a-a*; and exs. 2–3 have URU.*ú-du-um-ma-a-a*. **38**.4, 34 *ka-li-šú-un* and ⌜*ka-li-šú-un*⌝ respectively for *ka-li-šú-nu*. **38**.3 *ka-bit-tú* for *ka-bit-tu*. **39**.4, 34 URU.*is-qa-al-lu-na* for URU.*is-qa-lu-na*. **39**.2, 4 *šá* for *ša*. **39**.2, 4 *šá-a-šu* for *šá-a-šú*. **39**.2–3 *as-su-ḫa-ma* for *as-su-ḫa-am-ma*. **39**.4 *aš-šur* for *aš-šur*.KI. **39** *ú-ra-áš-šú*: ex. 2 has *ú-*⌜*raš*⌝*-šú*; and ex. 3–6 have *ú-raš-šú*.

40.3–4 URU.*is-qa-al-lu-na* for URU.*is-qa-lu-na*. **40**.2 *e-mid-su-nu-ma* for *e-mì-su-ma*. **40** *i-šá-ṭa*: exs. 4, 6 have *i-šá-aṭ*; and ex. 26 has *i-šá-*⌜*aṭ*⌝. **41**.4, 34 URU.*ia-ap-pu-u* and URU.*ia-*⌜*ap*⌝*-*[*pu-u*] respectively for URU.*ia-pu-u*. **41**.3 GÌR.II-*<ia>* for GÌR.II-*ia*. **42**.2 *u* for first *ù*. **42** *a-di-i*: exs. 3–4, 41 have *a-de-e*; and ex. 40 has ⌜*a*⌝*-de-e*. **42**.3–5 *ša* for *šá*. **42**.19 [*bi-re*]-⌜*tu*⌝ for *bi-re-tú*. **42** [m]*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú*: exs. 1, 5 have [m]*ḫa-za-qi-ia-ú*; ex. 2 has [m]*ḫa-za-qi-ia*; and ex. 35 has [m]*ḫa-za-qi-ia-a-*⌜*ú*⌝. **42** KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a*: ex. 2 omits KUR before *ia-ú-da-a-a*; and ex. 3 has URU.*ia-ú-da-a-a*. **43**.2–3 *ip-làḫ-ma* and *ip-laḫ* respectively for *ip-làḫ*. **43**.3–4, 34 ŠÀ-*šú-un* for *lìb-ba-šú-un*. **43**.1, 5 LUGAL for LUGAL.MEŠ. **43**.2 omits KUR before *me-luḫ-ḫa*. **43**.1–3, 5 *re-ṣu-šú-un* for *re-ṣu-su-un*. **44**.2–5 URU.*al-ta-qu-u*: exs. 2–5 have URU.*al-ta-qu-ú*; ex. 34 has [URU.*al-ta-qu*]-⌜*ú*⌝; and ex. 47 has [URU].⌜*al*⌝*-ta-*⌜*qu*⌝*-ú*. **44**.2 GIŠ.TUKUL-*šú-un* for GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú-un*. **44**.3, 46 [d]*aš-šur* for *aš-šur*. **44**.2 *am-da-<ḫi>-iṣ-ma* for *am-da-ḫi-iṣ-ma*. **45**.1–2, 5 omit *ù* before DUMU.MEŠ. **45**.3 LUGAL for LUGAL.MEŠ. **45**.1, 5 omit KUR before *me-luḫ-ḫa*. **45**.2 *ik-šu-du* for *ik-šu-da*. **46**.3 URU.*ta-am-ma-na-a* for URU.*ta-am-na-a*. **46** *ú-šab-šu-ú*: exs. 2, 4 have *ú-šab-šu-u*; and ex. 44 has [*ú*]-⌜*šab*⌝*-šu-u*. **46**.44 ⌜*i*⌝*-na* for *ina*. **46**.3 *di-im-ma-ti* for *di-ma-a-ti*. **47**.1, 5 *si-it-te-šú-nu* for *si-it-tu-te-šú-nu*. **47**.3 *a-ra-šú-nu* for *a-ra-an-šú-nu*. **47** *uš-šur-šu-un*: exs. 2, 5 have *uš-šur-šu-nu*; ex. 3 has *uš-šur-šú-nu*; exs. 4, 6 have *uš-šur-šú-un*; and ex. 84 has ⌜*uš*⌝*-šur-šú-un*. **48** URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu*: ex. 1 URU.*ur-sa-<li>-im-mu* for URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu*; exs. 3–4 have URU.*ur-sa-li-im-ma*; ex. 47 has ⌜URU.*ur-sa*⌝*-li-*⌜*im-ma*⌝; ex. 49 has [URU.*ur-sa*]*-li-im-ma*; and ex. 50 has [URU.*ur-sa-li-im*]-⌜*ma*⌝. **48**.37 *man-da-at-te* for *man-da-at-tú*. **49**.3, 54 *ù* and ⌜*ù*⌝ respectively for first *ša*. **49**.2 [m]*ḫa-za-qi-ia-ú* for [m]*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú*. **49** KUR.*ia-ú-da-a-a*: exs. 1, 5 have URU.*ia-ú-da-a-a*; and ex. 2 has URU.*ia-ú-*⌜*da-a*⌝*-a*. **49**.1–2 36 and 56 respectively for 46. **49**.3–4 URU.MEŠ-*šu* and URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú* respectively for URU.MEŠ-*šú*. **49**.3 BÀD.MEŠ-*ni* for BÀD.MEŠ. **49**.2 *dan-nu-ti-šú* for *dan-nu-ti*. **49**.4 URU.MEŠ-*ni* for URU.MEŠ. **49**.2 *šá* for second *ša*. **49** third *ša*: ex. 1 has ⌜*šá*⌝; and exs. 2, 5 have *šá*.

50 *qur-ru-ub*: exs. 4, 47 have *qit-ru-ub* and ⌜*qit-ru-ub*⌝ respectively; ex. 85 has *qur-<ru>-ub*. **50** *šu-pe-e*: ex. 2 has *su-pe-e*; and exs. 3–4, 47, 49, 85 have *šu-pi-i*. **50** *kal-ba-na-ti*: exs. 2, 5 have *kal-ba-na-te*; ex. 3 has *kal-ban-na-ti*; ex. 4 has *kal-ban-na-te*; ex. 6 has [*kal-x*]*-na-te*; ex. 56 has ⌜*kal*⌝*-ba-na-te*; and ex. 84 has [*kal-x-na*]-⌜*te*⌝. **50**.3 *ak-šu-du* for *ak-šud*[ud]. **51**.5 has three superfluous signs between MUNUS and ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ. **51**.3 ANŠE.MAL.GAM.MEŠ for ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ. **51**.1, 5 *u* for *ù*. **51**.53 omits *ù* before US$_5$.UDU.ḪI.A. **51**.3–5 *ša* for *šá*. **51** *qer-bi-šú-un*: exs. 1, 5 have *qer-bi-šú*; and ex. 84 has ⌜*qer-bi*⌝*-šú*. **52**.1–2, 5 *qu-pi* for *qu-up-pi*. **52**.52 URU.*ur-sa-li-im-*⌜*mu*⌝ for URU.*ur-sa-li-im-ma*. **52**.51 *e-sír-šú* for *e-sír-šu*. **52**.1 has KÁ.GAL-*šú* for KÁ.GAL URU-*šú*. **52**.5 omits *ú-ter-ra*. **53**.3 omits *ù* before [m]*pa-di-i*; and adds *u* before [m]GISSU-EN; the *ù* was erased. **53**.84 adds *ù* before [m]GISSU-EN. **53** KUR.*ḫa-zi-ti*: exs. 2, 4, 84 have KUR.*ḫa-zi-te*; ex. 3 has URU.*ḫa-zi-it-ti*; and ex. 6 has [KUR].*ḫa-zi-te*. **53** *ad-din*: exs. 3–4, 6 have *ad-din-ma*; and ex. 57 has ⌜*ad-din*⌝*-ma*. **53**.1–3 *ú-ṣa-ḫi-ir* for *ú-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-ir*. **54**.5 *maḫ-ri-te* for *maḫ-ri-ti*. **54**.2, 4 *na-*⌜*dan*⌝ and ⌜*na-dan*⌝ respectively for *na-da-an*. **54**.1–2 *šat-<ti>-šú-un* and ⌜*šat*⌝*-<ti>-šú-un* respectively for *šat-ti-šú-un*. **54**.3–5 *man-da-at-tú* for *man-da-at-ti*. **54**.1 *be-lu-ti-<<šu>>-ia* for *be-lu-ti-ia*. **54**.4, 6 *ṣe-ru-uš-šú-un* for *ṣe-ru-uš-šú*. **55**.2 [m]*ḫa-za-qi-ia-ú* for [m]*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú*. **55** *pu-ul-ḫi*: exs. 2–3, 52 have *pul-ḫi*; and ex. 4 has ⌜*pul-ḫi*⌝. **55** *is-ḫu-pu-šú-ma*: exs. 2, 4–5 have *is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma*; ex. 3 has *is-ḫu-up-pu-šu-ma*; and ex. 59 has ⌜*is*⌝*-ḫu-pu-šu-ma*. **55**.4, 86 add *ù* before LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ-*šú*. **55** LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ-*šú*: exs 2, 51 have LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ; and ex. 53 has LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ-*šu*. **55**.37 ⌜*šá*⌝ for *ša*. **55**.3 omits *a-na*. **55**.4 *dun-*⌜*nun*⌝ for *dun-nu-un*. **55**.2 URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu-ú* for URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu*. **55** *ú-še-ri-bu-ma*: exs. 1–2, 5 have *ú-še-ri-bu*; ex. 84 has ⌜*ú-še-ri-bu*⌝. **55**.2–3 *ir-šu-ú* for *ir-šu-u*. **55**.3 *til-la-a-ti* for *til-la-a-te*. **56** AN.ZA.GUL.ME: ex. 2 omits NA$_4$; and ex. 53 has [NA$_4$.AN].⌜ZA⌝.GUL.MEŠ. **57**.2, 5 *as-sa-ma-re-e* and *az-ma-ri-i* respectively for *az-ma-re-e*. **57**.4, 51 GÍR for GÍR.MEŠ. **57**.51 *til-pa-nu* for *til-pa-ni*. **57**.2, 5 omit *u* before *uṣ-ṣi*. **57**.3–4, 6, 84 *ša* for *šá*. **58**.1 MUNUS.DUMU-*šú* for DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú*. **58**.2 ⌜*i*⌝*-na* for first *a-na*. **58**.1 ⌜URU⌝.NINA for NINA.KI. **58**.84 omits *ù* before *e-peš*. **58**.3–4, 6 *rak-bu-šu* for *rak-bu-šú*. **59** GIŠ.*a-ri-tú*: exs. 3, 5 have GIŠ.*a-ri-tu*; and ex. 87 has GIŠ.*a-ri-*⌜*tu*⌝. **59**.1. 86 ŠÀ-*šú-nu* for *lìb-bi-šú-nu*. **59**.3 adds NA after *ki-ṣir*.

60.4, 58 *šal-la-at* and [*šal*]-⌜*la*⌝*-at* respectively for *šal-la-ti*. **60**.1–2, 4 LÚ.EN.NAM-*ia* for LÚ.EN.NAM.MEŠ-*ia*. **60**.2 *ma-ḫa-ze-ni-ia* for *ma-ḫa-za-ni-ia*. **61**.1–3, 5 *ma-ḫa-zi* for *ma-ḫa-zu*. **61**.2 omits URU. **61**.3 *ki-du-di-i* for *ki-du-de-e*. **61**.1–2 *u* for *ù*. **61**.2–3, 5–6 *ba-šu-ú* for *ba-šu-u*. **62**.1, 4 *it-<ti>* and *it-te* respectively for *it-ti*. **62**.2 *ṣi-in-du-šú* for *ṣi-in-du-šu*. **63**.4, 58 *šum-šú* for *šum-šu*. **63**.1 *ni-ṣir-te*. for *ni-ṣir-ti*. **63** *šu-ta-bu-la*: ex. 2 has *šu-ta-*⌜*bu*⌝*-lu*; and exs. 4, 6 have *šu-ta-bu-lu*. **63**.2 *qé-reb-*⌜*šú*⌝ for *qé-reb-šu*. **64**.1–2, 5 AD.<MEŠ>-*ia* for AD.MEŠ-*ia*. **64**.51 *be-lu-tú* for *be-lu-ti*. **64** *ú-ma-'e-er*: ex. 2 has *ú-ma-'e-er-ru*; exs. 4–5 have *ú-ma-'e-ru*; ex. 6 has [*ú-ma*]-⌜*'e*⌝*-ru*; and ex. 60 has ⌜*ú*⌝*-ma-'e-*⌜*ru*?⌝. **65**.1–2 *šat-tú-šam* for *šat-ti-šam*. **65**.3 [na]*nar-ba-a-ti* for *nar-ba-a-ti*. **65**.4, 58 *la nar-ba-a-ti* for *nar-ba-a-ti*. **65** *im-da-na-ḫa-ru*: exs. 3-4 have *im-da-na-aḫ-ḫa-ru*; and ex. 6 has [*im*]-⌜*da*⌝*-na-aḫ-ḫa-ru*. **66**.4, 58 *i-na* and [*i*]-⌜*na*⌝ respectively for *ina*. **66**.3, 5 *qer-bi-šú* and *qer-be-e-šu* respectively

for *qer-bi-šu*. **66**.3 *be-lu-ti-<<ia>>* for *be-lu-ti*. **66**.3 *ṣú-uḫ-ḫu-ru* for *ṣu-uḫ-ḫu-ru*. **66**.3 *id-<<di>>-da-a* for *id-da-a*. **66**.3 has LI for second *ul* (possibly crasis of *lā iḫsus*). **67**.4, 58 *šum-dul* for *šum-dul*$_6$. **67**.2, 4 *uz-zu-un-šú* and *ú-zu-un-šu* respectively for *ú-zu-un-šú*. **68**.3 *a-a-ti* for *ia-a-ti*. **68**.2 ^{md}EN.ZU-PAP.MEŠ-*eri-ba* for ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*. **68**.5 *ṭè-* for *ṭè-em*. **68**.1–2 *a-na* and ⌜*a-na*⌝ respectively for *i-na*. **69**.3 KUR.*ḫi-lak-ki* for KUR.*ḫi-lak-ku*. **69** KUR.*pi-liš-tu*: exs. 4, 51, 67 have KUR.*pi-liš-te*; and ex. 62 has KUR.*pi-*⌜*liš-ti*⌝. **69**.2 omits KUR before *ṣur-ri*. **69**.51 URU.*ṣur-ri* for KUR.*ṣur-ri*. **69**.1–2, 4 *ni-ir-ia* for *ni-ri-ia*. **69**.1–2 *as-*ḪU-*ḫa-am-ma* for *as-su-ḫa-am-ma*. **69** *ú-šá-áš-ši-šú-nu-ti-ma*: ex. 2 has *ú-šá-áš-ši-šú-nu-ti*; ex. 3 has *ú-šá-áš-<ši>-šú-nu-ti*; ex. 5 has *ú-šá-áš-ši-šú-<nu>-ti*; and ex. 6 has [*ú*]-*šá-áš-ši-šu-nu-ti-ma*.

70.63 omits this line. **70**.3 *ku-pi-i* for *ku-pe-e*. **70**.1 URU.*kal-di* for KUR.*kal-di*. **70**.3 *ap-<pa>-ri-šú-<un>* for *ap-pa-ri-šú-un*. **70** *ba-ḫu-la-ti*: exs. 4, 65 have *ba-ḫu-la-te*; ex. 51 has ⌜*ba*⌝-*ḫu-la-te*; and ex. 67 has *ba-ḫu-*⌜*la-te*⌝. **71**.4, 58, 62, 64 add *i-na* before first *tar-ṣi*. **71**.2, 65 omit second *tar-ṣi*. **71**.2 1 ME 84 for 1 ME 34. **71**.1 omits third *tar-ṣi*. **72**.5 LUGAL.MEŠ for LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni*. **72**.67 ⌜*be*⌝-*lu-te-*⌜*šú-un*⌝ for *be-lu-ti-šú-un*. **72**.5 *ú-še-pi-šu* for *ú-še-pi-šu-ma*. **73**.3 omits *i-na*. **73**.3 *qa-bal-<<bal>>-ti* for *qa-bal-ti*. **73**.11 ⌜*nak-mu-ti*⌝ for *pa-az-ru-ti*. **74**.68, 70 UD.MEŠ for u_4-*me*. **74**.3, 5 *i-ba-*ʾ*u-ma* for *i-ba-*ʾ*u-ú-ma*. **74**.5 omits *i-na uš-ši-šá*. **74**.2 has *ú-šab*-BU-*ú*. **74** *ú-ri-bu*: exs. 4, 65 have *ú-ri-ib-bu*; ex. 6 has [*ú*]-*ri-ib-bu*; and ex. 11 has *ú-ri-ib-*⌜*bu*⌝. **75**.1–3, 5 *a-qur-ma* for *aq-qur-ma*. **75**.3 has *ú*-TE-*šir*. **75**.63 *mu-ṣu-šá* for *mu-ṣu-u-šá*. **76** *a-sur-rak-ku*: exs. 2, 4, have *a-sur-rak-ku-šá*; and ex. 70 has *a-sur-rak-ki-šá*;. **76**.2, 4 *šap-la-nu* for *šap-la-a-nu*. **77**.5 omits 1 ME before 76. **77**.4, 11, 65 MURUB$_4$-*tim* for MURUB$_4$-*ti*. **78**.4, 67, 72 *šá-ni-tum*, [*šá-ni*]-⌜*tum*⌝, and *šá-ni-*⌜*tum*⌝ respectively for *šá-ni-tú*. **78**.1–2 *ziq-rat* for *ziq-qur-rat*. **79**.3, 5 *me-ši-iḫ-tum* for *me-ši-iḫ-ta*.

80 u_4-*me*: exs. 9, 74 have UD.MEŠ; and ex. 70 has ⌜UD⌝.MEŠ. **80** *ina*: exs. 2, 4–5, 9, 68, 70 have *i-na*; and ex. 72 has [*i*]-⌜*na*⌝. **80**.5 *tem-me-en-šá* for *tem-me-en-šú*. **80**.71 *rab-ba-a-te* for *rab-ba-a-ti*. **80** *ki-is-su-ú-šu*: exs. 2, 4, 11, 71 have *ki-su-ú-šu*; ex. 3 has *ki-su-ú-šá*; ex. 5 has *ki-is-su-šá*; and ex. 75 has ⌜*ki-su*⌝-*ú-šu*. **80** *šu-pu-uk-šu*: exs. 1–3, 5 have *šu-pu-uk-šá*; and ex. 63 has *šu-pu-uk-šú*. **81**.68, 74 MU.SAR-*re-e* for MU.SAR-*e*. **81**.72 [*šu*]-*me-ia* for *šu-mi-ia*. **81** *qé-reb-šu*: exs. 3–4 have *qé-reb-šú*; and ex. 67 has ⌜*qé-reb-šú*⌝. **81** *šap-la-nu*: exs. 3, 5 have *šap-la-a-nu*; and ex. 75 has [*šap*]-⌜*la*⌝-*a-nu*. **81**.3, 5 *uš-ši-šá* and *uš-ši-šú* respectively *uš-ši-šu*. **82**.1, 74 *ar-ka-nu* for *ar-ka-a-nu*. **82** *maḫ-ri-i*: exs. 1, 3 have *maḫ-re-e*; ex. 11 has *maḫ-re*; and ex. 69 has *maḫ-re-*⌜*e*⌝. **83**.1, 4, 9, 68, 70 u_4-*mu* for u_4-*me*. **83** *maḫ-ri-ti*: ex. 2 has ⌜*maḫ*⌝-*ri-te*; and exs. 3, 5 have *maḫ-ri-tum*. **84** NA$_4$.GIŠ.NU$_{11}$.GAL: ex. 5 omits NA$_4$; and ex. 9, 74 omit the entire word. **84**.3 GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-nu* for GIŠ.*mu-suk-kan-ni*. **84**.3 GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN-*nu* for GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN. **84** GIŠ.*dáp-ra-nu*: ex. 3 has GIŠ.*dáp-ra-a-nu*; and exs. 4, 11 have GIŠ.*dáp-ra-ni*. **84**.5 GIŠ.*bu-uṭ-nu* for GIŠ.*bu-uṭ-ni*. **84**.1 *é-gal-zag-nu-di-tuku-a* for *é-gal-zag-di-nu-tuku-a*. **84** *qé-reb-šá*: exs. 4, 6, 11 have *qé-reb-šú*; and ex. 63 has *qé-reb-šu*. **85** GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MAḪ-*ḫu*: exs. 3, 5 have GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.MAḪ; and ex. 79 has [GIŠ.KIRI$_6$].⌜MAḪ⌝. **85**.1 has a superfluous sign between *tam-šil* and KUR.*ḫa-ma-nim*. **85**.3 adds KUR before *tuk-lat*. **85**.3 adds *qé-reb* before KUR.*kal-di* and omits *qé-reb-šu* before *ḫur-ru-šu*. **85** *qé-reb-šu*: exs. 4, 11 have *qé-reb-šú*; and ex. 5 has *qé-reb-šá*. **86**.5 omits URU after *e-le-en*. **86**.3, 5 DUMU for DUMU.MEŠ. **86**.1–2 ⌜URU⌝.NINA.KI and URU.NINA.KI for NINA.KI. **87**.5 *miṭ-ra-a-te* for *miṭ-ra-a-ti*. **87**.1 adds *a-di* before URU.*ki-si-ri*. **87**.2 omits URU before *ki-si-ri*. **87**.1–2 URU.NINA.KI for NINA.KI. **87**.3, 5 *bi-ru-ti* for *bi-ru-tú*. **87**.5, 75 *i-na* and [*i*]-⌜*na*⌝ respectively for *ina*. **87** *ak-kul-la-a-ti*: ex. 3 has *ak-kul-la-ti*; ex. 11 has [*ak*]-*kul-la-te*; and ex. 75 has *ak-kul-la-te*. **87**.3, 11, 75 add AN.BAR after *ak-kul-la-a-ti*. **87**.5 adds AG after *ak-kul-la-a-ti*. **88**.3 ÍD.*ḫu-su-ri* for ÍD.*ḫu-su-ur*. **88**.3 *da-ru-ti* for *da-ru-ú-ti*. **88**.1 *ú-šar-<<ši>>-da-a* for *ú-šar-da-a*. **88**.1, 3–4 *ṣip-pa-ti* for *ṣip-pa-a-ti*. **89** NINA.KI: exs. 1, 5 have URU.NINA; and ex. 9 has [URU].NINA. **89**.3 *re-ba-a-ti-šu* for *re-ba-ti-šú*. **89**.1–2 *ú-šá-na-dil-ma* for *ú-šá-an-dil-ma*. **89**.2 *su-qa-ni* for *su-qa-a-ni*.

90.66 *ina* for second *i-na*. **90**.3 *pe-ṣi-i* for *pe-ṣe-e*. **91** MU.SAR-*a*: exs. 3, 68 have MU.SAR-*e*; exs. 9, 79 have *mu-šá-ru-u*; and ex. 70 has [*mu-šá-ru*]-⌜*u*⌝. **91**.4, 9, 12, 70 *li-i-tum* for *li-i-tú*. **91**.3–4 ^{d}*aš-šur* for *aš-šur*. **91**.2–3 GAL-*e* for GAL. **92**.3 *i-tep-pu-šu* for *e-tep-pu-šu*. **92**.2, 4, 9 *qé-reb-šú* for *qé-reb-šu*. **92** *ú-šaṭ-ṭir-ma*: exs. 2, 4 have *ú-šá-áš-ṭir-ma*; and ex. 9 has *ú-šá-áš-*⌜*ṭir*⌝-[*ma*]. **92**.2–3 *tem-me-en-nu* for *tem-me-en-ni*. **92** *e-zib*: exs. 4, 6, 76 have *i-zib*; and ex. 11 has *i*-[*zib*]. **93** *ar-kàt*: ex. 12 has ⌜*ár*⌝-*kàt*; and exs. 68, 79 have *ár-kàt*. **93**.1 *a-na* for *i-na*. **93**.2, 4–5 *i-nam-bu-ú* for *i-nam-bu-u*. **93**.3 *i-lab-bi-ru* for *i-lab-bi-ru-ma*. **94**.2–5, 9, 12 MU.SAR-*e* for MU.SAR-*a*. **94**.4, 9 *šu-me-ia* for *šu-mi-ia*. **94**.2 *li-mur* for *li-mur-ma*. **94**.11 [*áš*]-⌜*ri*⌝-*šu* for *áš-ri-šú*. **94**.3, 80 *ik-ri-bi-šú* and *ik-ri-bi-*⌜*šú*⌝ respectively for *ik-ri-bi-šu*. **95**.3 omits LÚ.GAR.KUR.

Text No. 10.

20.2 ⌜*šá*⌝ for *ša*. **21**.2 *u* for *ù*.

Text No. 15

i 7′.6 LÚ.⌜*ti*⌝-[*re-e*] for LÚ.TIRUM.MEŠ. **i 25′**.1 LÚ.*ú-bu-ru* for LÚ.*ú-bu-lu*. **i 27′**.4 LÚ.*ru-*ʾ*u-u-a* for LÚ.*ru-*ʾ*u-ú-a*. **i 29′**.4 LÚ.*li-i*ʾ*-ta-a-ú* for LÚ.*li-i*ʾ*-ta-ú*. **i 30′**.4 *kan-šu-ti* for *kan-šu-te*. **i 30′**.4, 7 *ak-šud^{ud}* and *ak-*[*šud^{ud}*] respectively for KUR-*ud*. **i 37′**.3 LÚ.*qí-pi* for LÚ.*qí-pi*.

ii 3.1 *a-lul* for *a-lul-ma*. **ii 4**.1 *si-ḫir-<ti>* for *si-ḫir-ti*. **ii 26′′**.8 [*ú*]-⌜*nak*⌝-*kir-ma* for *ú-na-kir-ma*. **ii 33′′**.1 KUR.*<ma-da>-a-a* for KUR.*ma-da-a-a*. **ii 34′′**.2 *ina* for *i-na*.

iii 1.2 ⌜KUR.*ḫat-ti*⌝ for ⌜KUR.*ḫa-at-ti*⌝. **iii 11′**.2, 17 [^{m}]⌜*ḫa*⌝-*za-qi-a-ú* and (traces)-⌜*za-qi-ia-a-ú*⌝ respectively for [^{m}]⌜*ḫa*⌝-*za-qi-ia-a-u*. **iii 15′**.2, 8 KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫa* for KUR.*me-luḫ-ḫi*. **iii 28′**.1 LÚ.NÍTA.MEŠ for LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ. **iii 32′**.2 *šal-la-ti* for *šal-la-te*; and *si-it-tu-ti-šú-nu* for *si-it-tu-te-šú-nu*.

iv 6.17 for [^{m}*ḫa-za*]-⌜*qi-a-ú*⌝ for ^{m}⌜*ḫa*⌝-[*za-qi*]-*a-u*. **iv 12**.4, 10 [*kal-ban-na*]-⌜*ti*⌝ and *kal-ban-na-ti* respectively for ⌜*kal-ban*⌝-*na-te*. **iv 20′**.8 URU.*bi-*⌜*it*⌝-*tu-ú-tu* for URU.*bi-it-tu-ú-ti*. **iv 22′**.2 ⌜*lìb-bu-šu*⌝ for ŠÀ-*šú*. **iv 33′**.11 [*na*]-*gi-a-te-ra-aq-qí* for *na-gi-ti-ra-aq-qí*.

v 4.1 [*na-mur*]-⌜*ra*⌝-*tú* for *na-mur-ra-tum*. **v 8**.2 omits DAGAL-*tum*. **v 11**.2 GIŠ.PAN for GIŠ.PAN.⌜MEŠ⌝. **v 22**.4 ⌜*da*⌝-*ru-ú* for *da-ru-u*. **v 32**.1 *šu-te-šu-*⌜*ri*⌝ for *šu-te-šur*. **v 39**.17 [...] (traces)-⌜*eri-ba*⌝ for ^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU. **v 66**.2 *a-*⌜*gu-ú*⌝ for *a-gu-u*.

vi 5.12 *šap-la-nu* for *šap-la-a-nu*. **vi 21**.14 *šul-*⌜*lu*⌝-*mi* for ⌜*šul-lu-me*⌝. **vi 22**.17 u_4-⌜*me-šu*⌝-*ma* for u_4-*mi-šu-ma*. **vi 22**.4 *ù* for *u*. **vi 27**.1 ⌜*i*⌝-[*na*] for second *ina*. **vi 28**.13 UD.MEŠ for u_4-*mi*; and *ina* for *i-na*. **vi 35**.15 [*tam-le*]-*e* for [*tam*]-⌜*li*⌝-*i*.

vii 13.17 [*ḫur*]-⌜*ru*⌝-*šu* for *ḫur-ru-šú*. **vii 25′**.4 *uš-ši-šú* for *uš-še-šú*. **vii 25′**.4, 7 *ap-te-ma* for *ap-*⌜*ti*⌝-*ma*. **vii 27′**.4, 7 [*dan*]-*nu* and *dan-nu* respectively for ⌜*dan-ni*⌝. **vii 28′**.4 *ina* for ⌜*i-na*⌝. **vii 29′**.7 ⌜*ši*⌝-*pir-*⌜*šú*⌝ for ⌜*ši-pir-šu*⌝.

viii 9′′.7 GAL-*ú* for GAL. **viii 11′′**.4, 6 *taš-ri-iḫ-ti* and [*taš-ri-iḫ*]-⌜*ti*⌝ respectively for ⌜*taš*⌝-*ri-iḫ-te*. **viii 16′′**.4, 7 *ba-ḫu-la-te* for ⌜*ba-ḫu-la-ti*⌝. **viii 17′′**.7 *muḫ-ḫa-šu-un* for *muḫ-ḫa-šú-un*. **viii 19′′**.4, 7 UD.MEŠ for u_4-*me*. **viii 19′′**.1 has AD.MEŠ-*ia* for DUMU.MEŠ-*ia*. **viii 21′′**.4, 7, 17 *i-nam-bu-ú*, [*i-nam-bu*]-⌜*ú*⌝, and ⌜*i-nam-bu-ú*⌝ respectively for ⌜*i*⌝-*nam-bu-u*. **viii 21′′**.7 *zi-kir-šu* for *zi-kir-šú*.

Text No. 16

i 2.2* GAL for GAL-⌜*ú*⌝. **i 9**.2* *a-ke-e* for *a-ki-i*. **i 10**.3* ⌜*dam-qa*⌝-*a-te* for *dam-qa-a-ti*. **i 17**.3* [*gim*]-⌜*ri*⌝ for *gi-mir*. **i 26**.5* *ip-par-šu* for *ip-par-šú*. **i 52**.9*, 28* URU.MEŠ for URU.MEŠ-*ni*. **i 53**.1, 9* ⌜*ak*⌝-[*šud^{ud}*] and *ak-šud^{ud}* respectively for KUR-*ud*. **i 69**.29* *kan-šu-tú* for *kan-šu-ti*. **i 77**.2, 29* [URU].⌜*ḫa*⌝-*ra-ra-te* and URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-te* respectively for URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-ti*. **i 83**.2, 1* [*pag-ri*]-⌜*šu*⌝-*un* and *pag-ri-šu-un* respectively for *pag-ri-šú-un*.

ii 2 *šu-a-tú*: exs. 2*, 25* have *šu-a-tu*; and ex. 29* has ⌜*šu*⌝-*a-*

tu. **ii 3**.25* UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ for UDU.MEŠ. **ii 3**.12* omits GIŠ before GEŠTIN. **ii 4**.2*, 25* ⌜*re*⌝*-še-te-šú* and *re-še-te-šú* respectively for *re-še-te-šu*. **ii 5**.13* has DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia* for EN.MEŠ-*ia*. **ii 13**.1*, 13* [*ti-ik-ka*]-⌜*te*⌝ for *ti-ik-ka-ti*. **ii 34**.2, 15* *am-nu-šu-nu-ti* and [*am-nu*]- ⌜*šu*⌝*-nu-ti* respectively for *am-nu-šú-nu-ti*. **ii 36**.2 UGU-*šú-un* for UGU-*šu-un*. **ii 41**.2, 9*, 15* LUGAL-*šú-un* for LUGAL-*šu-un*. **ii 41**.2, 16* [URU].⌜MEŠ⌝*-šú* for URU.MEŠ-*šu*. **ii 44**.9* DAGAL-*ti* for DAGAL-*tim*. **ii 48**.9* *ina* for *i-na*. **ii 52**.2 has *áš-*<<*lu**>>*-lu-lam-ma*. **ii 75**.11* ⌜*ú-šak*⌝*-ni-su*-[*nu-ti*] for *ú-šak-ni-is-su-nu-ti*.

iii 4.1* ⌜TUR⌝ for *ṣe-eḫ-ru*. **iii 5**.1* URU.É-*zi-it-te* for URU.É-*zi-it-ti*. **iii 5**.3, 26* ⌜URU⌝.*ṣa-ri-ip-tu* and URU.*ṣa-ri-ip-tu* respectively for URU.*ṣa-ri-ip-tú*. **iii 9**.1*, 25* *ri-ti* for *ri-i-ti*. **iii 10**.12*–13* *tuk-la-te-šú* for *tuk-la-te-šu*. **iii 10**.26* EN-⌜*ía*⌝ for EN-*ia*. **iii 11**.13* *ik-nu-šú* for *ik-nu-šu*. **iii 11**.26* <*še*>*-pu-u-a* for *še-pu-ú-a*. **iii 12**.13* LUGAL-*ti* for LUGAL-*ú-ti*. **iii 13**.13*, 26* *man-da-at-tú* and ⌜*man*⌝*-da-*⌜*at-tú*?⌝ respectively for *man-da-at-tu*. **iii 20**.14* omits ^{m} in KUR.É-^{m}*am-ma-na-a-a*. **iii 25**.13* [*iš*]-⌜*šú*⌝*-nim-ma* for ⌜*iš*⌝*-šu-nim-ma*. **iii 37**.2 URU.*a-su-ru* for URU.*a-zu-ru*. **iii 45**.2 *e-*⌜*pu*⌝-[*šú*] for *i-pu-šú*. **iii 66**.3 [*si*]-⌜*it*⌝*-tu-ti-šú-nu* for *si-it-tu-te-šú-nu*. **iii 72**.2–3 *man-da-at-tu* and ⌜*man-da-at*⌝*-tu* respectively for *man-da-at-tú*. **iii 75**.3, 13* ⌜*ik-nu*⌝*-šu* and *ik-nu-šu* respectively for *ik-nu-šú*. **iii 76**.13* omits *dan-nu-ti*. **iii 77**.13* URU.MEŠ for URU.MEŠ-*ni*.

iv 2.2 ⌜*ak*⌝*-šud*^{ud} for KUR-*ud*. **iv 5**.26* ⌜*u*⌝ for *ù*. **iv 19**.26* *šat-ti-šu-un* for *šat-ti-šú-un*. **iv 20**.17* [*man*]-⌜*da*⌝*-at-tu* for *man-da-at-tú*. **iv 36**.4 [*man-da-at*]-⌜*te*⌝ for *man-da-at-ti*. **iv 40**.2, 31* *ad-ke-ma* for *ad-ke-e-ma*. **iv 41**.2, 31* *i-na* and [*i*]-⌜*na*⌝ respectively for *ina*. **iv** 47.31* GIM for *ki-ma*. **iv 48**.31* ⌜*a-šar-šu*⌝ for *a-šar-šú*. **iv 70**.30* *ba-ḫu-*⌜*la-ti*⌝ for *ba-ḫu-la-te*. **iv 71**.3 URU.*šá-ar-ma* for URU.*šá-ri-im*. **iv 74**.30* *šá* for *ša*. **iv 79**.2 LÚ.⌜*qur*⌝*-*[*bu*]*-ti* for LÚ.*qur-bu-te*. **iv 82**.2 adds GÌR.II after *a-na-ku*.

v 7.5 *ṣum-me-ia* for *ṣu-um-me-ia*. **v 15**.26* *ul-la-nu-u-*⌜*a*⌝ for *ul-la-nu-ú-*⌜*a*⌝. **v 16**.1, 26* LUGAL.<MEŠ> and LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* respectively for LUGAL.MEŠ. **v 18**.5, 26* ⌜*a*⌝*-na-ku* and ⌜*a-na-ku*⌝ respectively for *ana-ku*. **v 18**.5 *ina* for *i-*⌜*na*⌝. **v 22**.5 [KUR].MEŠ for KUR.MEŠ-*e*. **v 29**.7 URU.MEŠ-*ni* for URU.MEŠ. **v 71**.1 has DAGAL for UŠ. **v 72**.2 *ina* for *i-na*. **v 73**.2 *ina* for first *i-na*. **v 75**.2 *ina* for first *i-na*. **v 80**.2 URU.*ta-as-ti-a-te* for URU.*ta-as-ti-a-ti*.

vi 3.2 *ṣi-ra-a-te* for *ṣi-ra-a-ti*. **vi 12**.5 u_4-*me* for UD.MEŠ. **vi 20**.5, 19* *dan-ni* for *dan-nu*. **vi 21**.9 [*i*]- ⌜*na*⌝ for *ina*. **vi 21**.1 has DAGAL for UŠ. **vi 24**.5 *tam-li-i* for *tam-le-e*. **vi 26**.8 *nap-ḫar* for *a-na*; and *ina* for *i-na*. **vi 27**.6, 8 *ina* for *i-na*. **vi 28**.6, 8 *ina* for *i-na*. **vi 44**.1 *pa-ni-šú* for *pa-ni-šu*. **vi 48**.10 ⌜*qer-bi- šú*⌝ for ⌜*qer*⌝*-*[*bi*]*-šu*. **vi 63**.2 *ṣi-ra-a-te* for *ṣi-ra-a-ti*. **vi 71**.2 *i-šá-as-su-ú-šu* for *i-šá-as-su-šú*. **vi 72**.2 *mul-ta-ʾu-ú-ti* for *mul-ta-ʾu-ti*. **vi 83**.2 MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-te* for MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-ti*. **vi 85**.2 MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-*⌜*te*⌝ for MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-ti*. **vi 86**.2 MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-te* for MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-*a-ti*. **vi 87**.2 ⌜MAḪ⌝.MEŠ for *ṣi-ru-ti*.

vii 28.27* *ina* for *i-na*. **vii 30**.2 *nam-ri-ru-šu* for *nam-ri-ru-šú*. **vii 33**.2 *re-ši-šu* for *re-ši-šú*. **vii 37**.2 *qé-reb-šu* for *qé-reb-šú*. **vii 44**.2 BALA-*e* for BALA-⌜*ia*⌝. **vii 72**.2 *ú-šak-šid* for *ú-šá-ak-šid*. **vii 75**.2 *pa-ás-qí-šu* for *pa-ás-qí-šú*. **vii 76**.2 *ši-pir-šu* for *ši-pir-šú*. **vii 77**.2 *re-ba-ti-šu* for *re-ba-te-šu*. **vii 78**.2 u_4-*me* for u_4-*mi*. **vii 83**.2 *ma-še*$_{20}$*-e* for *ma-ši-i*. **vii 84**.2 *šá-pal-šu* for *šá-pal-šú*.

viii 9.5* [*ṣe*]-*er* for EDIN. **viii 12**.21* *áš-šu* for *áš-šú*. **viii 17**.21* ⌜*ta*⌝*-mir-te* for *ta-mir-ti*. **viii 35**.2 ⌜GEŠTIN⌝ for GIŠ.GEŠTIN.

Text No. 17

i 56.2 LÚ.*ru-ʾu-a* for LÚ.*ru-ʾu-u-a*. **i 66**.2 [URU].⌜*ḫa*⌝*-ra-*⌜*ra*⌝*-tu* for URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-te*. **i 69**.2 *ta-mar-ta-šu* for *ta-mar-ta-šú*. **i 75**.2 ZÚ.LUM.MA.MEŠ for ZÚ.LUM.MA. **i 84**.2 [*ti*]-*ik-ka-a-ti* for *ti-ik-ka-a-te*. **i 85**.2 *ina* for *i-na*.

ii 3.2 ⌜*ú-še*⌝*-mi* for *ú-še-me*. **ii 15**.2 *ina* for *i-na*; and URU.*ḫa-ar-diš-*⌜*pi*⌝ for URU.*ḫar-diš-pi*. **ii 25**.2 *ru-qé-e-*⌜*ti*⌝ for *ru-qé-e-te*. **ii 26**.2 DAGAL-*ti* for DAGAL-*tim*. **ii 44**.2 *ú-na-kir-ma* for *ú-nak-kir-ma*. **ii 58**.2 KUR.*ḫa-at-ti* for KUR.*ḫat-ti*. **ii 60**.2 *is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma* for *is-ḫu-pu-šú-ma*. **ii 69**.2 *is-ḫu-pu-šu-nu-ti-ma* for *is-ḫu-pu-šú-nu-ti-ma*. **ii 80**.2 KUR written over URU before É-^{m}*am-ma-na-a-a*. **ii 81**.2 URU.*ma-ʾa-ba-a-a* for KUR.*ma-ʾa-ba-a-a*. **ii 92**.2 *maḫ-ru-*⌜*ú*⌝ for *maḫ-ru-u*.

iii 5.2 LÚ.NÍTA.MEŠ for LÚ.GÌR.NÍTA.MEŠ. **iii 13**.1 has *re*-ZU-*us-su-un*. **iii 18**.2 KUR.*mu-uṣ-ra-a-a* for ⌜ KUR.*mu-ṣu-ra-a-a*⌝. **iii 21**.2 for ⌜URU.*al*⌝*-ta-qu-ú* for URU.*al-ta-qu-u*. **iii 24**.2 *ú-šab-šu-ú* for *ú-šab-šu-u*. **iii 31**.2 *a-ra-an-šu-nu* for *a-ra-an-šú-nu*. **iii 39**.2 *ik-nu-šú* for *ik-nu-šu*. **iii 40**.2 BÀD.MEŠ for BÀD.MEŠ-⌜*ni*⌝. **iii 45**.2 *pil-še* for *pil-ši*. **iii 46**.2 *kal-*⌜*ban*⌝*-na-ti* for *kal-ban-na-te*. **iii 61**.2 URU.<<^{m}>>*ḫa-zi-ti* for URU.*ḫa-zi-ti*. **iii 67**.2 *be-lu-te-ia* for *be-lu-ti-ia* and *is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma* for *is-ḫu-pu-šú-ma*. **iii 69**.2 URU.*ur-sa-li-im-ma* for URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu*. **iii 70**.2 *ir-šu-ú* for *ir-šú-ú*; and *til-la-a-ti* for *til-la-a-te*. **iii 73**.2 GIŠ.NÁ.ME for GIŠ.NÁ.MEŠ. **iii 83**.2 *um-ma-na-ti-ia* for *um-ma-na-te-ia*; and ⌜*gap*⌝*-šá-a-ti* for *gap-šá-a-te*.

iv 12.2 *na-mur-ra-tum* for *na-mur-ra-*⌜*tu*⌝. **iv 16**.1 has EME.KI. **iv 18**.1 has URU.*tu-mur-*ḪU. **iv 31**.1 ⌜*ki*⌝*-*[*ma*] for GIM. **iv 38**.2 *ap-*⌜*pul*⌝ for *ap-pu-ul*. **iv 53**.1 ERIM.ḪI.<A>*-ia* for ERIM.ḪI.A*-ia*. **iv 87**.2 *eš-šu-ti* for *eš-šu-te*.

v 9.2 *šu-a-tu* for ⌜*šu-a-tum*⌝. **v 11**.2 adds *ša* after *mit-ḫu-uṣ*. **v 12**.3 ⌜*im*⌝*-nu* for *im-nu-ú*. **v 36**.2 *e-pu-šu-ma* for *e-pu-šú-ma*. **v 43**.2 *be-lu-ti* for *be-lu-te*. **v 57**.1* 40 for 60. **v 69**.2 *ina* for *i-na*. **v 71**.2 *ṣi-ra-a-ti* for *ṣi-ra-a-te*.

vi 7.2 *kiš-šá-te* for *kiš-šá-ti*. **vi 10**.3 *ú-šá-as-ḫi-ru* for *ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra*. **vi 12**.3 4 ME for 4 ME 40. **vi 12**.2–3 *i-na* for *ina*. **vi 22**.2 *ba-ba-a-te* for *ba-ba-a-ti*. **vi 64**.2 *mu-ʾu-di-i* for *mu-ʾu-de-e*. **vi 67**.2 KI.GAL for *ki-gal-li*. **vi 71**.2 *na-par-de-e* for *na-par-di-i*. **vi 72**.2 *ṣi-ra-*⌜*te*⌝ for MAḪ.MEŠ. **vi 79**.2 [*ú*]*-šá-lid-ma* for *ú-šá-a-lid-ma*. **vi 85**.2 *a-ma-ti* for *a-ma-te*.

vii 20.2 ^{d}ALAD. ^{d}LAMMA.ME for ^{d}ALAD. ^{d}LAMMA.MEŠ. **vii 33**.4 *ša* for *šá*. **vii 36**.4 omits GIŠ before *tim-me*. **vii 46**.4 *gu-ḫa-ṣa-a-te* for *gu-ḫaṣ-ṣa-a-te*. **vii 47**.4 *ù* for *u*. **vii 48**.4 omits URUDU after *a-la-mit-ta*. **vii 50**.4 [*tab*]*-ra-a-*⌜*ti*⌝ for *tab-rat*. **vii 57**.2 *ḫur-ru-šú* for *ḫur-ru-šu*. **vii 60**.2 *ú-še-pi-šu* for *ú-še-pi-šú*. **vii 63**.2 *me-ši-iḫ-ti* for *me-ši-iḫ-te*. **vii 66**.2 *nam-ri-ru-šú* for *nam-ri-ru-šu*. **vii 67**.2 omits NA_4 before *pi-i-li*. **vii 70**.2 *i-na* for *a-na*. **vii 77**.2 ^{d}*šá-maš* for ^{d}UTU. **vii 91**.2 *be-lu-te-ia* for *be-lu-ti-ia*.

viii 17.2 MUT.ḪUM.MEŠ for *mut-ḫum-me*. **viii 29**.2 *šu-nu-ti* for *šu-nu-te*. **viii 30**.2 *šá-ti-na* for *ša-ti-na*. **viii 37**.2 *ak-kul-la-te* for *ak-kul-la-ti*. **viii 44**.2 *ta-me-ra-a-te* for *ta-me-ra-a-ti*. **viii 69**.2 *taš-ri-iḫ-ti* for *taš-ri-iḫ-te*. **viii 71**.2 omits GIŠ before *sér-di*.

Text No. 22

i 1.2 GAL-*ú* for GAL. **i 3**.1* LÍMMU-*tim* for LÍMMU-*ti*. **i 3**.2, 2* ⌜*it-pe*⌝*-šú* for *it-pe-šu*. **i 8**.2 *ma-al-ki* for *mal-ki*. **i 11**.2 *gi-mir* for *gim-ri*. **i 17**.2 *da-ád-me-šu-un* for *da-ád-me-šú-un*. **i 20**.2, 3* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM-*na* for ^{md}MES-A-SUM-*na*. **i 26**.2 *ú-maš-še-ru* for *ú-maš-ši-ru*. **i 28**.2 *ap-te-e-ma* for *ap-te-ma*. **i 35**.2 *šal-la-ti-iš* for *šal-la-tiš*. **i 36**.2 BÀD.MEŠ-*ni* for BÀD.MEŠ. **i 37**.2 URU.MEŠ-*ni* for URU.MEŠ. **i 38**.2 *ak-šud*^{ud} for KUR-*ud*; and *šal-la-su-un* for *šal-la-sún*. **i 40**.2 *ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*.KI for URU.*ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*. **i 46**.4* [LÚ.*ú*]-⌜*bu-lu*⌝ for LÚ.*ú-bu-lum*. **i 47**.2 LÚ.*ru-ʾu-ú-a* for LÚ.*ru-ʾu-u-a*. **i 49**.2 LÚ.*li-iʾ-ta-ú* for LÚ.*li-iʾ-ta-a-ú*; and *kan-šu-ú-ti* for *kan-šu-ti*. **i 51**.4* *u* for *ù*. **i 55**.2, 4* URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-ti* and [URU.*ḫa*]*-ra-ra-ti* respectively for URU.*ḫa-ra-ra-te*. **i 57**.2 *ba-ḫu-la-te* for *ba-ḫu-la-ti*. **i 59**.2 *pag-ri-šú-un* for *pag-ri-šu-un*. **i 63**.2 *re-še-te-šú* for *re-še-ti-šú*. **i 67**.2 LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* for LUGAL.MEŠ. **i 70**.2 *ti-ik-ka-a-ti* for *ti-ik-ka-te*. **i 72**.2 URU.*ḫar-diš-pi* for URU.*ḫa-ar-diš-pi*. **i 73**.2 URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú-nu* for URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu*. **i 74**.2 *dan-nu-te* for *dan-nu-ti*. **i 77**.2 URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú-nu* for URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu*; and *i-šu-i* for *i-šu-ú*.

ii 1.2 *i-na* for *ina*. **ii 1**.2, 5* *lìb-bi* and ⌜*lìb*⌝*-bi* respectively for ŠÀ. **ii 7**.2 *am-nu-šu-nu-ti* for *am-nu-šú-nu-ti*. **ii 8**.5* [UGU]-⌜*šu*⌝*-un* for UGU-*šú-un*. **ii 10**.2 *ina* for *ina*. **ii 12**.2 LUGAL-*šú-un* for LUGAL-*šu-un*. **ii 15**.2 *ki-ma* for GIM. **ii 18**.2 *ak-šud*^{ud} for KUR-*ud*; and *ap-pu-ul* for *ap-pul*. **ii 22**.5* ⌜*ú-šá-lik*⌝*-šú-ma* for *ú-šá-lik-šu-ma*. **ii 25**.2, 3*–4* *na-gu-ú* for *na-gu-u*. **ii 26** *aš-šur*: exs. 2, 5* have *aš-šur*.KI; and ex. 4*has *aš-šur*.⌜KI⌝. **ii 27**.2 LUGAL-*ti* for LUGAL-*ú-ti*.

ii 29.2, 4* URU.*kar*-^{d}EN.<ZU>-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU and URU.*kar*-^{md}EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* respectively for URU.*kar*-^{md}30-PAP.MEŠ-SU. **ii 31**.1 omits ŠU.II. **ii 33**.2 *ru-qu-ti* for *ru-qu-te*. **ii 34**.2 LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* for LUGAL.MEŠ. **ii 35**.4* *man-da-ta-šu-nu* for *man-da-ta-šú-nu*. **ii 37**.2 KUR.*ḫa-at-ti* for KUR.*ḫat-ti*. **ii 40**.2 MURUB$_4$ for *qa-bal*; and KUR-*šú* for *šad-da-šú*. **ii 42**.2 URU.*É-zi-it-te* for URU.*É-zi-it-ti*; and URU.*ṣa-ri-ip-tú* for URU.*ṣa-ri-ip-tu*. **ii 44**.2 BÀD.MEŠ-*ni* for BÀD.MEŠ. **ii 45**.2 *tuk-la-ti-šú* for *tuk-la-te-šú*. **ii 46**.2 *is-ḫu-pu-šu-nu-ti-ma* for *is-ḫu-pu-šú-nu-ti-ma*; and *ik-nu-šu* for *ik-nu-šú*. **ii 47**.2 ^{m}*tu-ba-a'-lu* for ^{m}*tu-ba-a'-lum*; and LUGAL-*ti* for LUGAL-*ú-ti*. **ii 48**.2 *man-da-at-tu* for *man-da-tu*. **ii 51**.2 ^{m}*tu-ba-a'-lu* for ^{m}*tu-ba-a'-lum*. **ii 56**.2 KUR.<*ma*>-'*a-ba-a-a* for KUR.*ma-'a-ba-a-a*. **ii 58**.2 LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* for LUGAL.MEŠ. **ii 64**.2 *as-su-ḫa-am-ma* for *as-su-ḫa-ma*. **ii 68**.2 *i-šá-aṭ* for *i-šá-a-aṭ*. **ii 72**.2 *šal-la-sún* for *šal-la-su-un*. **ii 76**.2 ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-ia-ú* for ^{m}*ḫa-za-qi-a-ú*. **ii 77**.2 *e-pu-šú* for *i-pu-šú*. **ii 78**.2 LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* for LUGAL.MEŠ. **ii 81**.2 *re-ṣu-us-su-un* for *re-ṣu-su-un*.

iii 6.2 URU.*al-ta-qu-u* for URU.*al-ta-qu-ú*. **ii 9**.2, 5* ⌜*di-ma-a-te*⌝ and *di-ma-a-te* respectively for *di-ma-a-ti*. **ii 12**.5* *ḫi-ṭi* for *ḫi-ṭi-ti*. **ii 22**.2 *mit-ḫu-ṣu* for *mit-ḫu-uṣ*. **iii 23**.2 *u* for *ù*. **iii 28**.5* URU.*ur-sa-li-im-ma* for URU.*ur-sa-li-im-mu*. **iii 37**.2 *ṣe-ru-uš-šú-un* for *ṣe-ru-uš-šú*. **iii 39**.2 *dun-nu-un* for *dun-nun*. **iii 45**.2 *na-ṣir-tú* for *na-ṣir-tu*; and *ka-bit-tú* for *ka-bit-tu*. **iii 48**.2 *man-da-at-ti* for *man-da-at-te*. **iii 51**.2 *gap-šá-a-te* for *gap-šá-te*. **iii 55**.2 *ta-ḫa-zi-ia* for MÈ-*ia*. **iii 59**.2 *ina* for *i-na*. **iii 62**.2 *e-dur-ma* for *e-dúr-ma*. **iii 64**.2 URU.*na-gi-te-ra-aq-qí* for URU.*na-gi-te-raq-qí*. **iii 66**.2 *ú-maš-še-ru* for *ú-maš-ši-ru*. **iii 68**.2 *ap-pa-ra-te* for *ap-pa-ra-a-te*. **iii 77**.2 URU.*qu-ú-a* for URU.*qu-u-a*. **iii 79**.2 *ni-i-ri* for *ni-ri*.

iv 1.2 *ta-ḫa-zi-ia* for MÈ-*ia*. **iv 4**.2 *áš-tam-di-iḫ* for *áš-ta-am-di-iḫ*. **iv 5**.1 has *áš-taḫ-*<*ḫi*>*-iṭ*, which is clearly an error for *áš-taḫ-ḫi-iṭ*. **iv 6**.2 *šá-qu-te* for *šá-qu-ti*. **iv 8**.2 *ka-ṣu-ti* for *ka-ṣu-te*. **iv 12**.2 *ina* for *i-na*. **iv 17**.2 LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* for LUGAL.MEŠ. **iv 18**.2 KUR.MEŠ for *šad-di-i*. **iv 19**.2 *ana-ku* for *a-na-ku*. **iv 22**.2 KUR.MEŠ for KUR-*i*. **iv 23**.2, 6* *pa-áš-qa-a-ti* and [*pa-áš-qa-a*]-⌜*ti*⌝ for *pa-áš-qa-a-te*. **iv 24**.2 LUGAL-*ti-šú* for LUGAL-*ti-šu*. **iv 27**.2 *qer-bé-šú* for *qer-bé-e-šu*. **iv 28**.2 URU.MEŠ for URU.MEŠ-*ni*. **iv 29**.2 KUR-*ud-ma* for KUR-*ma*. **iv 33**.2, 7* *dan-nu-ti* for *dan-nu-te*. **iv 33**.7* ANŠE.EDIN.NA for *sér-re-me*. **iv 35**.7* ^{d}*šam-ši* for ^{d}UTU-*ši*. **iv 36**.2, 7* URU.*na-gi-te* for URU.*na-gi-ti*. **iv 36**.7* *šu-bat-su-un* for *šu-bat-sún*. **iv 37**.2, 7* URU.*na-gi-tu* for URU.*na-gi-tú*. **iv 38**.2, 7* URU.*na-gi-tu-di-i'-bi-na* and [URU.*na*]-⌜*gi*⌝*-tu-di-i'-bi-na* respectively for URU.*na-gi-tú-di-i'-bi-na*. **iv 38**.2 URU.*pil-la-tu* for KUR.*pil-la-tú*. **iv 39**.2 KUR.ELAM.MA.<KI> for KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **iv 45**.2 *ù* for *u*. **iv 47**.2 KUR for *ma-a-te*; and *be-lut* for *be-lu-tu*. **iv 48**.2 *ù* for *u*. **iv 49**.2 *ta-ḫa-az* for MÈ. **iv 52**.2 *re-ṣu-us-su* for *re-ṣu-su*. **iv 55**.2 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI for KUR.*e-lam-ti*. **iv 56**.2 URU.MEŠ-*ni* for URU.MEŠ. **iv 57**.2 adds LÚ before *e-la-mu-ú*. **iv 58**.2 KUR-*ma* for KUR-*ud*. **iv 59**.2 adds LÚ before ERIM.MEŠ. **iv 60**.2 *ú-ter-ram-ma* for *ú-ter-ra-ma*. **iv 63**.2 URU.*kar*-^{m}MU-BA-*šá* for URU.*kar*-^{m}NUMUN-BA-*šá*. **iv 64**.2 omits ^{m} in URU.*É*-^{m}*gi-iṣ-ṣi*. **iv 65**.2 URU.*ḫa-ma-nu* for URU.*ḫa-ma-a-nu*. **iv 66**.2 URU.*di-in-tu-ša*-^{m}*su-la-a-a* for URU.*dim-tú-ša*-^{m}*su-la-a-a*; and URU.*di-in-tu-ša*-^{md}DUMU-É-KAR-*ir* for URU.*dim-tú-ša*-^{md}DUMU-É-KAR-*ir*. **iv 67**.2 URU*ra-ba-a-a* for URU.*rab-ba-a-a*. **iv 69**.2 URU.MEŠ for URU.MEŠ-*ni*. **iv 71**.2 URU.*di-in-tu-ša*-^{m}*du-me*-DINGIR for URU.*dim-tú-ša*-^{m}*du-me*-DINGIR. **iv 73**.2 URU.*ša-na-qi-da-a-ti* for URU.*ša-na-qi-da-te*; and URU.*ma-su-tú-šap-li-tu* for URU.*ma-su-tú-šap-li-ti*. **iv 74**.2 URU.*sa-ar-ḫu-de-e-ri* for URU.*sa-ar-ḫu-de-ri*. **iv 76**.2 URU.MEŠ-*ni* for second URU.MEŠ. **iv 79**.2 *na-aq-mu-ti-šú-nu* for *naq-mu-ti-šú-nu*. **iv 81**.2 *ú-šak-tim* for *ú-šak-ti-im*.

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Text No. 23

v 56.2 *re-ṣu-ú-ti* for *re-ṣu-ti*. **v 59**.2 *za-'i-ri* for *za-'i-i-ri*. **vi 49**.2 adds *a-na* before ^{d}ALAD.^{d}LAMMA.

Text No. 27

ii 6.1 ⌜^{d}*a*?⌝-[*šur*] for ^{d}*aš-šur*.

Text No. 35

18′.2 [KUR.É-^{m}*bu-na*]-*ak-ku* for KUR.É-^{m}*bu-*^{r}*na-ak*^{1}*-ki*. **20′**.2 *im-qu-su* for *im-qut-su*. **28′**.2 ^{r}KUR^{1}-*šu* for KUR-*šú*; and KUR-*ud-ma* for *ak-šu-ud-ma*.

Text No. 38

5.2 ^{d}INANNA for ^{d}*iš-tar*. **6**.2 *ka-ak* for GIŠ.TUKUL. **9**.2 *ia-da-a-a* for *i-da-a-a*. **13**.2 u_4*-mi-šú-ma* for u_4*-me-šú-ma*. **16**.2 *ki-ma* u_4*-mi* for GIM u_4*-me*. **17**.2 *ú-za-qir* for *ú-zaq-qir*. **19**.2 UD.MEŠ for u_4*-me*. **21**.2 *šá … mé-ḫer-ti* for *ša … me-ḫer-ti-šú*. **23**.2–3 *ru-pu-us-su* for *ru-pu-su*. **24**.3 *šá-a-šu* for *šá-a-šú*. **25**.2–3 *i-na-aq-qa-ru-ma* for *i-naq-qa-ru-ma*. **26**.2–3 É-*šu* for É-*šú*. **27**.2–3 *il-la-lu-šu* for *il-la-lu-šú*.

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1910-10-8,146	22.3
1910-10-8,147+	16.2
1910-10-8,148+	16.2
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1929-10-12,7+	15.2
1929-10-12,15+	16.2*
1929-10-12,18+	16.1*
1929-10-12,21	26
1929-10-12,24	16.16*
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1929-10-12,493+	16.1
1929-10-12,501+	18.1
1929-10-12,544	12
1929-10-12,559+	18.1
1929-10-12,570+	18.1
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1929-10-12,585	16.10
1929-10-12,588+	18.1
1929-10-12,595	1.5
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1929-10-12,608+	15.7
1929-10-12,609+	16.1*
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1929-10-12,657+	16.1
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1932-12-10,482+	16.1
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1932-12-10,486+	18.1
1932-12-10,494+	18.1
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1932-12-10,522+	18.1
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1932-12-10,537+	16.1
1932-12-10,547+	16.1
1932-12-10,549+	18.1
1932-12-10,552+	16.1
1932-12-10,554+	18.1
1932-12-10,571+	16.1
1932-12-10,573+	16.1
1932-12-10,575+	16.1
1932-12-10,584	16.24*
1932-12-10,590+	18.1
1932-12-10,668+	16.1
1932-12-12,427+	18.1
1932-12-12,444a	23.2

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1932-12-12,447	16.7*	K 1640	4.35	R 104	3.1*
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1932-12-12,453+	2.1	K 1644+	4.17	Rm 25	30
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1932-12-12,477+	2.1	K 1649	3.1*	Rm 952	4.31
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1932-12-12,510	4.73	K 1666	16.3	Rm 2,56	16.12*
1932-12-12,554	25	K 1674+	15.1	Rm 2,91	16.8
1932-12-12,579	1.1*	K 1675	16.5	Rm 2,94+	4.19
1932-12-12,598	16.20*	K 1680	3.1	Rm 2,95+	2.1
1932-12-12,601	4.78	K 1751	15.11	Rm 2,98	32
1932-12-12,912	22.4*	K 1838	15.13	Rm 2,185	3.3*
1932-12-12,915+	16.1	K 8544	35.2	Rm 2,186	1.7
		K 11406+	18.1		
DT 69	4.23	K 14959	1.2*	Sm 1026	22.5*
		K 15312	4.42	Sm 1894+	4.65
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—	16.6

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No.	RINAP 3
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New York (L.H. Seelye)

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Divine, Planet, and Star Names

Adad: **10** 3; **11** 3; **12** 3; **13** 3; **15** vii 11′; **16** vii 55; **17** vii 87; **18** v 22′, vii 25′; **22** v 75; **23** v 64; **24** vi 1′; **36** obv. 7. See also Adad Gate.

Amurriqānu: See Igisigsig.

Anu: **10** 3; **11** 3; **12** 3; **13** 3; **18** vii 35′; **36** obv. 2.

Aššur: **1** 4, 92, 93, 94; **2** 4, 11, 20, 69, 70, 71; **3** 4, 11, 20, 62, 63; **4** 4, 9, 18, 34, 44, 91, 93, 94; **5** 1′, 2′; **7** 5′, 7′, 8′; **8** 4, 9, 17′, 19′, 20′; **9** 4, 10; **10** 3, 21, 23, 26, 27; **11** 3; **12** 3, 1′; **13** 3; **15** i 14, 12′, iii 13, 21′, iv 15′, vi 22, vii 31, viii 9′′, 20′′, 27′′; **16** i 15, 49, ii 6, iii 10, 53, iv 38, vi 41, vii 40, viii 53, 65, 72; **17** i 11, 41, 78, ii 68, iii 16, 82, iv 89, vi 47, viii 66, 78, 86; **18** i 14′′, iii 1′, iv 7′, v 6′, 17′, 22′, 25′, vii 14′, viii 25′′, 15′′′, 21′′′; **22** i 10, 35, 65, ii 45, iii 1, 50, iv 54, v 11, 62, 72, 76, 78, vi 74, 79, 81; **23** i 9, 31, 59, ii 43, iii 1, 43, iv 47, v 4, 53, 61, 65, 67, vi 54, 59; **24** i 9; **27** ii 6; **31** i 10′; **34** 3, 47, 67, 91; **35** rev. 44′; **36** obv. 1, rev. 21′; **37** obv. 4; **38** 5. See also Aššur Gate.

Aya: **36** rev. 4′.

Bēl (Marduk): **18** v 6′; **22** v 32, v 63; **23** v 24, v 53.

Bēlet-balāṭi: **34** 32.

Bēlet-ilī: **11** 4; **12** 4; **13** 3.

Ea: **15** vii 19′; **16** vii 63; **17** vii 94; **18** vii 29′; **36** obv. 2.

Enlil: **1** 66; **2** 37; **3** 37; **4** 64; **15** v 30; **16** v 53, vii 44; **17** v 37, vii 77; **18** vi 6′′′, vii 17′; **36** obv. 2, 12.

Erra: **15** vii 13′; **16** vii 57; **17** vii 89; **18** vii 26′.

Ḫaya: **10** 11, 16, 19.

Igisigsig (Amurriqānu): **15** vii 15′; **16** vii 59; **18** vii 31′.

Ištar: **1** 63; **2** 34, 44; **3** 34, 44; **4** 61, 71, 77, 78; **5** 2′; **7** 8′; **10** 3, 26; **11** 3; **12** 3; **13** 3; **15** v 19, 50, vi 13, 16, 22, vii 2′, viii 27′′; **16** v 42, 74, vi 30, 33, 41, vii 46, viii 72; **17** v 24, vi 47, viii 86; **18** viii 22′′′; **22** vi 74, 79; **23** vi 54, 59; **36** obv. 13; **38** 5.

Ištar of Arbela: **18** v 7′; **22 v** 64; **23 v** 54.

Ištar of Nineveh: **18** v 7′; **22 v** 64; **23 v** 54.

Kaššītu: **34** 32.

Kurunnam: **34** 32.

Lady of the *Reš*-Temple: **34** 31.

Lady of Nineveh: **36** rev. 5′.

Lady of Uruk: **34** 31; **35** obv. 12′.

Mullissu: **34** 91. See also Mullissu Gate.

Nabû: **18** v 6′; **22** v 63; **23** v 53; **36** obv. 10.

Nanāya: **34** 31.

Nannāru: See “The Divine Nannāru Is the One Who Protects My Lordly Crown” (gate name).

Nergal: **10** 3; **11** 3; **12** 3; **13** 3; **17** vii 90; **18** v 7′; **22** v 63; **23** v 53.

Ninagal: **1** 83; **2** 60; **15** vi 63; **16** vi 76.

Ningal: **36** rev. 4′.

Ninkura: **17** vi 77.

Ninšiku: **17** vii 2; **34** 77.

Ninurta: **36** obv. 12.

Palil: **34** 32.

Sebitti: **36** obv. 14.

Sîn: **10** 3; **11** 3; **12** 3; **13** 3; **18** v 6′; **22** v 63; **23** v 53; **36** obv. 3, rev. 4′. See also Sîn Gate.

Šala: **24** vi 1′.

Šamaš: **10** 3; **11** 3; **12** 3; **13** 3; **18** v 6′; **22** v 63; **23** v 53; **35** obv. 11′; **36** obv. 5, 9, rev. 4′. See also Šamaš Gate.

Šamaš of Larsa: **34** 31.

Šarur: See “The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King’s Enemy” (gate name).

Uṣur-amāssa: **34** 32.

Zababa: See Zababa Gate.

Wagon Constellation: See “Make Sennacherib’s Reign as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation” (gate name).

Zarpanītu: **22** v 32; **23** v 24.

Gate, Palace, Temple, and Wall Names

Adad Gate: See “The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land.”

Armory Gate: See “The One Who Regulates Everything.”

Aššur Gate: See “May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure” and “May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Stay in Good Health.”

Badnigalbilukurašušu (“Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies”): **8** 11′, **15** vii 21; **16** vii 29–30; **17** vii 65–66; **18** vii 1′.

Badnigerimḫuluḫa (“Wall, Terrorizer of Enemies”): **8** 12′, **15** vii 24′; **16** vii 70; **17** viii 6–7; **18** vii 41′.

“The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains”: **15** vii 7′; **16** vii 51; **17** vii 83; **18** vii 22′.

Citadel Gate: **4** 90; **7** 4′; **8** 16′; **15** viii 0′; **16** viii 85; **35** obv. 15.

Bīt-Kidmuri: **2** 44; **3** 44; **4** 71; **10** 4; **11** 3; **12** 3; **13** 3; **15** v 51; **16** v 76.

“The Choicest of Grain and Flocks Are Constantly Inside It”: **15** vii 5′–6′; **16** vii 49–50; **17** viii 81; **18** vii 21′.

Desert Gate: See “The Presents of the People of Sumu’el and Tēma Enter Through It” and “The Presents of the People of Tēma and Sumu’el Enter Through It.”

“The Divine Nannāru Is the One Who Makes Firm My Lordly Crown” (Sîn Gate): **18** vii 28′–29′.

“The Divine Nannāru Is the One Who Protects My Lordly Crown” (Sîn Gate): **17** vii 91.

Egalzagdinutukua (Egalzagdunutukua; “Palace Without A Rival”): **1** 79; **2** 56, **3** 56; **4** 84; **15** vi 45; **16** vi 56; 17 **vii** 51.

Emašmaš: **11** 5; **12** 5; **13** 4.

Esagil: **22** v 31; **23** v 23; **35** rev. 33′.

Ešaḫulezenzagmukam (“The House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year”): **37** rev. 4′.

Ešarra (more accurately Ešara): **11** 4; **12** 4; **13** 4.

Gate of the Gardens: **38** 23. See also “The God Igisigsig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish.”

“The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land” (Adad Gate): **15** vii 11′–12′; **16** vii 55–56; **17** vii 87–88; **18** vii 25–26.

“The God Anu is the Protector of My Life”: **18** vii 35′–36′.

“The God Ea Is the One Who Properly Regulates (Water Flow into) My Cistern” (Mašqû Gate): **15** vii 19′; **16** vii 63–64; **17** vii 94; **18** vii 29′–30′.

“The God Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down (My) Enemies” (Nergal Gate): **15** vii 13′–14′; **16** vii 57–58; **18** vii 26′–27′. See also Nergal Gate.

“The God Erra Is the One Who Slaughters Those Hostile to Me” (Nergal Gate): 17 vii 89. See also Nergal Gate.

“The God Enlil Is the One Who Makes My Reign Firm” (Šamaš Gate): **16** vii 44–45; **17** vii 77; **18** vii 17′.

“The God Igisigsig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish” (Step Gate of the Gardens): **15** vii 15′–16′; **16** vii 59–60; **18** vii 31′–32′.

“The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King’s Enemy” (Ḫandūru Gate): **15** vii 29; **16** vii 38; **17** viii 3; **18** vii 13′.

Ḫandūru Gate: See “The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King’s Enemy.”

“House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year”: See Ešaḫulezenzagmukam.

“Make Sennacherib’s Reign as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation” (Mullissu Gate): **17** viii 79; **18** viii 19′.

Mašqû Gate: See “The God Ea Is the One Who Properly Regulates (Water Flow into) My Cistern.”

“May Its Builder Endure” (Step Gate of the Palace): **18** vii 31′.

“May Its Builder Live Forever” (Step Gate of the Armory): **18** vii 34′–35′.

“May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure” (Aššur Gate): **15** vii 31–32; **16** vii 40–41; **18** viii 14′–15′.

“May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Stay in Good Health” (Aššur Gate): **17** viii 74.

Mullissu Gate: See “Make Sennacherib’s Reign as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation” and “O Ištar Bless Your Provider.”

Nergal Gate: **37** rev. 2′. See also “The God Erra Is the One Who Slaughters Those Hostile to Me” and “The God Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down (My) Enemies.”

“O Ištar Bless Your Provider” (Mullissu Gate): **15** vii 2′–3′; **16** vii 46–47.

“The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements” (Quay Gate): **15** vii 20′; **16** vii 65–66; **17** vii 95; **18** vii 33′–34′.

“The One Who Exorcises *Asakku*-Demon(s)” (Step Gate): **15** vii 4′; **16** vii 48; **17** vii 80; **18** vii 20′.

“The One Who Flattens All Enemies” (Sennacherib Gate): **16** vii 42–43; **17** vii 75–76; **18** vii 15′–16′.

“The One Who Regulates Everything” (Armory Gate): **15** vii 21′; **16** vii 66–67; **17** viii 2.

“Palace Without a Rival”: See Egalzagdinutukua.

“The Presents of the People of Sumuʾel and Tēma Enter Through It” (Desert Gate): **17** vii 96–viii 1.

“The Presents of the People of Tēma and Sumuʾel Enter Through It” (Desert Gate): **18** vii 37′–38′.

Quay Gate: See “The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements.”

Rear Palace: **22** vi 39; **23** vi 31; **34** 55; **35** rev. 10′′.

Sennacherib Gate: See “The One Who Flattens All Enemies.”

Sîn Gate: See “The Divine Nannāru Is the One Who Makes Firm My Lordly Crown” and “The Divine Nannāru Is the One Who Protects My Lordly Crown.”

Step Gate: See “The One Who Exorcises *Asakku*-Demon(s).”

Step Gate of the Armory: See “May Its Builder Live Forever.”

Step Gate of the Gardens: See “The God Igisigsig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish.”

Step Gate of the Palace: See “May Its Builder Endure.”

Šamaš Gate: See “The God Enlil Is the One Who Makes My Reign Firm.”

“Wall, Terrorizer of Enemies”: See Badnigerimḫuluḫa.

“Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies”: See Badnigalbilukurašušu.

Zababa Gate: **1** 21.

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